

# Journal of Contemporary Studies

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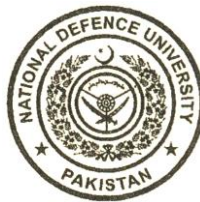
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Faculty of Contemporary Studies  
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## Editor's Note

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

This issue of the journal comprises of five articles, two book reviews and six documents providing valuable primary information on significant international developments. The first article, titled *Regional Infrastructure and Connectivity from Pakistani Perspective*, by Dr. Salma Malik argues that lack of connectivity in South Asia has hampered collective growth and development infrastructure, despite the fact that the region is well-endowed with natural and human resources. She examines initiatives such as SAARC, CPEC, BIMSTECH and concludes that rise of parochialism and a reinforced traditional security outlook have caused more divide than convergence, to the detriment of regional states and peoples.

The second article, *Revisiting the Nature of Iranian Threat to Saudi Arabia* by Muhammad Umar Abbasi and Dr. Afsah Qazi, discusses the Saudi-Iran rivalry from the International Relations and Security Studies perspective. The study empirically evaluates the power differentials between Iran and Saudi Arabia, and highlights the reasons for the perceived Iranian threat.

The third article, *Pak-Afghan Border Management: Developments and Controversies*, by Dr. Sarwat Rauf and Shakeel Ahmad, analyses the issue of border management between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The movement across border has become a security concern due to the presence of militants in the area. The paper examines Pakistan's efforts at border management with Afghanistan, where various mechanisms have been put into practice, which have reduced terrorist activities significantly and would help in bringing regional peace. The article also explores challenges in border management and future path for Pak-Afghan relations.

The fourth article titled, *Pakistan's Counter-Insurgency Campaign in Balochistan: An Analysis* is written by Fahad Nabeel and Dr. Mariam Asif.

The authors examine how military, socio-economic, and political measures employed by the state have played an instrumental role in restoring peace in Balochistan. However, there is still need to address the socio-economic grievances of a large segment of the population in the province which will help in resolving the conflict in Balochistan.

In the last article, *Water Conservation: Best Practices from around the World and Way Forward for Pakistan*, Ms. Afsheen Zeeshan analyses sustainable water conservation practices traditional as well as innovative methods from around the world and their relevance to Pakistan. It highlights challenges in adopting or adapting best practices in Pakistan and concludes that improved water conservation and management practices offer monetary gains as well as protect the environment.

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

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

Editor  
Dr. Shaheen Akhtar



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## REGIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND CONNECTIVITY FROM PAKISTANI PERSPECTIVE

Dr. Salma Malik\*

### Abstract

*South Asia became the most lucrative trade route for the West at the turn of fifteenth century. Merchants and traders from the region operated world-wide through various routes, but today the region doesn't enjoy the same level of connectivity, thereby lacking collective growth and development infrastructure despite being well-endowed with natural and human resources. Unfortunately, the various initiatives for regional connectivity such as the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTECH) etc. have caused more divide than convergence to the detriment of regional states and peoples. This paper examines the contemporary significance of regional connectivity by analysing whether the initiatives such as SAARC and CPEC have the potential to integrate or to further divide the region? What damage can rise of parochialism and a reinforced traditional security outlook impart on the region? Also, can South Asia contribute positively to the comity of nations?*

**Keywords:** CPEC, Greater South Asia, SAARC, BIMSTEC, Trans-Asian Rail link, Act East Policy

### Introduction

Regions by definition are artificial constructs, knit together either by virtue of political, economic or ideological necessity. Same has been stated with regards to South Asia,<sup>1</sup> making it no exception. Given the interrelation of the member states, it has often been criticised as a mere grouping of extremely diverse and independent states, connected by shared land or maritime boundaries and in close geographical proximity. Furthermore, South Asia merits its name to imperial cartography, where at

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\* Assistant Professor, Department of Defence & Strategic Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan. Email: salmamalik@qau.edu.pk.

<sup>1</sup> "Introduction: Imagining South Asian Futures," in *South Asia 2060: Envisioning Regional Futures*, ed. Adil Najam and Moeed Yusuf (UK: Anthem Press, 2013), 1.

the height of colonialism, the British bestowed the areas under their control with titles necessitated by their administrative and geographic convenience than any natural merits.

Cradled in the lap of the mighty Himalayas, Hindu Kush, and Karakoram ranges, and opening in the south to the Indian Ocean, South Asia's peculiar geographic contours make it a naturally isolated and self-contained region. After centuries of exposure to invaders, South Asia gained recognition in the Western world as the most lucrative spice route at the turn of the fifteenth century, through the expeditions of Vasco de Gama. Gradually it became a contesting space for rival trading countries of Europe with the British East India Company ruthlessly establishing its ascendancy both amongst its European peers and local competitors through crushing the local order. However, South Asia's history is much deeper and older than the European conquests. It was the seat of the world's oldest civilisations; merchants and traders from the region operated world-wide much before some of the contemporary civilisations overcame their fear of the sea and emerged from the dark ages, marked by strife, mutual acrimony and superstition.

In terms of connectivity and infrastructure, whether it be the ancient *silk route* (206 BC), the grand trunk road that dates back to 322 BC, or the postal messenger service traced back to ancient *Arthveda* to the highly efficient *dakchowkis* and *Sarais* housing animal transport for swift and safer relay and connectivity, the South Asians were much ahead of their time. Through this paper, an attempt has been made to examine whether the regional groupings and initiatives such as the SAARC and the CPEC, have a greater potential to strengthen the region or are these more divisive in nature. What damage parochial policies such as the rising orthodoxy in India and over emphasis on traditional security outlook have cast on the region? Why is connectivity so important in the current geopolitical environment, and does South Asia have the potential to contribute positively to the global order?

## **Persistent Colonial Hangover**

The South Asian region today stands as what Dixit calls as an "aloof geographic term" rather than a historical unity of our common living space.<sup>2</sup> Each member state despite sharing a common piece of history and culture is bound to the other through patterns of enmity than amity. As Buzan and Rizvi in their pioneering study on regionalism further stated, it's the sense of competition and patterns of conflict that knit the South Asian states in a seamless web of security than any intent towards

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<sup>2</sup> Beena Sarwar, "Media: New Trends, Old Problems," in *South Asia 2060*, ed. Najam & Yusuf, 286.

cooperation.<sup>3</sup> What we may term as the modern South Asia, emerged from the ashes of colonialism - a catastrophic event that left each successor state trying to seek identity independent of its roots or regional identity. The British colonial heritage in shape of waterways, road, rail, postal or telegraphic infrastructure has been much criticised lately by various analysts including Tharoor,<sup>4</sup> who dismiss these advancements as a mere tool of British imperialist manifestation, than being meant for benefitting the locals or the colonised. Rather he considers them as *tools of oppression*. Yet, the departing colonists left an elaborate system both in terms of physical infrastructure and political orientation that further distanced these post-colonial entities from one another. The developments that led to the partition of successor states and the emerging hostility among local actors towards each other were also partially a legacy of the British. They ended up drawing faulty borders, dividing populations through contested geographic territories, thereby creating invisible but permanent lines of acrimony, South Asia still remains divided in its behaviour, leaving little space for intra-regional connectivity and meaningful cooperation.

One of the most populous geographic regions, South Asia is home to a quarter of the world's population. Hostile relations between regional states withstanding, the region shows alarming statistics indicating extreme poverty and underdevelopment, compounded further by drastic impact of environmental as well as climate change effects. All of these aspects and more add to the discord and lack of cooperation amongst these neighbouring states, as despite the availability of a regional platform- SAARC, there is little recourse to it. The region besides enjoying a naturally advantageous location, is gifted with immense indigenous resources, and has a significant youth bulge that is growing up in a world characterised by extreme interdependence, connectivity and endless variety of options and learning opportunities. Yet, when we glean the region, despite the commonalities and individual strengths that can be synergised for the collective benefit, the trend is towards pursuing self-contained policies-- an approach that is contrary to the spirit of connectivity and regional integration.

Much of the common infrastructure that one sees in South Asia is the hand down legacy of the departing colonials. In its seven decades of independent existence, there has been no conscious and concrete effort towards building a regional infrastructure, which would connect member states to one another and benefit all. This is partly due to the lack of a common vision and partly because of negative security patterns. A quick glance at the rail and road infrastructure still resonates of the British

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<sup>3</sup> Barry Buzan, Gowher Rizvi, and Rosemary Foot, *South Asian Insecurity and the Great Powers* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 1986)

<sup>4</sup> Shashi Tharoor, *An Era of Darkness: The British Empire in India* (New Dehli: Aleph Book Company, 2016)

colonial trends. An example is the highest rail link at Landi Kotal laid by the British North Western Khyber Pass Railways in 1925 terminating three kilometres short of Pakistan-Afghanistan border which has not extended any further ever since. The 58 kilometre long Khyber Railway travelling through exotic mountain passes and vintage tracks was for a limited time used by the Pakistani government to run a tourist safari. However, after falling to despair due to the 2008 floods and later security situation alongside the Pak-Afghan border, it was shut down.<sup>5</sup> Nearly a decade later the two governments floated a feasibility study in 2017 about provision of a 145 Km long rail link from Peshawar to Jalalabad through the *Loi Shalman* Valley, which would be first of its kind, but has still not been initiated.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly, India despite its much trumpeted quest for global outreach, a Look-East to Act East<sup>7</sup> vision and centrality in position has been very slow in building such linkages with its regional neighbours. It has taken New Delhi over four decades to develop road and rail links with its *friendly* neighbours, such as Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan. The *Trans-Asian Rail link* proposed during the Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina's 2017 visit to India,<sup>8</sup> would be the first since independence allowing Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh to be connected with each other.<sup>9</sup> Given the politics of ascendancy, New Delhi would not encourage any direct bilateral infrastructural links between any of these neighbours. The successful passage of 2017 *Trans Asian proposal* can also be seen in the backdrop of New Delhi's concern over increased presence of external powers such as Japan, US, China and many others who have been active in countries such as Nepal and Sri Lanka for humanitarian assistance or

<sup>5</sup> Syed Inayat Ali Shah, "The Derailed Safari Train. One of the Five Celebrated Trains of Asia Calls for Immediate Attention," *The News*, April 20, 2008.

<sup>6</sup> "Pakistan to Lay Modern Rail Tracks for Trade with Afghanistan, Iran," *The Express Tribune*, May 12, 2016.

<sup>7</sup> The *Look East* policy of India was initiated by its Prime Minister P. V. Narsimha Rao in 1991, to build better trade relations with fast growing economies of South East Asia, known as the *Asian Tigers*, and diverting its focus from the West and neighboring states to this emerging economic block. Primarily an economic and commercial approach, in recent years under Premier Narindra Modi it has been re-envisioned as the *Act East Policy*, with an additional focus on strategic and security cooperation and expanding its scope from South East Asia to the larger East Asia and Indo-Pacific.

<sup>8</sup> Shohel Mamun, "Govt to Restore Rail Links to India, Nepal, Bhutan," *Dhaka Tribune*, April 5, 2017 <https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/foreign-affairs/2017/04/05/govt-restore-rail-links-india-nepal-bhutan/>.

<sup>9</sup> PTI, "Rail Link Plan with Bhutan, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Nepal: Suresh Prabhu," *The Economic Times*, January 20, 2017. [http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/56688825.cms?utm\\_source=contentofinterest&utm\\_medium=text&utm\\_campaign=cppst](http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/56688825.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst)

economic uplift.<sup>10</sup>

The South Asian discourse is highly securitised due to the traditional patterns of enmity. This causes not only a major hindrance in developing sustained intra-regional cooperation, but also creates an inevitable trade-off between security and development. The changing dynamics of security especially after the termination of cold war have compelled the comity of nations to develop an alternate security discourse, where security is no longer singularly gauged through the traditional lens alone. First, security is multifaceted, including political, economic, environmental, societal, and military aspects. Second, in an increasingly globalised and integrated world, the state is no longer the sole security provider, given the evolving nature and variety of threats/challenges which compel the state to rely on forces beyond the state, thereby shrinking its traditional capacity. The other forces may range from regional groupings based on geo economic or geo strategic interests to non-state entities that help meet the desired goals.

Despite its immense potential as reflected from the endowed resource potential, promising economic indicators, a huge economic market, motivated and ambitious youth as well as highly valued diaspora, the average South Asian state in general has either been weak or negligent in delivering on the social contract with its citizens. This is evident from the abysmal human development as well as security indicators in which none of these states with the exception of Sri Lanka occupy a double digit status on the international indices.<sup>11</sup> Ranging from individual security, to education, to economic development, the South Asian state can no longer continue to make excuse for its poor performance without altering its ways, nor any longer will the citizens remain complacent to state responses at face value.

Lastly, as mentioned earlier, the contemporary citizen has the choice to no longer restrict himself to mere territorial confines, feeding blindly on archaic state narrative, but to reach out and integrate in a highly interactive and networked world. However, influenced by the evolving global trend, unfortunately in South Asia as well the counter-currents of ultra-nationalism and a corresponding quest to carve distinct nationalist identities has taken the strongest sway, which again shrinks the space for a collective approach towards problem solving and building of common infrastructure.

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<sup>10</sup> Vishal Arora, "R.I.P, India's Influence in Nepal," *The Diplomat*, November 25, 2015, <https://thediplomat.com/2015/11/r-i-p-indias-influence-in-nepal/>.

<sup>11</sup> The Human development index for the eight countries of South Asia between the years 1990 and 2015 at an average are: Afghanistan 169, Bangladesh 139, Bhutan 134, India 131, Maldives 105, Nepal 144, Pakistan 147 and Sri Lanka 73 ; United Nations Development Programme, "Human Development Data (1990-2015)," *Human Development Reports*, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/data>.

## **CPEC: Bridging the Gap or Divider**

From colonial legacy to piggy-backing on the progress of new global actors and their vision of expansion, the regional actors despite their potential for progress, have not created a joint yet independent vision. China's Belt & Road Initiative (BRI) and infrastructural investment in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sri Lanka as well as neighbouring Myanmar/Burma has been viewed with great scepticism by New Delhi. Ironically in parallel, the construction of Chabahar port by India in Iran and the rail-road infrastructure from the Iranian port all the way into Afghanistan's resource rich area is being marketed as a great opportunity for the landlocked Afghanistan and an alternate to BRI's China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which is the shortest and most economical transit trade route via Pakistan. The CPEC can also link New Delhi with the key trading zones of West and Central Asia. However, most of the aforementioned initiatives are being perceived by regional countries for bilateral gains rather than for the collective benefit of the region as such. Additionally, deep rooted distrust, mutual acrimony, overarching security concerns and sense of individualism erodes any potential move towards an integrative approach or process.

For Pakistan, the CPEC appears to be the key to all its economic and developmental woes. Though cognisant of how beneficial the corridor is and can be for the country, there is a need to dwell and strategize on this landmark opportunity more intensely, in order to fully utilise its potential. Hailed in its initial years of inception as the best alternative to the West's receding investments and as an opening to the world markets, the optimism and bonhomie was overshadowed by sceptics, who did not see enough *win-win* options for Pakistan in this bilateral equation, coupled with the distrust raised by Western capitals and institutions over China's intentions. The current political regime in Pakistan, during its election campaign and after, also sought better (internal) transparency over economic and trade agreements including the CPEC, more so because of Pakistan's inability to pay the mounting debts and loans and also due to the perceived lack of oversights when these bilateral ventures were being initially signed.<sup>12</sup>

Secondly, the CPEC, instead of becoming a zone of regional connectivity, ended up adding to the region's predictable culture of distrust and competition. Initiating a race for a parallel infrastructure in the shape of Chabahar port, and aggressive negative press by New Delhi that reinforces US reservations, CPEC is not viewed as an infrastructural and connectivity hub that can be a zone of opportunity for the region, but merely a North-South corridor that will benefit Pakistan alone. China as a true economic actor has and will definitely stand benefited from access to

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<sup>12</sup> "Pakistan Calls for more Transparency over CPEC," *Dawn*, September 3, 2018.

more markets and the CPEC is by no means just a North South corridor or Beijing's solitary venture in its BRI vision. However, to realise and benefit from these changing trends, the South Asian neighbours need to change their traditionally oriented mind-sets and move towards a path of recognition and empathy. Citing Sri Lanka's Hambantota port development project as an example of China's colonialism through debt entrapment,<sup>13</sup> the anti-China lobby comprising US, India as well as European capitals are campaigning vigorously to curb China's future expansion.<sup>14</sup>

Responding to the BRI, the Indian Ministry of External Affairs spokesperson in a 2017 press briefing stated:

We are of firm belief that connectivity initiatives must be based on universally recognized international norms, good governance, rule of law, openness, transparency and equality. Connectivity initiatives must follow principles of financial responsibility to avoid projects that would create unsustainable debt burden for communities; balanced ecological and environmental protection and preservation standards; transparent assessment of project costs; and skill and technology transfer to help long term running and maintenance of the assets created by local communities. Connectivity projects must be pursued in a manner that respects sovereignty and territorial integrity.<sup>15</sup>

New Delhi has in very clear and loud words expressed its suspicion about China's intentions and growing influence in the region. Most visible was its boycott of the May 2017 Belt and Road Forum hosted by China; Delhi views China's outreach and connectivity as "a set of tools to influence other countries' foreign policy,"<sup>16</sup> and feels that it would "grant China greater geopolitical influence and undue economic and diplomatic leverage over the policymaking decisions of India's neighbours in ways that disadvantage India."

There is no doubt that as a rising global power, Beijing exercises its smart power potentials to reach out to the world and has over the decades invested well in the markets of resource rich but smaller economies of

<sup>13</sup> Maria Abi-Habib, "How China got Sri Lanka to Cough up a port," *New York Times*, June 25, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/25/world/asia/china-sri-lanka-port.html>

<sup>14</sup> Sholto Byrnes, "The Example of Sri Lanka Handing over a Port to China Shows the Belt and Road Initiative was Never Meant to be Pure Altruism," *The National* (UAE), September 10, 2018, <https://www.thenational.ae/opinion/comment/the-example-of-sri-lanka-handing-over-a-port-to-china-shows-the-belt-and-road-initiative-was-never-meant-to-be-pure-altruism-1.768918>

<sup>15</sup> "Official Spokesperson's Response to a Query on Participation of India in OBOR/BRI Forum," *Indian Ministry of External Affairs*, May 13, 2017, <http://mea.gov.in/>.

<sup>16</sup> Darshana M. Baruah, "India's Answer to the Belt and Road: A Road Map for South Asia," *Carnegie India*, August 2018.

Latin America, Asia as well as Africa. In Africa alone, 39 countries are China's trading partner through the BRI.<sup>17</sup> However, most of these countries, despite their resource richness have either been ignored or extended conditional commercial linkages by the Western economic blocks, which have over the decades willingly pushed them towards a rising China. The West realising their mistake too late, and even after that, instead of offering viable alternatives, it campaigns vigorously against Beijing through engaging in an economic and commercial cold war. The West portrays the threat of Chinese colonialism as the worst case scenario, saying that, "(for) countries hoping to escape Western conditionality by embracing China, a rude awakening is coming, no matter how hard China's top diplomats are denying it: far from being the better choice, colonialism is back – but this time with Chinese characteristics."<sup>18</sup>

Despite all these misgivings, Beijing has been very steadfast in pursuing the BRI. Using the mantra of Asia for Asians,<sup>19</sup> China initially signed a series of bilateral infrastructure development projects with its partner countries, with BRI being discussed in order to garner sufficient support. It was by 2017 that Beijing started to sign partnerships exclusive to the BRI, of which the CPEC was one of the initial agreements. Through the Silk Route Fund, China Development Bank, and the Export-Import Bank, China's BRI agreements span the European Union; it includes the countries of South East Asia such as Thailand, Indonesia, Timor-Leste, South Korea, Myanmar; Central Asia; Middle East as well as African Union member states. The 2017 Forum according to China was a huge success, with 130 countries participating, of which 29 were represented by their heads of state.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, between years 2014-16 its investment in participating states has been around \$50 billion, which has generated trade exceeding \$3 trillion. Given China's capital surplus, global financial analysts predict that Beijing will invest up to \$4 trillion in connectivity financing,<sup>21</sup> which is not possible for any of the existing or emerging powers.

Distrustful of China's intent, perceiving it to be in quest for

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<sup>17</sup> Anthony Kleven, "Belt and Road: Colonialism with Chinese Characteristics," *The Interpreter*, May 06, 2019.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Steve Holland and James Pomfret, "Obama Cancels Asia Tour over Shutdown; Raises Questions on U.S. Pivot," *Reuters*, October 4, 2013.

<sup>20</sup> "Achievements of the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation, *Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation*," May 16, 2017, <http://www.beltandroadforum.org/n100/2017/0516/c24-422.html>.

<sup>21</sup> "Our Bulldozers, Our Rules," *Economist*, July 2, 2016. Also See, Jonathan E. Hillman, "China's Belt and Road Initiative: Five Years Later," *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, January 25, 2018, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/chinas-belt-and-road-initiative-five-years-later-0>



regional supremacy and using the BRI to unfold an alternate Asian security model, many leading powers of the world such as the United States, UK, France, Germany, Australia, and Japan abstained from committing to the initiative. For India, the prominent Western capitals' stance on BRI further provided credence to its anti-China rhetoric, despite Beijing's repeated offers to New Delhi. With the exception of Bhutan, all the South Asian states along with Afghanistan and Myanmar enthusiastically signed up agreements with China. This is indicative of two trends: first, the countries of South Asia want to break out of the tightly knit Indo-Centric security circle and second, they are eager to seek strong economic and development partners, even at the risk of being wedged in a power competition. It furthermore exposes New Delhi's limitations in proving its much touted image of a strategic balancer and economic anchor to the smaller neighbours, despite Indian Prime Minister Modi's Neighbourhood First<sup>22</sup> policy. This much touted neighbourhood outreach strategy of India has been highly selective and politicised, as it totally disregards India's largest regional neighbour to its West – Pakistan and seeks smaller neighbours' support primarily to counter its northern neighbour's (China) growing interests in the Indian Ocean Rim.

### **Slow death of SAARC**

All this leads to a widening gap within the region, where each state actor seeks viable alternatives and external security arrangements conditioned to their strategic needs. The sole regional platform SAARC is the biggest casualty of this impasse. Purpose-built to focus mainly on non-traditional concerns that affect the region than bilateral security problems, and despite making a halting progress in certain areas under its purview, SAARC has eventually and gradually been rendered ineffective. With a complete disregard to making the process work for collective benefit, member countries failed to invest in all capacity in the institution. As a result, SAARC's human development centres in key regional capitals have shut down, SAARC's Audio Visual Exchange (SAVE) program, as well as the region's Free Media Association SAFMA have either been terminated or are dying a slow death. The South Asian Federation (SAF) games, the singular and most unique biennial regional sports event as well as the South Asian University are also not invulnerable to the hostile state politics, and the limited space available for performance is also rapidly shrinking.

The idea of a regional mechanism was envisioned as early as the 1940s, at various fora including the Asian Relations Conference of 1947,

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<sup>22</sup> Aryaman Bhatnagar Ritika Passi, "Neighbourhood First: Navigating Ties under Modi," *Observer Research Fund and Global Policy Journal*, March 31, 2016, <http://www.orfonline.org/research/neighbourhood-first-navigating-ties-under-modi/>

and eventually the end of 1970s brought about a greater push from smaller states of South Asia for the creation of a trade bloc. President Zia ur Rehman of Bangladesh, set forth the initiative for a common regional platform that would help bridge the mutual distrust, and promote understanding and amity between the member states, thus eventually leading to regional cooperation and growth. Endorsed and strongly supported by the regional neighbours minus India and Pakistan, it was not before December 1985 that the Association officially materialised. India considered this as a move by smaller neighbours to create a grouping against India and settle their grievances against India through a strong regional grouping. Whereas for Pakistan, the fear was that SAARC might become an India-dominated platform to be used against the former, a concern which unfortunately proved true more than two decades later.

Cognizant of the regional security parameters, where on one hand SAARC stressed upon mutual cooperation, sovereign equality, non-aggression, non-interference/non-intervention, collective growth, progress, and self-reliance, it specifically laid out the exclusion of bilateral as well as contentious issues from the deliberations.<sup>23</sup> This was done to pre-empt any disruption in the process and make SAARC a truly representative regional body aimed towards the growth and development of the people and states of South Asia. However, the November 2016 boycott by India of the SAARC summit in Pakistan, and its successful manoeuvring of other regional states to join the boycott drove a virtual last nail in the coffin of an efficient South Asian regional bloc. Although not an unprecedented move, as in SAARC's thirty four years history there have been only eighteen SAARC (annual) summits, yet this time the process appears worse affected due to many reasons.

One proposal to revive the process was to adopt *SAARC minus one* formula,<sup>24</sup> by excluding or bypassing Pakistan. A notion that gathered sufficient support from India, which has already been working since the past two decades to build parallel initiatives, such as the 1997 Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC)<sup>25</sup> to exclude Pakistan from any collective or cooperative security mechanism. Being the pivotal state in the region, India never fully owned the SAARC process, as the Association was based on unanimity and equality, which did not accord New Delhi or any other member a superior

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<sup>23</sup> "General Provisions Article 10.2," *Charter of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation*, December 08, 1985.

<sup>24</sup> Manjari Chatterjee Miller and Bharath Gopaldaswamy, "SAARC Is Dead; Long Live SAARC," *The Diplomat*, November 05, 2016, <https://thediplomat.com/2016/11/saarc-is-dead-long-live-saarc/>

<sup>25</sup> The BIMSTEC stands for Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation and was founded in Dhaka and comprises of India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, and Thailand as its members.

status, making Indian policy makers such as Yashwant Sinha dismissing it as a “complete failure”.<sup>26</sup> Could the process be revived with the exclusion of Pakistan? Ironically no - as India is one country that not only has problems with Pakistan which it has used as a legitimate front to sabotage the sole regional organisation, it equally nurtures deep distrust with Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. This is much evident from the fact that even with regards to performance, SAARC could make only modest progress in specific sectors. Despite the SAFTA and other trade initiatives, intra-SAARC trade remains at a low five per cent of their cumulative global trade, and still at around \$50-billion mark,<sup>27</sup> which leaves much to be desired.

The compounding effect to SAARC’s slow death has been the lack of ownership and commitment to the process by the member states led mainly by India, and their gradual reaching out and subscribing to other regional bodies. Parallel to the boycotting of the 2017 summit, the concept of Greater South Asia<sup>28</sup> emerged, which has India’s Act East policy, of which the BIMSTEC is the necessary first step towards ASEAN engagement. Whereas, Pakistan with the need of better economic and regional anchors, appears to favour and support China led processes such as the China-South Asia Cooperation Forum (CSACF),<sup>29</sup> a part of the BRI. What India doesn’t realise is that by killing SAARC, it has ended up exposing South Asia to the unfolding US led pan-Eurasian cold war against China and Russia.<sup>30</sup> New Delhi, in its blind pursuit for a great power status quest, employs anti-Pakistan and anti-China stance as its best strategy to align with the Western powers; the alignment evident through the Indo-Pacific outlook, the increasing imprint of the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) and the purely counter-China security arrangement QUAD comprising US, Australia, Japan and India. However, amidst all these, India remain oblivious to the possibility of ending up as a pawn in enabling a new *Arc of Crisis* envisioned in the 1970s by Brzezinski.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Miller and Gopalaswamy, “SAARC Is Dead; Long Live SAARC.”

<sup>27</sup> N. Sathiya Moorthy, “SAARC in Coma, China Throws another Challenging Regional Initiative,” *Observer Research Fund*, July 10, 2018, <https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/saarc-in-coma-china-throws-another-challenging-regional-initiative/>

<sup>28</sup> Andrew Korybko, “The Death of SAARC Gave Birth to “Greater South Asia,” *Geopolitica*, November 07, 2016, <https://www.geopolitica.ru/en/article/death-saarc-gave-birth-greater-south-asia>.

<sup>29</sup> Moorthy, “SAARC in Coma, China Throws Another Challenging Regional Initiative.”

<sup>30</sup> Andrew Korybko, “India Just Split Up SAARC and Brought The New Cold War to South Asia,” *Geopolitica*, September 29, 2016, <https://www.geopolitica.ru/en/article/india-just-split-saarc-and-brought-new-cold-war-south-asia>.

<sup>31</sup> Andrew Korybko, “The Death of SAARC.”

## **Rising Disconnect Over Seven Decades**

In the initial decade and a half after independence, the political elites in both states attempted to carve a distinct national identity while the trauma of partition and separation was fresh in the minds of Pakistani and Indian citizens – ironically during this period, there was more tolerance and far better physical connectivity between the two countries. With time, the leadership across the borders built restrictive regimes to bar citizens' access as the real and perceived conflict became deeper and wider. This intentional alienation has been institutionalised through (as mentioned earlier) restrictive visa regimes, mirror imaging consular behaviour and treatment, shrinking physical connectivity, discouraging people to people contact, denial of space for joint research ventures, conference opportunities as well as exchange programs -- to the extent that school children on such ventures have been denied entry or turned back without any plausible reason.<sup>32</sup> Medical treatment which forms a critical part of multi-track diplomacy has also been politicised and made conditional. Handling of stranded people is also subject to political whims and sentiments.

There is a barring of media channels and entertainment as well as sports activities, with news channels becoming a shoddy mouthpiece of governmental rhetoric; above all there is very little intra-regional trade. Even the Track-II ventures as well as non-governmental spaces are being used to hurl accusations or parrot governmental hard lines. As these multi-track channels of parallel connectivity (the critical software) are transforming for the worse or get hijacked by interest groups, there would be an ever increasing alienation and disconnect between the regional actors.

If we look at the tools of connectivity and infrastructure in terms of soft and hard ware, firstly the region's ever growing population requires a constant supplement to cater to their basic needs, and secondly there is also the urgent necessity to build physical infrastructures as well as virtual capacity within and across the region. The lack of intra-regional linkages is not so much because of insufficient resources or absence of infrastructure, but more a result of inter-state rivalries and political inertia. If the citizens need to travel within the region, the biggest impediment is a country specific visa regime. With the exception of Nepal and a select privileged lot that holds a gratis or SAARC visa, the majority of people undergo an exhaustive process, which is subject to the concerned countries' bilateral relations. Nothing could be more pronounced than the mirror imaging consular behaviour between India and Pakistan, with Bangladesh

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<sup>32</sup> Abhishek Bhalla, "Why India Rejected over 17,000 visa applications from Pakistan," *India Today*, June 17, 2016, <https://www.indiatoday.in/mail-today/story/india-pakistan-visa-applications-rejected-14646-2016-06-17>

becoming equally hostile.

The second and most troubling aspect is the lack of direct air links to the regional capitals. As the political conditions within the region have deteriorated, so have the means of direct connections. Either countries do not allow their flag carriers to travel to neighbours (Air India ceasing its operations to Pakistan since 2008), or one has to travel outside the region to an extra regional hub in order to access a regional neighbour. Although the entire region (with the exception of Island states of Sri Lanka and Maldives) are connected with each other through roads and highway networks, but again due to the overarching security concerns and acute trust deficit, movement of citizens is highly restricted, which has adversely affected the growth of the region as well as the collective lives of South Asian citizens. From the British legacy of Azad border<sup>33</sup> between Pakistan and Afghanistan to the closure of consulates,<sup>34</sup> relations between neighbouring states are worsening. What needs to be done is to cultivate diplomacy at multiple levels in order to facilitate citizens who are worse affected and conditioned against one another by legacy of decades' long conflict. People-friendly visa regimes, especially for medical and study purposes, are a necessary first step towards creating this critical space. Pakistan has the capacity and the necessary expertise to assist Kabul in road-rails infrastructure development, as well as construction and infrastructural growth. Such projects can help generate blue-collared jobs within Afghanistan, which can pay enormous dividends.

Till a decade and a half ago, citizens travelling within the region could not avail banking facilities, and to date, cellular connections remain blocked. There is a bar even on entertainment channels or popular cinema. There are several justifications offered, including public pressure, loss of revenue, acrimonious political conditions, distrust, security and terrorism concerns, as well as maintaining the British divide and rule legacy. New Delhi ideally likes to maintain its supremacy throughout the region on any matter big or small, but it also upholds its traditional policy of hegemony and bilateral exclusivism, and hence does not tolerate other state actors to claim even the slightest of space available. Evident from barring of Pakistani media channels within India and Afghanistan, and in a later

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<sup>33</sup> The Pak-Afghan border was demarcated in 1893 through an agreement between the Afghan ruler Amir Abdul Rehman Khan and then Colonial British government representative Mortimer Durand and came to be popularly known as the *Durand line*. The 2,590 km border stretch is highly porous and owing to common tribes residing on both sides of the border, in certain declared areas, provision was given for people from listed tribes to move freely on specified permits, hence the notion of Azad border.

<sup>34</sup> "Pakistan Consulate in Afghanistan closed after Woman Tried to Sneak in with Grenade," *Pakistan Today*, August 25, 2019; "Kabul closes its Peshawar Consulate to Protest Flag Removal," *Dawn*, October 12, 2019.

move disallowing Pakistani entertainers to perform in India, the space for public diplomacy and engagement has been drastically reduced. Sports - the biggest bridge builder and conflict transformer - is yet another casualty of the political bitterness and parochial thought.

### **Viability of Multi-track Channels**

As mentioned earlier, New Delhi in pursuit of its traditional mind-set, seeks an exclusive and central position in all bilateral and regional affairs without the critical realisation that being the most prominent member of the region, its position, status, and value can never be disregarded or denied. At the bilateral level, where external actors' engagement with regional neighbours is viewed with suspicion and distrust, even bilateral links between regional neighbours are not encouraged. Likewise, regional ventures of any kind have also been relatively short lived, either due to lack of funding opportunities or characteristic political dysfunctionism. There have been excellent regional networks such as the Colombo based Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, (RCSS), that has progressively focused on both traditional as well as non-traditional security concerns since 1990s, providing a platform for the South Asian researchers, young and old, to deliberate and develop a common narrative.

Likewise, Delhi based Women in Security and Conflict Management and Peace (WISCOMP) has been instrumental in bringing together young South Asian thought leaders on a conflict transformation journey. The youngest of these regional initiatives, Consortium of South Asian Think Tanks Association (COSATT), in its decade long journey provides South Asian research and academic bodies a common platform to work together on areas of regional concern and security, making a conscious attempt to reinforce SAARC's vision. However, most of these entities are reliant on foreign funding for their smooth and sustainable functioning. As the region's security narrative becomes murkier and complex and domestic institutions hold a septic view of external interests, there is lesser to overcome absence of interest or reduction in funding opportunities. These institutions have been most critical and beneficial in bringing up a generation of South Asian thought leaders who can be and are the key critical mass in regional connectivity and bridge building.

### **Rise of Ultra-Nationalism in India**

There was a time when despite worse situations, India and Pakistan would continue to talk, whether through open or closed channels or through the intervention of a third party, usually the US as a crisis diffuser. But in the current scenario, owing to the thickening wave of ultra-nationalism in India, craftily orchestrated false flag operations such as the Balakot incident of February 2019 and resulting air strikes have

drastically changed the dynamics of bilateral relations between the two neighbours. Further, India's anti-Muslim migration policies have endangered the lives of Muslim citizens of the once Secular India.

The rising tide of Hindu nationalist fervour in India has put Muslims of different ethnic origins at the risk of being targeted by Hindu zealots. This will have drastic consequences for neighbouring states such as Bangladesh – possibly resulting in bilateral confrontation, internal destabilisation of neighbours, and adverse impacts on Muslim diaspora working in the Arab capitals. Amidst these turbulent currents of acrimony, distrust, ultra-nationalism and rising religious orthodoxy, initiatives such as the Kartarpur corridor facilitated by the Institute of Multi-track Diplomacy and financial help by the Sikh diaspora as well as resident community are a beacon of hope and faith that all is not lost.<sup>35</sup>

## Conclusion

In conclusion, South Asia by no means is devoid of talent, opportunities and infrastructure to connect and act as a cohesive force. What is lacking is a collective contribution at all levels to make the region progress and grow. With cross currents of hyper-nationalism, hate mongering, parochial and interest group politics that are also reflective at the global level, the region will keep on losing its strategic space. At best progress would be made by one odd country, but at the cost of its disadvantaged, smaller neighbours. The South Asian states behave like a bunch of individual actors pursuing individual interests in isolation.

The region is blessed with immense natural and man-made resources, which provide it with commonalities as well as diversity. It is up to the South Asian citizen whether to harness these endowments as a dividing factor or synergise them as a bridge builder. The time is for concrete action towards collective growth, development and peace, rather than indulging in totally disconnected confidence building measures or a plethora of heavy inconsequential talks. If the virtual doors are kept padlocked and not opened from within, how can we expect external actors to engage at our terms? The success of SAARC as well as an integrated South Asian region can only be possible if the states in the region connect and learn to grow together. Let us aim and build a shared vision for the region, which is our common heritage and singular homeland.

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<sup>35</sup> Eddie Walsh, "Bridging the Sikh Divide," *The Diplomat*, August 23, 2011, <https://thediplomat.com/2011/08/bridging-the-sikh-divide/>

## REVISITING THE NATURE OF IRANIAN THREAT TO SAUDI ARABIA

Muhammad Umar Abbasi\* & Dr. Afsah Qazi\*\*

### Abstract

*The Saudi-Iran rivalry - much debated in International Relations and Security Studies discourses – is interestingly one where the state with superior material capabilities i.e. Saudi Arabia perceives a greater threat from the one falling lower on this scale i.e. Iran, rather than vice versa. Taking lead from the Balance of Threat theory, it has been assumed that the Iranian pro-revolution ideals are perceived as a threat by the Saudi regime. Methodologically, this study empirically evaluates the material power differential between Iran and Saudi Arabia, showing that a mere Balance of Power logic fails to explain the Saudi threat perception vis-à-vis Iran. Instead, the Saudi regime's construction of this threat is driven by a mix of societal-level insecurity and the weak state-society relationship within Saudi Arabia – offering Iranian asymmetric power a fifth column to be exploited for destabilizing the Saudi polity. To tackle the threat, Saudi Arabia needs to provide its masses basic freedoms to revamp its state-society equation; an ad-hoc carrot and stick approach is not a long-term remedy in the given case.*

**Keywords:** Saudi-Iran Rivalry, Balance of Power dynamics, Threat Perception, State-Society Relationship

### Introduction

The rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran has been the subject of much debate and research, and continues to be significant in the backdrop of instability in the Middle East. The rivalry is often traced back to the Iranian revolution of 1979, but in fact, its roots are identifiable in the ancient antagonism between the Arab and Persian civilizations. Both distinct civilizations have always felt insecure from each other and have

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\* Lecturer, Department of International Relations, National Defense University, Islamabad. Email: umarabbasi@ndu.edu.pk

\*\* Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, National Defense University, Islamabad. Email: afsahqazi@ndu.edu.pk



tried to overcome the other's threat. The trend has continued till date and much like the earlier era, 'balance of power' is believed to be the most common and relevant explanation of this Saudi-Iranian tussle. In the regional context, for instance, the proponents of Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT) have explained the Saudi-Iran relationship using the following argument: "the formation of regional security complex (RSC) derives from anarchical structure within which states-under the patterns of amity and enmity-engage in balance of power dynamics."<sup>1</sup>

In line with this understanding given by RSCT, it is inferred that the Saudi-Iran relationship in the Persian Gulf region can be explained through power dynamics in which each state strives to balance the power of the other. Although the concept of 'patterns of amity and enmity' given by RSCT calls for studying threat perceptions, at the core, it is the differential in relative power capabilities that shapes these very threat perceptions. As per the dominant view, this essentially means that both rivals, i.e. Saudi Arabia and Iran have constructed an image of the other on the basis of measurement of relative power capabilities. Also this implies that the threat that Saudi Arabia perceives Iran to be posing is rooted in the rise in Iran's material strength.

The very fact that much of Saudi diplomacy (both in the region and outside it) aims at countering the Iranian threat, makes the nature of this threat important to be understood. It needs to be established whether the threat is caused by relative power/balance of power considerations or are there reasons other than Iran's material strength that make Saudi Arabia vulnerable to it; only then appropriate remedies can be proposed/enacted and the existing ones be revisited. This research contribution aims to revisit the balance of power explanation of the Saudi-Iran rivalry in an effort to explain if the power build-up dynamics truly explain the threat calculus of the former vis-à-vis the latter.

Conceptually, it has been assumed that a state's strength lies in its national cohesion. The nature of domestic level patterns of security relationship between the state and society informs the extent of this cohesion/ national strength. Closed political systems with no power-sharing between the state and society are vulnerable to exploitation by enemies. The resultant domestic fault lines offer space to the external elements for propagating their interests.

The pattern of security relationship between Saudi monarchy and its society has been based upon unquestioned loyalty to state for material benefits with no share of the masses in the political process. The Saud monarchy, therefore, has always remained sensitive to any regional alternative governmental model, which might attract Saudi domestic society. In this context, the Iranian regime's rhetoric of transporting

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<sup>1</sup> Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver, *Regions and Power: The Structure of International Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 45.

ideologically flavored revolution has remained a cause of great concern for the Saudi regime. This perceived vulnerability has been augmented by the wave of Arab Spring (2010-11). Within Arab societies the uprisings for political change have been triggered due to weak socio-economic conditions of the masses. Although the Saudi regime has managed to contain the domestic impacts of Arab Spring through utilizing its financial leverage, still, in the absence of resetting of political and security relationship with its society, it perceives Iranian threat as inevitable.

The article has been organized into three main sections. The first section establishes and defines a yardstick for measuring the relative power capabilities of states. A standard set of criteria has been chosen after evaluating the methodologies of previous researches by experts in the field, since different scholars have referred to different elements of power for gauging the power capabilities of states. In the next section, the standard criteria chosen have been employed to empirically measure and compare the power capabilities of Iran and Saudi Arabia. Based on this comparison, the last section analyzes the real nature of Iranian threat to Saudi Arab i.e. whether the above comparison reinforces the assertions of the balance of power dynamics at play between the two, or is the Saudi regime responsible for the construction of threat in the absence of an actual threat (posed by Iran's limited power capabilities vis-à-vis Saudi Arabia). This research argues that the real threat does not emanate from differential in power capabilities. The threat rather lies within Saudi Arabia's socio-economic and political system, which the Iranian regime is capable of exploiting through deploying asymmetric power via dissatisfied elements. These dissatisfied elements exist because the traditional pattern of security relationship between the regime and the masses no longer guarantees security of Saudi regime. The Saudi monarchy needs to remodel its relationship with its society by ensuring and sustaining security of the masses, which in turn requires the provision of socio-economic freedoms and a share in political power.

### **Measuring States' Power**

Measuring power capabilities of states has always remained a matter of great interest for academics belonging to International Relations, Political Science and related fields. During the Cold War, a Balance of Power lens was predominantly utilized by scholars for studying almost all spheres of Great Power dynamics in all places. Different writers at various times have found specific indicators for measuring power capabilities of the states. For this piece of research four models have been studied, briefly described in the following lines.

The first significant yardstick for measuring power capabilities was determined by Clifford German. He included territory, workforce, resources, military personnel and possession of nuclear weapons as

measures of national power of state.<sup>2</sup> Since German's model was simplistic, therefore, it was further advanced by David Singer. According to his estimate of power capabilities, the sum of the measures of total population, urban population, steel production, fuel/coal production, military budget and military production<sup>3</sup> constitute power of the state, which can then be compared with other states for determining relative strength.

Another model of measuring elements of national power was given by Ray Clive. It was in fact an improvement over Singer's model as it also included qualitative measures of power along with quantitative ones. He concluded that power of a state is determined through multiplying sum of critical mass, economic prowess and military strength with the sum of strategic purpose and national will. In this model, however, determination of strategic purpose and national will is tediously difficult.

The Chinese strategic scholars have also calculated formulas for measuring power of states. For instance, Chin-Lung Chang has calculated aggregate power of states by adding critical mass, economic strength and military strength and then multiplying the sum by 1/3. He calculated critical mass by adding two demographic elements of power i.e. population and area in the following formula:

$$\text{Critical Mass} = \frac{\text{Population}}{\text{World Population}} \times 100 + \frac{\text{Area}}{\text{World Area}} \times 100$$

Although in terms of quantitative analysis this measurement is easy as it ignores qualitative measures, still, the formula misses other important elements of national power like strategic fuel production, qualitative value of population and strategic significance of an area etc.

Based on these models of measuring state power it has been inferred that three variables stand significant for measuring power capabilities of states i.e. Military capabilities, Economic capabilities, and Population strength. Since the aim of this research is to compare the powers capabilities of Saudi Arabia and Iran without delving into discovering a new model for measuring power, therefore, the scope of the current comparison limits itself to these three selected measures. In addition, however, the measure of asymmetric power capability has also been utilized as it serves as a significant tool for understanding Iranian power in the region. The selected measures have been quantified by determining their respective variables and indicators for appropriate empirical analysis.

<sup>2</sup> F. Clifford German, "A Tentative Evaluation of World Power," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 4, (1960): 138-144.

<sup>3</sup> J. David Singer and Melvin Small, *The Wages of War, 1816-1965: A Statistical Handbook* (New York: John Wiley, 1972)

## **Power Capabilities of Iran and Saudi Arabia: A Comparative Analysis**

This section compares the power capabilities of both Iran and Saudi Arabia in line with the variables identified above, measuring these through the indicators utilized below.

### **Military Capabilities**

The military capabilities of Iran and Saudi Arabia have been measured using three indicators including military strength in terms of military personnel, military equipment, and military expenditure. Iran outclasses Saudi Arabia in terms of military personnel as it has a strength of 9,34,000 compared to Saudi Arabia which has 2,56,000 military personnel<sup>4</sup>. Saudi Arabia's armed forces are much better equipped than Iran's (the Saudi military budget is roughly eight times that of Tehran), the Islamic Republic compensates by possessing a much larger force in terms of manpower.<sup>5</sup> The military expenditures of the two states have been measured using three aspects: military expenditures from the period 2011-2017, military expenditure as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for the same period, comparison of percentage of global arms imports between 2008-12 and 2013-17, and comparative defence budgets.

The Iranian military expenditure from the period 2011-17 shows neither significant rise nor decline. From Fig.1, as shown below, it is evident that its military expenditure hovered between \$12.6 billion in 2011 to \$14 billion in 2017.<sup>6</sup> However, from 2013 to 2015, the expenditure was curtailed to \$10 billion (approx.).<sup>7</sup> The rise in military expenditure from 2016 onwards is due to the relaxation of international sanctions following the conclusion of Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA). In terms of percentage of GDP, the Iranian military expenditure remained within 2 to 3 percent with the exception of 3.1 percent in the year 2017.<sup>8</sup>

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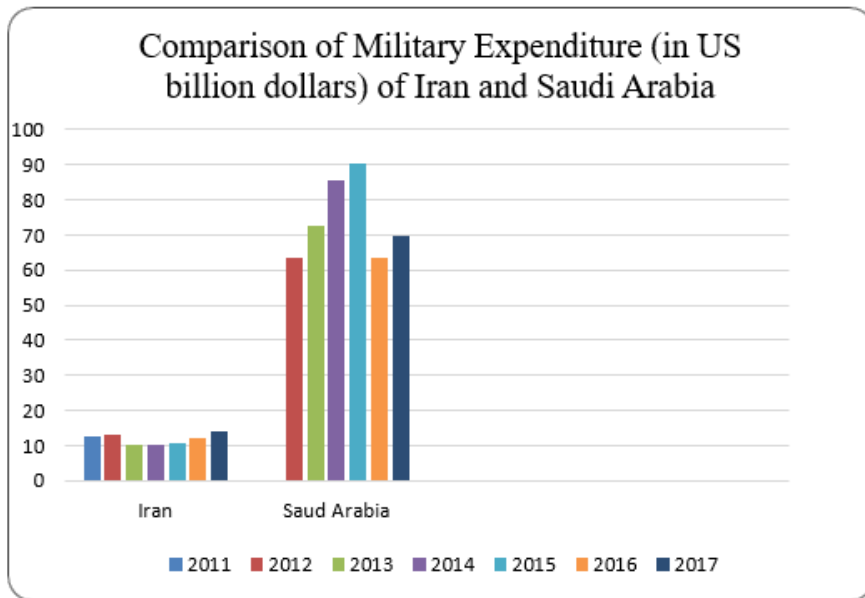
<sup>4</sup> Global Firepower Index 2018, [https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country\\_id=saudi-arabia](https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=saudi-arabia) & Iran.

<sup>5</sup> Justin McCauley, "The Asymmetry of Asymmetry in the Saudi-Iranian Rivalry," *Gulf State Analytics*, March 11, 2016, <http://www.ifimes.org/en/9151>

<sup>6</sup> "SIPRI Military Expenditure Database - Data for all Countries 1988-1997," SIPRI 2018, [https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/1\\_Data%20for%20all%20countries%20from%201988%E2%80%932017%20in%20constant%20%282016%29%20USD.pdf](https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/1_Data%20for%20all%20countries%20from%201988%E2%80%932017%20in%20constant%20%282016%29%20USD.pdf)

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> "SIPRI Military Expenditure Database - Data for all Countries as Percentage of Gross Domestic Product 2003-2017," SIPRI 2018, <https://www.sipri.org>

**Fig 1: Military Expenditure of Iran and Saudi Arabia**

Source: Compiled by authors<sup>9</sup>

In contrast, Saudi Arabia's military expenditure has shown not only a huge increase, but has remained exceptionally high in comparison to Iran. Fig. 1 is a testimony to the fact that Saudi military expenditure began rising from \$55 billion in 2011 and reached its climax at \$90.2 billion in 2015.<sup>10</sup> Although it showed significant decline in 2016 and 2017 (\$63 billion and \$69 billion respectively), still, it has remained high in comparison to Iran.<sup>11</sup> In terms of percentage of GDP, the Saudi Military expenditure is way ahead of Iran. From 2011 to 2015 Saudi military expenditure as percentage of GDP has risen from 7.2 to 13.5 percent.<sup>12</sup> It then began to decline in 2016 when it was at 9.9 percent and in 2017 it was 10.3 percent.<sup>13</sup> In 2017, Saudi Arabia became the third largest military spender of the world with spending 10 percent of its GDP on military build-up.<sup>14</sup> Its military spending increased by 74 percent between 2008

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> "SIPRI - Data for all Countries 1988-1997," SIPRI 2018.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

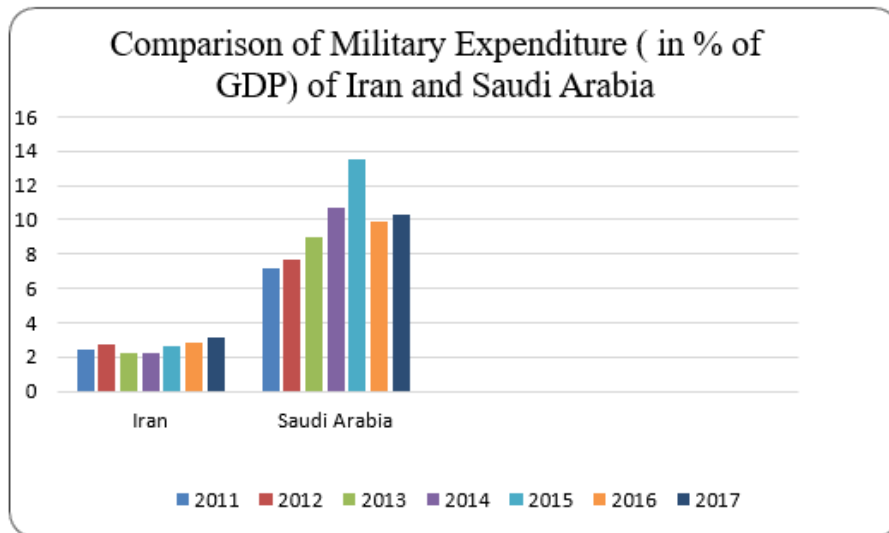
<sup>12</sup> "SIPRI, Data for all Countries as Percentage of Gross Domestic Product, 2003-2017," <http://visuals.sipri.org/>

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

and 2015 and reached \$90 billion. Military expenditure fell by 29 percent in 2016 but again rose by 9.2 percent in 2017.<sup>15</sup>

**Fig 2: Military Expenditure as Percentage of GDP of Iran and Saudi Arabia**



Source: Compiled by authors<sup>16</sup>

Another indicator used for measuring military strength is the comparative percentage of global share of arms imports between the period 2008-12 and 2013-17. During the first period Saudi Arabia imported 3.4 percent of the global arms.<sup>17</sup> However, from 2013-17 its share of global arms imports reached to 10 percent, which is an increase of 225 percent.<sup>18</sup> During this period 31 percent of the total arms imports to the Middle East went to Saudi Arabia, whereas Iranian share has just been 1 percent.<sup>19</sup> Saudi Arabia was the world's largest arms importer from 2013-17.<sup>20</sup> It imported highly expensive offensive arms during 2013-17 including 78 combat aircrafts, 72 combat helicopters, 328 tanks and 4000 armored vehicles.<sup>21</sup> The defence expenditure for the year 2018 also shows a significant difference between Saudi and Iranian military expenditures.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.sipri.org/>

<sup>17</sup> "Global Share of Arms Imports," Fact Sheet SIPRI, file:///E:/21%20Jan,%202019/fssipri\_at2017\_0.pdf.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

Saudi defence budget for the year 2018 has been \$56 billion as compared to \$6.3 billion for Iran.<sup>22</sup>

So far as quality and effectiveness of military equipment is concerned, Iran lags behind Saudi Arabia or any of its competitors in the region. Its military lacks supporting equipment for invasion and subjugation of its neighbours. It is evident in its insufficient airpower and logistical capability to assert force outside its borders because it has ageing armor, artillery, aircraft, and major combat ships, and the ground forces have limited training and expertise for large-scale encounters.<sup>23</sup> It has been reported that out of its 300 combat aircraft, almost half have insufficient capability because of their extremely long range.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, Iran possesses remarkable asymmetric naval-air-assault force capability vis-à-vis Gulf States.<sup>25</sup> These capabilities include:

Several hundred small maritime patrol crafts armed with multiple rocket launchers, torpedoes, heavy machine guns, or in some cases guided missiles. In addition, Iran has a number of coastal-defense cruise missiles, some eighty-three armed and attack helicopters, three Kilo-class submarines, and an estimated force of 2,000 to 3,000 naval mines.<sup>26</sup>

The Saudi military equipment in qualitative and quantitative terms is highly offensive in nature. Its US-made arsenal comprises of highly sophisticated military equipment including F-15SA fighter/attack aircraft, Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missiles (AMRAAM), Joint Direct Attack Munitions (JDAM) and APACHE attack helicopters, which bolster its military strength against Iran.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Global Firepower Index 2018, [https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country\\_id=saudi-arabia&Iran](https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=saudi-arabia&Iran).

<sup>23</sup> Steven Pifer et al., *U.S. Nuclear and Extended Deterrence: Considerations and Challenges - Arms Control Series Paper 3* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, May 2010), 38; International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), *The Military Balance* 111, no. 1 (2011): 296, 298.

<sup>24</sup> Anthony H. Cordesman, "The Conventional Military," in *The Iran Primer: Power, Politics, and U.S. Policy*, ed., Robin Wright (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, December 2010).

<sup>25</sup> Anthony H. Cordesman, "The Saudi Arms Sale: Reinforcing a Strategic Partnership in the Gulf," *Center for Strategic & International Studies*, November 3, 2010.

<sup>26</sup> Alexander Wilner and Anthony H. Cordesman, "Iran and the Gulf Military Balance," *Center for Strategic & International Studies*, December 1, 2011, 32.

<sup>27</sup> Daniel K. Rosenfield, "Countering Iran with Arms Sales to the Gulf Cooperation Council States," *Institute for Defense Analyses*, 2012, 13.

Similarly, United Kingdom (UK) based Storm Shadow air-launched cruise missiles add to its air power capability of offensive attack.<sup>28</sup> In a clear cut edge vis-à-vis Iran, laser- and global positioning system (GPS)-guided bombs allow for precision attacks on Iran's life-line import and export facilities in the Gulf. In defensive terms Saudi Arabia has more powerful counter-air and counter-air-defense systems.<sup>29</sup> The presence of offensive weapons enhances Saudi Arabian capacity to control escalation. For instance, with the help of Storm Shadow air-launched cruise missiles, Saudi Arabia could attack Iran's important economic facilities in the Gulf without sending air crafts for direct battle against Iranian air force. The offensive weapons would help Saudi Arabia in minimizing risk of further escalation. For example, air-launched cruise missiles and tactical ballistic missiles (ATACMS) increase its risk reduction capacity.<sup>30</sup>

The above mentioned disproportionate offensive power capabilities of Saudi Arabia have been supplemented by the physical presence of US military bases. The US physical presence encircles Iran and leaves negligible chances of Iranian offensive adventurism against any of its allies, especially Saudi Arabia. It has been said that,

Many U.S. forces deployed to the region are supported by bases that are in close proximity to Iran. In addition to the port facilities in Manama, U.S. Navy ships frequent ports at Jebel Ali near Dubai in the United Arab Emirates. USCENTAF operates from a number of locations in the region, including al Udeid Air Base, Qatar, and al Dhafra Air Base in the United Arab Emirates. Al Udeid hosts the USCENTAF's CAOC, a critical command and control node for U.S. air and space operations throughout Central Command.<sup>31</sup>

## Economic Capabilities

Determining economic strength of a state is not a simple and straight forward task as numerous macro and micro economic variables are suggested to determine economic capabilities. For simplicity, and by considering the nature of Iranian and Saudi Arabian economic systems, three variables have been selected for comparing economic strengths of Iran and Saudi Arabia. Economic growth, quantity of capital for import-

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<sup>28</sup> Jeffrey Lewis, "Storm Shadow, Saudi & the MTCR," *Arms Control Wonk*, May 31, 2011, <http://lewis.armscontrolwonk.com/archive/4051/saudi-arabia-storm-shadow-the-mtcr>

<sup>29</sup> Daniel K. Rosenfield, "Countering Iran with Arms Sales," 15.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 23.

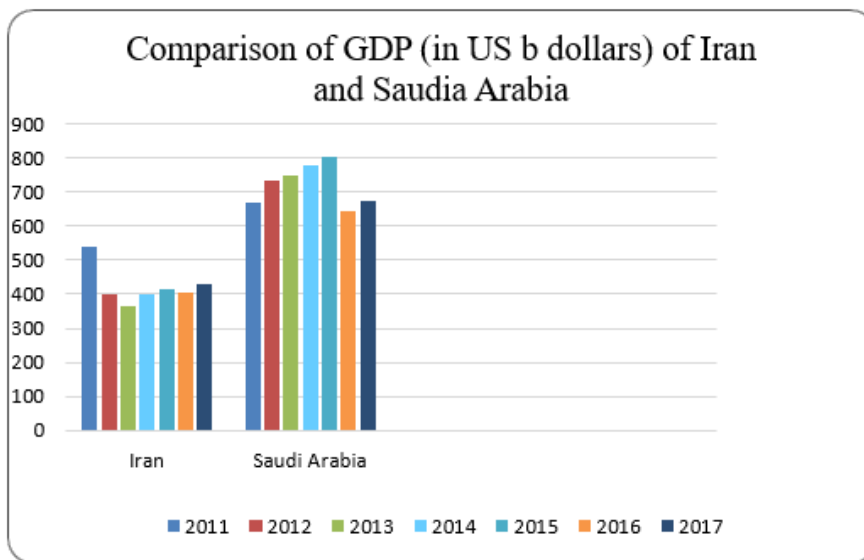
<sup>31</sup> Mark Gunzinger and Chris Dougherty, "Outside-In: Operating from Range to Defeat Iran's Anti-Access and Area-Denial Threats," *Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments CSBA*, 2011, [https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/154637/CSBA\\_SWA\\_FNL-WEB.pdf](https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/154637/CSBA_SWA_FNL-WEB.pdf)



export and natural resources of oil have been measured through values of indicators including Gross Domestic Product (GDP), economic growth rates, foreign exchange reserves, presence of oil reserves and oil production and consumption capacity.

The GDP of Saudi Arabia from the period 2011-17 has been phenomenally higher than Iran. Its GDP was \$669 billion in 2011 and kept on increasing till it reached \$805 billion in the year 2015.<sup>32</sup> Then it started declining, still, its value was significant at \$674 billion in 2017.<sup>33</sup> The values of GDP have been quite impressive during the said period; however, the growth rate in Saudi economy has shown inconsistency. Fig. 4 clearly shows significant variations from 2011 to 2017. In 2011 the growth rate was 10 percent, but it fell sharply in the following years. The growth rate values from 2012 to 2014 have been 5.4, 2.7 and 3.6 percent respectively.<sup>34</sup> It increased to 4.1 percent in 2015, but again dropped to 1.6 percent in 2016 and in the year 2017 it went to a negative value of -0.86.<sup>35</sup>

**Fig 3: GDP of Iran and Saudi Arabia**



Source: Compiled by the authors<sup>36</sup>

In comparison, Iranian economic growth levels in terms of GDP and its growth rate has been significantly low during the same period.

<sup>32</sup> World Bank National Account Data, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?end=2017&start=2007>.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

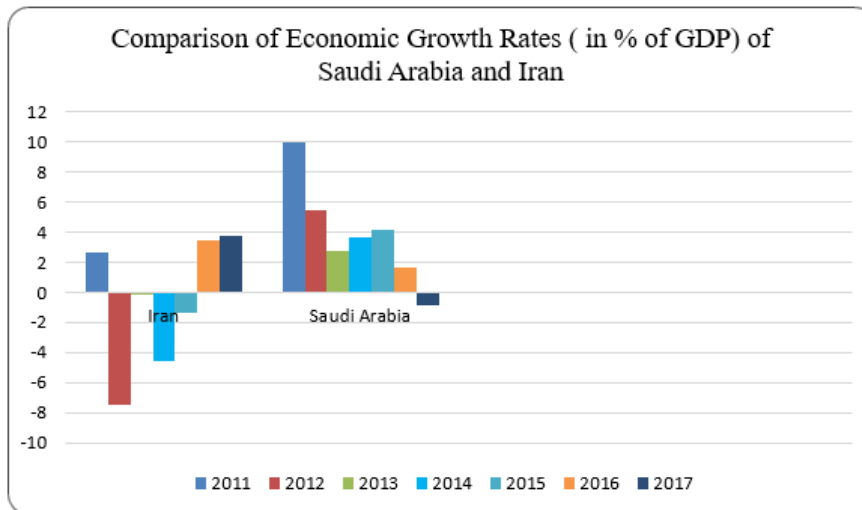
<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

Iran's GDP in 2011 was \$541 billion. It fell down to \$367 billion in 2013, after which it gradually grew from \$402 billion to \$428 billion in 2017.<sup>37</sup> The growth rate of Iran was 2.65 percent in 2011 but in the following years it remained in negative figures till 2015. In the next two years it grew and reached 3.76 percent in 2017.<sup>38</sup>

**Fig 4: Economic Growth Rates of Iran and Saudi Arabia**



Source: Compiled by the authors<sup>39</sup>

The fundamental reason for slow growth in the Iranian sector is the imposition of strict sanctions by the western world against alleged Iranian nuclear weapons programme. Since 2006, Iranian economy was under multilateral sanctions imposed by the United Nations (UN), the US and by the European Union (EU). Given the fact that oil prices were very high, Iran managed to undo the serious effects of these sanctions. However, the decline in oil prices from 2011 began to take high toll on the Iranian economy. Since then the rate of inflation, unemployment as well as oil production capacity and foreign direct investment have shown negative trends.

Unemployment rate since 2012 has risen from about 15 to 20 percent.<sup>40</sup> The rate of inflation also reached 23.9 percent in

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> "World Economic Outlook," *International Monetary Fund* September 2011, 198-203, <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2011/02/pdf/text.pdf>

2012<sup>41</sup>. Moreover, western investment was curtailed and the GDP rate also began to decline. Drop in oil prices reduced GDP rates, which resultantly impacted oil production capacity. It fell to 3.16 mb/d in 2012.<sup>42</sup> The western sponsored sanctions made conditions tough for oil payments. Iranian regime had to adopt barter system for export of its oil.<sup>43</sup> Weak economy did not allow Iran to develop its oil fields and hence, production capacity remained significantly low.<sup>44</sup>

The implementation of Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) provided breathing space to Iranian economy; still, the accumulative effects of the sanctions require a long time to recover. And the possibility of re-sanctioning Iranian economy in the wake of recently concluded US decision of withdrawal from the JCPOA has further diminished chances of quick recovery of the Iranian economy.

The indicator used for measuring import/export capital capacity has been measured by studying foreign exchange reserves. Here again Saudi Arabia has huge reserves as compared to Iran. Foreign exchange reserves of Saudi Arabia in the year 2018 have been recorded at \$509 billion as compared to Iran's \$132 billion.<sup>45</sup> Saudi Arabia has yet another advantage in this aspect - in the form of presence of sovereign wealth funds, which have constantly been used as a cushion to offset the current account deficit.

The natural resource of oil which has been counted as the backbone of both countries' economies has been measured through its production level and reserves strength. Saudi oil production in the year 2018 has been recorded at 4 million barrel per day (mb/d) as compared to Iran whose production capacity in the year 2018 has been 4 mb/d.<sup>46</sup> As far as oil reserves are concerned Saudi Arabia is the largest country of the world in terms of possession of oil reserves with estimated strength of 266 billion barrels (bbl).<sup>47</sup> On the other hand Iran has 158 bbl. of oil under its soil.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> "Exchange Rate Archive," *Iran's Central Bank*, [http://www.cbi.ir/ExRates/rates\\_fa.aspx](http://www.cbi.ir/ExRates/rates_fa.aspx)

<sup>42</sup> "Charts of the Week," *Bianco Research*, 2012. <http://www.arborresearch.com/bianco/?cat=27&samplecat=7>

<sup>43</sup> Mahdieh Aghazadeh, "International Sanctions and their Impacts on Iran's Economy," *International Journal of Economics and Finance Studies* 6, no. 2, (2014): 25-41.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Global Firepower Index 2018, [https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country\\_id=saudi-arabia&Iran](https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=saudi-arabia&Iran)

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

## Population

Numeric strength and quality of population is highly significant in comparing power capabilities of Iran and Saudi Arabia. The strength of a nation is still dependent on the quality of population even in the contemporary era of advanced technology. For measuring population three indicators have been selected i.e. total population, percentage of workforce between 15-64 years with respect to population, and ethnic diversity in population.

Iran is the most populous country in the Persian Gulf with estimated 82.021 million population.<sup>49</sup> Its percentage of workforce i.e. Males within the age group 15-64 is 37.8 percent.<sup>50</sup> Iran is an ethnically diverse population with Persians constituting 51 percent and remaining non-Persians including 24 percent Azeris and 7 percent Kurds. Although Azeris have gradually become part of the Iranian political and economic spheres, they still have been discriminated against in terms of their distinct ethnic origins. Azerbaijan has often been accused of instigating separatist aspirations among the Iranian Azeri population.

Similarly, the Kurds have been continuously suppressed for their alleged collusion with Saddam's Iraq against the Iranian territorial integrity. Furthermore, the Baluchies, although constituting only 2 percent of the population,<sup>51</sup> have also been considered potential domestic threats as they have been accused by successive Iranian regimes of being exploited by external elements for targeting Iranian political integration.

In contrast Saudi Arabia has a total population of 28.5 million<sup>52</sup> and 39 percent of population (male only) is aged between 15-64 years.<sup>53</sup> The Saudi population is less diverse as compared to Iran as it has 73 percent Saudi nationals.<sup>54</sup> However, important factor is the presence of the 6 percent Shia population,<sup>55</sup> which is considered as an element being used by Iran against the Saudi regime. The demographic presence of Shias in the oil producing eastern provinces of Saudi Arabia causes further insecurity to the Saudi regime as subversive activities by these elements can become a hurdle in the way of oil production, which happens to be the primary source of Saudi economy.

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<sup>49</sup> Global Firepower Index 2018, [https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country\\_id=saudi-arabia](https://www.globalfirepower.com/country-military-strength-detail.asp?country_id=saudi-arabia).

<sup>50</sup> "Chapter Seven: Middle East and North Africa," *The Military Balance* 118, no. 1, (2019): 333.doi: 10.1080/04597222.2018.1416983, ISSN: 0459-7222.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Firepower Index 2018.

<sup>53</sup> "Chapter Seven," *The Military Balance*, (2019): 358.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

## Asymmetric Power Capabilities

History of strategic competition of states shows that they resort to asymmetric strategies when lacking parity in conventional military strength. It affirms the argument that asymmetric strategies are most of the times used in defence. As discovered in the preceding sections, Iran's power capabilities vis-à-vis Saudi Arabia and the US are insignificant, therefore, Iran has developed asymmetric power capabilities. These capabilities have been reflected in its use of regional proxies, indigenous manufacturing of asymmetric weapons like ballistic missiles and rockets, and development of capabilities to have a potential for choking the strait of Hormuz. All these capabilities have then been projected through propaganda devices and the rhetoric for ensuring effective deterrence.

Quds Force, external wing of Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) has specialized in "Unconventional Warfare". It organizes, and finances pro-Iranian proxies such as: the Popular Mobilization Units in Iraq, foreign Shiite militias fighting on behalf of Iran's ally Syria, the Lebanese Shiite group Hezbollah, Houthi rebels in Yemen and Palestinian Islamic Jihad etc.<sup>56</sup> The Quds force also assists allied regimes in Iraq and Syria against insurgencies and revolutionary movements.<sup>57</sup> The importance of the Quds force has been summed up as follows:

One plank of Iran's defense strategy is "forward defense," led by the special operations Quds Force of the IRGC. The strategy involves the use of regional allies and proxies, known as the "axis of resistance," as leverage to weaken, bog down, deter or fight Iran's enemies away from its soil.<sup>58</sup>

The indigenously produced rockets and ballistic missiles add to the asymmetric strength of Iran. "The geostrategic reality is that Iran has the ability to attack major centers of oil production in Saudi Arabia's oil-rich Eastern Province (EP) in response to any Saudi and/or Western aggression. A single effective rocket strike on Saudi Aramco's Abqaiq facility, for instance, would send the international oil trade into complete disarray."<sup>59</sup>

Iran's geostrategic location around the strait of Hormuz is yet another one of its strategic edges vis-à-vis its enemies. The strategic importance of the Strait of Hormuz lies in the fact that about one-fifth of the world's oil passes through it. It is said that, "Iran has developed capability of choking this strait through mines and unconventional naval

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<sup>56</sup> Justin McCauley, "The Asymmetry of Asymmetry in the Saudi-Iranian Rivalry," *Gulf State Analytics*, March 24, 2016.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Justin McCauley, "The Asymmetry of Asymmetry in the Saudi-Iranian Rivalry."

tactics against enemy warships, such as swarming enemy warships with small, low-cost watercraft and speedboats armed with anti-ship missiles and torpedoes.”<sup>60</sup> However, there is an important geostrategic lapse in Iran’s defence also. Almost all of Iran’s oil terminals and four principal ports are situated in the Persian Gulf, accounting for 9/10 of all imports.<sup>61</sup> These facts can become cause of its vulnerability in case of full-fledged encounter against its enemies.

The presence of ballistic missiles in Iran is viewed as highly dangerous by its enemies in the region. In terms of quality “although Iran’s large arsenal of short and medium-range missiles and rockets currently lack the accuracy of modern precision guided missiles (PGMs), they could still be used as effective terror weapons against urban areas throughout the Persian Gulf region”. Iran has the ability to target the thick populated cities of Gulf States and US military bases in the region with ballistic missiles. “While Iran presents ballistic missiles as defensive weapons, its enemies consider them an offensive threat.”<sup>62</sup> Gunzinger and Dougherty opine that “although Saudi Arabia is geographically much larger than Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, and the UAE, 82 percent of its population is located in Riyadh, Jeddah, Mecca, and Medina, increasing its vulnerability to Iranian ballistic missile attacks.”<sup>63</sup>

Iran has the capability of attacking vital economic assets of all GCC states like desalination plants and coastal facilities supporting transportation of oil and gas through the strait of Hormuz.<sup>64</sup> A highly significant asymmetric capability of Iran lies in its command and control of pro-Iranian activists in the Gulf States.<sup>65</sup> Although limited in strength, these activists exploit reservations of politically and socially disgruntled Shias in the Gulf authoritarian political systems. Similarly, Iran’s support to militant groups fighting for the Palestinian cause also gives it sentimental support in the Gulf public streets where the people have been

<sup>60</sup> Chase Winter, “Iran’s Military Power: What you Need to Know?” *DW*, August 6, 2018, <https://www.dw.com/en/irans-military-power-what-you-need-to-know/a-43756843>.

<sup>61</sup> Michael Eisenstaedt, “Deter and Contain: Dealing with a Nuclear Iran - Testimony before the Committee on Armed Services,” *U.S. House of Representatives*, February 1, 2006.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Mark Gunzinger and Chris Dougherty, “Outside-In: Operating from Range to Defeat Iran’s Anti-Access and Area-Denial Threats,” Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA), 2011.

<sup>64</sup> Daniel K. Rosenfield, “Countering Iran with Arms Sales to the Gulf Cooperation Council States,” 2012, 3-4.

<sup>65</sup> Frederic Wehrey et al., *Dangerous But Not Omnipotent: Exploring the Reach and Limitations of Iranian Power in the Middle East* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corp., 2009), XIX-XX.

disappointed over the status-quo oriented policies of the Gulf rulers' vis-à-vis Arab cause in Palestine.<sup>66</sup>

## Assessing the Nature of Threat

The preceding discussion has established that the power capabilities of Iran do not match Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia outclasses Iran in terms of conventional military strength. Its offensive armaments have a clear cut edge over Iranian weaponry. Moreover, the US military presence around Iran provides a tangible deterrence to the Saudi State vis-à-vis Iran. Iran has not yet acquired nuclear weapons and the implementation of JCPOA in 2016 has delayed Iranian course to nuclearization. Although the Trump administration's decision of abandoning the nuclear deal might put Iran back on the nuclear path, still, the presence of all other major powers in the deal and re-sanctioning of Iranian economy would halt Iranian nuclear aspirations.

Two years period of the nuclear deal did not allow Iranian economy to recover from the effects of decade long stiff sanctions, and again the US based sanctions are on the horizon. Moreover, Iran's constant involvement in the Syrian crisis and its financial backing of proxies elsewhere has drained its economic strength. In the absence of strong economic base no state can develop state of the art conventional military power and Iran is no exception. Therefore, on the basis of this analysis it can be inferred that the balance of power dynamics in strict terms of conventional power capabilities do not offer best explanation of Iran-Saudi tug of war in the region and for Saudi threat perception regarding Iran.

It is, however, pertinent to accept that the asymmetric power capabilities of Iran and its strategy of low level aggression using its fifth column forces in the form of non-state actors do pose a serious threat to Saudi Arabia. Although this dimension of power cannot be explained through balance of power dynamics, it still needs to be explained through the logic of balance of threat dynamics.

The balance of threat perspective has been offered by Stephen Walt and claims that threat is driven not just by the imbalance in the relative material power capabilities. Rather it is the combination of aggregate power capabilities, geographical proximity and aggressive intentions, which explain threat perception.<sup>67</sup>

Applying the variable of aggregated power capability it has been found earlier that only asymmetric power capabilities of Iran cause insecurity to Saudi Arabia. Geographic proximity is considerable in this case as the Iranian regime does have the capability of targeting important

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Stephen Walt, *The Origin of Alliances* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1987), 22-26.

Saudi public and economic infrastructure bases, although it does not have the capacity to launch full scale invasion. It is also relevant to note that Iran has always defended its asymmetric capabilities for deterrence purposes. Its ballistic missiles, rockets, mines, and small sea boats along with its potential ability of choking strait of Hormuz have been projected by the Iranian strategists as means for raising costs on its enemies' misadventures.

The third variable of aggressive intentions requires explanation as contrary to Iranian claims of defensive measures. This is where the monarchy in Saudi Arabia frames a domestic discourse that helps manufacture and securitize the Iranian threat at domestic level. Saudis' have always portrayed Iranian actions as offensive and geared towards Saudi destabilization. Crown Prince Muhammad Bin Salman categorically referred to Tehran as aiming at the "control of Islam's holiest site in Mecca", encouraging his countrymen by saying that "...we will work so that the battle is for them in Iran, not in Saudi Arabia"<sup>68</sup>. It is with particular reference to Iran's financial and advisory backing to its proxies, which has been perceived as a source of insecurity by Saudi Arabia. Iran has been accused of supporting pro-Tehran groups in Bahrain, particularly during the 2011 uprisings.

Similarly, Iran has been perceived as the instigator of Saudi based Hezbollah and Houthis in Yemen. These groups have been accused of instigating insurgencies and revolts threatening the Gulf regimes. Such charges are evident from statements of the Saudi Foreign Minister, Adil Al-Jubeir where he claims Iran as acting in violation of UN Security Council resolutions, when it supports "the Houthis in Yemen,...send[s] Shiite militias to fight in support of Bashar al-Assad in Syria, that's action...plant[s] terror cells in Bahrain and in Saudi Arabia and in other places.... The action is more important than the words."<sup>69</sup> Saudi rhetoric is based on the argument that Iran aims to transform the political systems in Gulf States through its ideological based revolution.

From explanation of these three variables it is plausible to argue that the perceived Iranian strategy of causing regime change through support of proxies is the real threat, which needs to be balanced by Saudi Arabia and through means other than simple military build-up. Saudi Arabia has been trying to balance this threat by focusing on countering Iran's strategies. It had vehemently opposed initiation of nuclear deal on the plea that sanctions relief through the deal would provide Iran financial cushion, which it would use in furthering subversive activities. Riyadh has been associating anti-regime movements with terrorism by labeling Iran

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<sup>68</sup> Taimur Khan, "Saudi Prince Muhammad Bin Salman's Warning to Iran," *The National*, May 3, 2017.

<sup>69</sup> Saudi Foreign Minister, "Iran is the Biggest Sponsor of Terrorism," *Defence News*, February 21, 2017.



as a terror sponsoring state. Using the same pretext Saudis have been calling for collective action against Iran as evident from the foreign minister's pledge that, "We see Iran facilitating terrorist organizations, so the challenge is how we collectively coordinate our efforts."<sup>70</sup>

Important to note is that Saudi Arab's official rhetoric reflects its 'outward oriented' approach in countering Iranian threat. Iranian threat reflected in the form of weakening its enemies through its sponsored groups has a significant internal/domestic dimension. The exploitation of internal elements cannot succeed unless there is a level of dissatisfaction within domestic constituencies. The masses' satisfaction with the regimes produces loyalty and this loyalty of the people to regimes is the backbone of national strength. The Arab Spring has established that the closed political systems lacking socio-economic freedoms are the real threat in the Arab World. Although, the financial strength of the Arab Gulf states managed to subside the onslaught of Arab uprisings, still, the insecurity to regimes lies in the nature of government in these monarchies.

Saudi Arabia dealt with the wave of Arab Spring by using carrot and stick policy not only within its territory but also in its immediate neighborhood. At the domestic level it distributed billions of dollars for buying-off loyalty of masses. It accommodated millions of its citizens by placing restrictions on foreign nationals. The new crown prince Muhammad bin Salman initiated a drive against corruption and apprehended hundreds of alleged corrupt people including royal princes. His 'Vision 2030' envelopes structural reforms and diversification of the economy. On the other hand, the dissenters - accused of challenging writ of Saud monarchy - have been ruthlessly accused and the blame of instigation has been leveled against Iranian regime. At the regional level also, the Saud monarchy has financially and militarily helped like-minded regimes against dissenters. Saudi military assertion in Bahrain and Yemen and its huge financial cushions to Arab regimes, like Oman, and Bahrain are cases in point.

However, neither at the domestic level nor in the regional setting any efforts have been made to comprehend the fault lines, which ultimately expose the disgruntled elements to subversive devices of Iran. The Arab Spring has shown that in the contemporary global world run by information technology and advanced communication, the masses could not be satisfied on the basis of traditional patterns of security relationship. If in the past the people remained loyal to the regimes on the basis of state security and material benefits, the current expectation of masses regarding their security concerns have changed. The process of intense globalization through advancement of electronic and social media has

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<sup>70</sup> Muhammad Bazzi, "The Great Debate: Saudi Arabia faces many Threats, and Iran isn't at the Top of the List," *Reuters Blog*, May 28, 2015.

made masses realize that their true security lies in their share in decision making in line with a democratic model.

The contemporary Arab populace with matured awareness demands a sustained and protected structural arrangement of security relationship with the state in which loyalty to the governments is based upon populations' access to socio-economic and political rights. Unless the Arab regimes in general and Saud regime in particular do not revamp their security relationship with their masses on the lines of power sharing formula the highly aware but unsatisfied segments of their societies would remain vulnerable to instigation and engineering of Iranian propaganda through asymmetric strategies.

## **Conclusion**

In a nutshell, it is argued that nature of insecurity to Saudi Arabian regime lies in the fragmented nature of the state's security relationship with its masses. This is being claimed based on the in-depth research aimed to find whether it is the material power differential between Iran and Saudi Arabia that shapes the latter's threat perception vis-à-vis the former. In fact, there are internal factors or more appropriately the domestic political dynamics shaping this threat perception since Iran fails to emerge as a threat in term of power capabilities only. The real threat lies in the challenged and difficult to manage pattern of the security relationship between the Saud regime and masses. This weak bond of the Saudi state with their society makes them vulnerable to Iran's use of asymmetrical power capabilities and strategies, which might manifest in the shape of greater popular resentment and uproar against the Saudi monarchy.

Instead of looking outwards for addressing this sense of insecurity the Saud regime needs to focus inwards by transforming the pattern of security relationship with Saudi society. This relationship requires a remodeling along democratic lines where the masses are made stakeholders in the over-all well-being of the society, the regime and the country at large; moreover, security needs to be ensured through promoting socio-economic and political development. This reframing and revival of the relationship between the regime and the masses would result in political integration, making those who govern more confident about the loyalties of the ones being governed. This in turn would shrink the operating ground available for Iranian use of asymmetric power capabilities aimed at destabilizing the Saudi polity. The ultimate outcome of this new policy line will be a modification of Saudi threat perception vis-à-vis Iran – which otherwise fails to be capable of threatening the former given the power asymmetry favoring Saudi Arabia.

## PAK-AFGHAN BORDER MANAGEMENT: DEVELOPMENTS AND CONTROVERSIES

Dr. Sarwat Rauf\* & Shakeel Ahmad\*\*

### Abstract

*Border mismanagement has been a cause of tensions between Afghanistan and Pakistan ever since the formation of Pakistan. Contrarily, a well-managed border can lead to improved economic and security situation. The movement across border has become a security concern due to the presence of militants in the area. The data suggests the economic and security costs that Pakistan has incurred due to a mismanaged border. This study analyzes Pakistan's efforts at border management with Afghanistan, with various mechanisms been put to practice as Pakistan vies for regional peace. However, recently Pakistan has constructed gateways and fenced its border with Afghanistan, which has reduced terrorist activities significantly. Given the context, this study endeavors to explore how would the management of Pak-Afghan border bring regional peace? The article also explores challenges in addition to charting a future path for Pak-Afghan relations.*

**Keywords:** Border Management, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Security, Terrorism, Peace

### Introduction

In order to boost economic development and security of the state, it has become indispensable to secure borderlands. Recent examples of border management are that of the United States' (US) border with Mexico and India's border with Bangladesh. The US has been fencing its border under the *Secure Fence Act* to ensure better control over its border with Mexico.<sup>1</sup> The triggering factor behind the US act was security and

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\* Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad. Email: srauf@numl.edu.pk.

\*\* M.Phil International Relations, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad. Email: shakeell0017@gmail.com.

<sup>1</sup> Morgan Brinlee, "What's The Secure Fence Act of 2006? Here's Why It's Relevant To The Border Wall Debate," *Bustle*, December 31, 2018.

controlling illegal migrants. Likewise, India has also fenced its border with Bangladesh due to security issues and illegal movement of people. Pakistan's case is very close to these instances as it shares almost 7,092 km long border (total) with its neighboring states. Pakistan shares 2,912 km long border with India, while with Afghanistan border length is almost 2,611 km. Pakistan and China share 523 km long border and Iran has almost 909 km long border with Pakistan. Rest of the coastline area is nearly 1,046 km.<sup>2</sup> Out of the four above mentioned neighbors, the most perilous border of Pakistan is with Afghanistan, which has become a serious security challenge.

Eleven out of thirty-four provinces (wilayats) of Afghanistan are connected with Pakistan's former Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA); Balochistan is also linked with the border of Afghanistan. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) is physically attached with Afghan territory. Overall, twenty-three villages are situated in the Pak-Afghan border area (in Balochistan 17 and in FATA six villages). The local populace has empathy for each other, as they are very much alike and same culture binds them together; however, the border splits Pashtun ethnic groups. These territories of Pakistan are besides a porous border, and the people living on both sides of the border are predominantly Pashtuns.<sup>3</sup> The Pashtun tribes have a long history of attachment with these areas where their ancestral background has deep roots.

In this background, villagers were granted permission to move without obstruction and to meet each other freely. However, a prevailing fallacy is that the Durand line agreement had granted such easement rights to the people to move freely. This study will divulge that the easement rights were not given in any document. Yet the misunderstanding still prevails that the Durand Line agreement of 1893 had given such rights enabling the free movement of people.<sup>4</sup> In reality, there is no mention of these rights which grew as a de-facto norm due to the practices of the people. The substantive misunderstanding led Afghanistan towards a state of denial and engendered its animosity towards Pakistan. It is therefore pertinent to shun such wrong statements and to comprehensively study the matter. The objective of this study is to examine historical decisions related to the Pak-Afghan border and to rectify the misperceptions related to Pakistan's border management efforts.

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<sup>2</sup> Ehsan Mehmood Khan, "Border Management: The Case of Pakistan and Afghanistan Border," *Hilal*, July, 2014.

<sup>3</sup> Abubakar Siddique, *The Pashtun Question: The Unresolved Key to the Future of Pakistan and Afghanistan* (London: Hurst & Co, 2014), 11.

<sup>4</sup> Ahmer Bilal Soofi, "Pakistan-Afghanistan Border Management: A Legal Perspective," *Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT)*, March 1, 2015, 15.

In 2016, Pakistan started to fence its border to keep criminals and terrorists away from its territory. The effort of Pakistan for border management is being portrayed by Afghanistan as a violation of the agreement of 1893. Moreover, Afghanistan is also blaming Pakistan for creating divide between the families living along the border. In this backdrop, this study highlights that the fencing of Pakistan-Afghanistan border is not meant to segregate people or to curb economic activities. Ongoing border management efforts of Pakistan will not disturb the tribes residing on both sides, rather it will reduce tensions between the two states.

In order to ease mutual tensions and deal with terrorism, bilateral talks of political elites, military leadership and security agencies of both Pakistan and Afghanistan have been conducted several times since 9/11. Moreover, time to time meetings of Director Generals of Military Operations (DGMOs) and both sides' Corps Commanders have become a norm but the movement of people remained an unresolved issue. Thus, it was decided to focus on border management to ensure enhanced security. Pakistan strived to launch an effective mechanism of border management because issues of illegal movement of people and incidents of terrorism can better be addressed through cooperation between the two neighboring states.<sup>5</sup>

## Historical Background

History shows that the prevailing friction in Pak-Afghan relations is largely due to the historical mistakes of the empires as the Great Game of 19<sup>th</sup> century was the hallmark of geopolitical tension. The British Empire wanted to expand into Afghanistan to counter Russia's growing sway in Central Asia. Both empires were expanding their powers by bringing important regions under their control. On the move of Russia towards Central Asian states, the British assumed that its next target would be Afghanistan. The impending Russian dominance was worrying the British and the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a nightmare for the British as they were fearful of possible Russian invasion of India via Afghanistan. Therefore, they sought to keep Russia away from the subcontinent. Afghanistan's geopolitical position became essential for the British as it was an important route of its trade with Central Asia, yet it was not an easy place to rule.<sup>6</sup> Later, a proper border was mutually accepted by the British and Russian Tzars and Afghanistan became a buffer between the two empires. Britain signed a border agreement namely the 'Durand line' with local rulers of Afghanistan and the border was amicably demarcated

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<sup>5</sup> Editorial "Pak-Afghan Border Management," *Pakistan Today*, February 20, 2016.

<sup>6</sup> William Dalrymple, *The Return of a King: The Battle for Afghanistan* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 25.

in 1895. However, Pak-Afghan tensions started to appear immediately after the independence of Pakistan when Afghan government raised the issue of the legal status of the Pak-Afghan border (namely Durand Line). Afghanistan's constant propaganda over the border also created confusion amongst the people on both sides.

In late 20<sup>th</sup> century, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan received noticeable regional and international attention due to the geographical proximity of Afghanistan to Middle East and South Asia. In order to maintain pro-communist government in Afghanistan, from 1979 to 1989, the Soviet Union was engaged with Afghanistan. Concurrently, many complications transpired in regional and international politics. The USSR was marching towards South Asia, it was close to Pakistan and Iran<sup>7</sup> which raised concerns of Middle Eastern states and made the US' allies fear for their future. The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) also approved an anti-Soviet resolution proclaiming the Russian intervention despicable.<sup>8</sup> Even the Muslim world, in an international Islamic conference (1987), called for instant departure of the Soviet armies from Afghanistan.<sup>9</sup>

The bordering states of Afghanistan, therefore, redesigned foreign policies and their defence policies were directly affected by the regional changes. China took Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as a part of Soviet strategy to encircle China. The troubled area of China, Xinjiang province, had become a main concern of China, and Beijing was busy in eliminating linkages of separatists of the region with external supporters. China experienced sour relations with the Soviet Union and India as both were allies. Consequently, Beijing started to help Islamabad and Washington to turn the tide of Soviet influence.<sup>10</sup>

Iran was not involved in this developing geopolitical rivalry because of the 1979 Iranian revolution, but it was quietly observing all the events in the region and supporting anti-communist groups economically as well as technically.<sup>11</sup> Some Central Asian states (such as Uzbekistan and

<sup>7</sup> Linda Racioppi, *Soviet Policy Towards South Asia Since 1970* (New York: Cambridge university Press, 1994), 101.

<sup>8</sup> "Afghanistan & the United Nations," <https://www.un.org/News/dh/latest/afghan/un-afghan-history.shtml>

<sup>9</sup> Marshall Cavendish, *World and Its Peoples* (New York: Marshall Cavendish Corporation, 2007), 340.

<sup>10</sup> Manzoor Khan Afridi and Musab Yousufi, "Pak-China Joint Strategy against the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan," *Asian Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities*, vol. 3, (August, 2014): 67.

<sup>11</sup> Artemy M. Kalinovsky, "Regional Dynamics of the Soviet War in Afghanistan and Its Aftermath," in *The Regional Dimensions to Security, Other Sides of Afghanistan*, ed. Aglay Snetkov and Stephen Aris (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 128.

Kyrgyzstan) had been mobilized and they started to work against the communists, while other Central Asian states remained inactive. India and Pakistan had an influential role in the Soviet-Afghan encounter. India was supporting the communist government in Afghanistan because of its strong ties with the USSR. However, due to the fear of uprising by a large population of Indian Muslims, India refrained from openly supporting communists in Afghanistan. As far as Pakistan is concerned, it had apprehensions over the situation in Afghanistan due to religious affinity and sharing of long border. Certainly, intervention of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan was affecting the internal and external security of Pakistan. A large portion of Afghanistan's population started to cross the border and enter Pakistan. Consequently, with severe social problems associated with refugee influx, Pakistan also started facing economic pressures.

Owing to the security environment, the region became a hub for illegal migration and arms. This exacerbated regional power politics and all the neighbouring states of Afghanistan began to strengthen their military capability. The subsequent military build-up became a noticeable phenomenon in the region. International power politics overpowered the foreign policies of neighbouring states. The growth of an extremist mind-set was the product of Great Powers to get their short term interests. This led to an endless fiasco of terrorism and extremism in the region, eventually becoming dangerous not only for region but also for the world.

The Soviet withdrawal led to consequences such as proliferation of small arms, smuggling, drug trafficking, illegal border crossing and growth of militants. Drug trafficking became a very serious issue between the Pakistan and Afghanistan. Even today, the Taliban's income is largely dependent on opium cultivation. According to United Nations' office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), poppy cultivation has increased in Afghanistan.<sup>12</sup> Overall, the security situation has deteriorated and even with the long stay of US in Afghanistan, the situation could not be changed.

## **Porous Border and the Security of Pakistan**

The US attack on Afghanistan marked the beginning of the Global War on Terror (GWOT). This war worsened the security situation of Pakistan as it became the front line state and also participated in Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). Several operations against militants have been conducted successfully along the Pak-Afghan border including the former FATA and the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA). The terrorists managed to hide themselves due to the difficult terrain of the border region. Along with Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and the ISIS, there are several other non-state actors present in Afghanistan

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<sup>12</sup> UNDOC, "Challenges to Sustainable Development, Peace and Security," *Afghanistan Opium Survey 2017, UNDOC Report 2018*, 4.

working to subvert Pakistan's efforts of peace. Moreover, Pakistan-Afghanistan volatile border has been used by India to spread terrorism in the region and defame Pakistan. India has also supported and financed the separatist movement in Balochistan.<sup>13</sup> Against this backdrop, Pakistan decided to secure its border with Afghanistan; it had no alternative except unilaterally managing its border with Afghanistan. This step is not only in the interest of Pakistan but also in the interest of regional security.<sup>14</sup>

The Pak-Afghan borderland is an uneasy landscape comprising of narrow valleys, high mountain ranges, and barren areas as its main features. Due to the difficult topography, the demarcation of border becomes difficult. The Southern area is tropical whereas the Northern part is mountainous. Pamir ranges, the Himalaya, and the Hindu Kush mountains are dangerous due to uneven passages. Notwithstanding geographical complexities, nearly 30 million people still manage to live there.<sup>15</sup>

Pakistan and Afghanistan have almost nine formal border crossing points, of which three have international status namely Chaman, Torkham and Spin Boldak. The other six are bilateral namely Angor Adda, Arandu (Chitral), Ghulam Khan (North Waziristan), Kharlachi (Kurram), Gursal (Bajaur), Chaman (Balochistan) and Nawa Pass (Mohmand).<sup>16</sup> For crossing purposes, the areas of Torkham and Chaman are used for entry and exit of people and traffic. Moreover, some local tribes and nomads often use the border for smuggling. Several crossing points made by locals are being used for such illegal activities as smuggling. Therefore, monitoring becomes essential for border security and to quell illegal activities. In this regard; levies, Pakistan Customs Service and Federal Investigative Agency (FIA) are deputed to control the check posts. In order to prevent illegal crossing of border, customs officials, levies and Khassadars monitor crossing points of the border.

Al-Qaeda and Afghan Taliban rekindled jihad in the tribal areas of Pakistan, with the US intervention in Afghanistan. In 2002, the unregulated Pak-Afghan border provided conducive environment to terrorists, such as Mullah Omer and Mullah Dadullah, to establish their connections with tribal elders/religious personalities to establish a wing of Afghan Taliban in FATA.<sup>17</sup> Finances and other support was provided to nascent groups by Al-Qaeda and security became the key concern of the region. Several

<sup>13</sup> Syed Mudassir Ali Shah, "Subtle Policy Shift," *Dawn*, May 1, 2015.

<sup>14</sup> Zamir Akram, "Pak-Afghan International Border and Regional Security," *Hilal*, June 1, 2017.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> "Pakistan Border Crossings," *Caravanistan: The Silk Road Travel Guide*, August 5<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

<sup>17</sup> Moeed Yusuf, "Pakistan's Counterterrorism Challenge," (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2014), 28.



foreign NGOs and humanitarian workers were attacked by terrorists groups.<sup>18</sup> Thus, regular forces were deployed in FATA along the Pak-Afghan border. President Musharraf convinced the tribal people that those operations were meant to destroy foreign-funded terrorist groups. The militant groups of FATA and other terrorists active in KPK formed TTP after Lal-Masjid (Red Mosque) incident in 2007. Some other local jihadist movements joined jihadist activities in Afghanistan and TTP declared the state of Pakistan as illegitimate.<sup>19</sup>

In April 2007, for the first time the idea was considered in Pakistan to fence its border and consequently, 12 km long border was fenced in North Waziristan which was ripped by Afghan forces, causing tension and exchange of fire between the two states' forces. Another effort at securing the border was by digging a trench in April 2013 along the border in Balochistan (this has been completed in 2016). The width and depth of the ditch is fourteen feet and eleven feet respectively. The plan of fencing started with the most dangerous points, where the infiltration was easy, i.e. Mohmand, Khyber agencies and Bajuar. Fencing of the Pak-Afghan border is meant for restraining criminals, terrorists and ensure internal security of Pakistan. Certainly, the internal and external security situation would get better with this undertaking.

## The Calculus of Pakistan's Efforts

Historically, US interventions in Afghanistan, Iraq and other Middle Eastern states have given birth to non-state actors. Thereafter non-traditional concept of war has become popular. This has increased the importance of managed borders because vulnerable borders are easy to violate. There are some good examples of states using different methods to secure their borders:

1. The integrated border management system is the best example in Schengen states as they all are integrated in the European Union. Thus, successful management of borders was devised by the European Union.
2. Another example of managing borders is coordinated border management which includes public service agencies working in a coordinated manner to achieve a common goal. Hence, efficient and effective role of agencies makes regularized borders and ensures security. Actually coordinated border management makes trade possible and enhances border security.<sup>20</sup> There are two

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<sup>18</sup> "Country Reports on Terrorism 2004," *US Department of State*, April 2005, 70.

<sup>19</sup> Moeed Yusuf, "Pakistan's Counterterrorism Challenge," 44.

<sup>20</sup> Stefan Aniszewski, "Coordinated Border Management-a Concept Paper," *World Custom Organization*, 2010).

aspects of coordinated border management: first is domestic and the other, international. State agencies' collaboration and cooperation between neighbouring countries makes it successful. Thus, communication is the central part of coordinated border management.

In the light of the above mentioned mechanisms, Pak-Afghan border appears manageable; yet there are certain controversies curbing Pakistan's efforts to manage its border. Keeping in view the physical features of Afghanistan-Pakistan border, it is too difficult to monitor the activities of illegal travelers. Hence, the movement of terrorists, illegal drug trafficking and human trafficking has been almost impossible to control. Military operations managed to eliminate most of the terrorists from the tribal parts of Pakistan. Subsequently, terrorists repositioned their centers and found safe havens in Afghanistan from where terrorist attacks are being launched inside Pakistan. Strong evidences affirm that the terrorists who attacked Army Public School in 2014, were trained in Afghanistan. Similarly, Bacha Khan University in January 2016 became the target of Afghanistan based terrorists.<sup>21</sup> In 2019, the terrorists who targeted Pearl Continental hotel Gwadar received their training in Afghanistan.

In order to protect its interests, Pakistan has finally started to fence its border as all sovereign nations are allowed to do. Since border management is for the security and betterment of nations, it must not be taken as an offensive step. The purpose is merely to regulate the arrival and departure of people and goods for which various methods have been introduced. Regular police monitoring, immigration departments and demarcated borders have reduced terrorist activities. Pakistan's government has taken several steps to secure its border which are discussed in detail as follows:

### **Border Security**

On 1<sup>st</sup> June, 2016, Pakistan informed the Afghan government about the border management initiative which was a part of National Action Plan 2015 to root out terrorists from Pakistan.<sup>22</sup> In response, a strong opposition came from the Afghan side and exchange of fire from both sides took place on the border causing deaths as well. In Afghanistan protests were held against Pakistan in which the flag of Pakistan was burnt and speeches were made. Reciprocally, emotions ran high in Pakistan too and

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<sup>21</sup> Sabz Ali Tareen and Javed Aziz Khan, "Terrorists hit Bacha Khan University," *The News*, January 21, 2019.

<sup>22</sup> Amina Khan, "Issues in Pak-Afghan Border Management," *ISSI Issue Brief*, September 26, 2016 :2.

demand for the eviction of Afghan migrants from Pakistan was raised.<sup>23</sup> Even on 18<sup>th</sup> August, 2016, Bab-e-Dosti (gateway between Pakistan and Afghanistan) was closed and later reopened upon Afghanistan's apology. Islamabad has been working on different options to make its border secure as it would be helpful for both states in eliminating terrorist outposts. However, the Afghan government showed its discontentment over Pakistan's efforts for peace.

Terrorists' activities can only be barred through coordination and cooperation of neighbouring states. Kabul needs to understand that frequent unregulated border crossings, approximately of 40000 to 50000 people per day,<sup>24</sup> is not gainful. For that reason, entry of people without travel documents was banned by the government of Pakistan, which Afghan government called a step to divide families and clans. The issue gets further hype when the Afghan government blames Pakistan for sponsoring terrorism. Even before military operations against the terrorists within Pakistan's borders, Islamabad informed Kabul and other officials of the US about militants escaping to Afghanistan for refuge and it also asked for appropriate action against them. However, the other side did not cooperate and anti- Pakistan terrorists acquired sanctuaries in Afghanistan.<sup>25</sup>

According to the Pakistan Army, it has completed fencing of 900 km<sup>26</sup> border with Afghanistan, while regularizing the movement of people and barring infiltrators from entering. The entire western border with Afghanistan is being fenced, and border posts and forts are under construction too. Moreover, border surveillance has also been accelerated. Reportedly 338 posts and forts are planned, almost 43 have been completed and construction work continues over 63 points.<sup>27</sup> Pakistan dug a trench along the Pak-Afghan border in Balochistan in 2013.<sup>28</sup> Two controlling agencies are active on Torkham border i.e. Pakistan Frontier Corps (PFC) and Afghan Border Police (ABP). Moreover, a few miles away from Torkham, the US Forward Operating Base located in Nangarhar is also assisting border force of Afghanistan.

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Atif khan, "Pakistan to Build more Gates at Pak-Afghan Border," *The Nation*, September 06, 2016.

<sup>25</sup> Maryam Nazir, "Border Management," *Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI)*, June 30, 2016.

<sup>26</sup> "Work on 900km Pak-Afghan Border Fence Completed: Army," *Dawn*, January 28, 2019.

<sup>27</sup> "Border Management: Pakistan Starts Fencing Afghan Border to Curb Infiltration," *The Express Tribune*, June 20, 2017.

<sup>28</sup> Qaiser Butt, "Cross-border Movement: Ditch along Pak-Afghan Border to Cost Rs14 billion," *Express Tribune*, January 3, 2015.

## Passenger Facilitation Centres

Pakistan has opened a facilitation centre for passengers at Torkham border to check the proper documents of travellers coming or going from either side. The decision was taken on May 01, 2016, to check the luggage and documents of every passenger at the Torkham border. In this regard, modern scanning machines have been installed for which the Supreme Court of Pakistan issued an order. To keep the record of imports and exports, a computerized system has been introduced. WeBOC (web-based online customs) service has been introduced at important points for improvement of border management.<sup>29</sup> To make border control effective and ensure the cooperation of Afghanistan, the crossing point at Angoor Adda in South Waziristan, Pakistan, has been handed over to the control of Afghanistan. The idea of giving the management of this crossing to Afghanistan was to maintain brotherly ties between the two states. Moreover, Afghan nationals are allowed to enter in Pakistan with proper travel documents after going through a proper system of checking. National Database & Registration Authority (NADRA) centres have also been built on the Friendship Gate to verify identities.<sup>30</sup> On January 01, 2017, carrying a valid passport became mandatory as several fake identity cases were reported previously. Shinwari tribesmen are allowed to show the 'Rahdari' (Passage) cards, issued in September 2015 to them and therefore, they are exempted from showing passports at the entry points. These cards can be renewed after six months to maintain transparency.

## Merger of FATA with KPK

Besides regularizing people's movement, some internal steps have also been taken to secure the border. The FATA merger with KPK was an important step to ensure peace; however, Afghanistan harshly termed this merger as a violation of the 1921 Rawalpindi treaty between British and Afghanistan. The people of FATA (now part of KPK) were living almost in a lawless environment as they had no access to the apex courts of Pakistan. The people of FATA were not allowed *appeal*, *wakeel* (to consult a lawyer) and *daleel* (evidence) under Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR). This law was implemented by the British in which residents of these areas were subjected to systematic mistreatment.<sup>31</sup> Some areas of FATA were considered the most difficult parts of Pakistan in terms of establishment of government's writ. Therefore, the idea of reforms in FATA was proposed

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<sup>29</sup> Ali Hazrat Bacha, "Passenger Facilitation Center Opens at Torkham," *Dawn*, April 27, 2016.

<sup>30</sup> Saleem Shahid, "Afghan Border Reopened after 12 Days," *Dawn*, September 02, 2016.

<sup>31</sup> Salman Bangash, "Areas of Concern: Problems with the FATA Merger," *Herald*, August 09, 2018.

long ago but could not be implemented. Certainly, the US invasion of Afghanistan to fight terrorism increased pressures on Pakistan. In order to wear out the influence of the Taliban, constitutional rights needed to be granted to the local populace; yet, successive governments failed to introduce reforms because of internal political divisions and external pressures.

Although the government of Pakistan has been struggling for FATA reforms since US intervention in Afghanistan, in December 2014 the barbaric attack by terrorists on Army Public School, Peshawar persuaded the government to tackle this complicated issue and National Action Plan was launched to root out terrorism from FATA and the country at large. It took four years to implement the decision of merger and May 24, 2018, was the day when Pakistan's National Assembly passed the thirty-first constitutional amendment for FATA's merger.<sup>32</sup> The number of seats in the KPK Assembly increased when the seats from FATA were added to it. The people of FATA will finally be able to exercise their civil rights on an equitable basis and elites would not be able to violate human rights there anymore.

## Challenges in Border Management

Although Pakistan has made serious efforts to secure the Pak-Afghan border against militants' movement across the border and drug trafficking, several problem areas still exist which need to be addressed with the cooperation of both the states.

### Illegal Cross-Border Activities

One of the challenges is that the Afghan government as well as the Taliban have refused to accept this border as an international border. Rather they regard all statements and actions by Pakistan related to the legal status of the Durand Line as impertinent.<sup>33</sup> In the name of economic activities, illegal cross-border activities such as smuggling have become a matter of routine. Notwithstanding Afghanistan-Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement (APTTA), signed in 2010 and becoming effective in 2011,<sup>34</sup> smuggling has continued unabated. The Taliban took advantage of the disengagement of the US from Afghanistan in 2014 when the charge of security was given to the Afghan National Security Force (ANSF), principally in Nuristan and Kunar.<sup>35</sup> Continuous terrorist attacks inside

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<sup>32</sup> Amir Wasim, "National Assembly Green-Lights FATA-KP Merger by Passing 'Historic' Bill," *Dawn*, 24 May 2018.

<sup>33</sup> "Durand Line is Border, Says US," *Dawn*, October 25, 2012.

<sup>34</sup> "Afghanistan's Transit Trade Patterns Pre & Post APTTA," *The Pakistan Business Council*, 2010.

<sup>35</sup> Jon Boone, "Pakistani Taliban Selects Hardliner Mullah Fazlullah as New Leader," *The Guardian*, November 8, 2013.

Pakistan were the main trigger behind the decision to seal the border and install effective mechanisms for border management. In 2007, biometric system was installed at Chaman border crossing point.<sup>36</sup> There was a severe backlash over this move from Afghanistan. The challenge of cross border smuggling and militants' movement still persists and can only be eliminated with Afghan cooperation.

### **The Pashtun Question**

The Pashtun identity has become a political, ethnic and geographical issue. Since 1947, Afghanistan has been claiming the Pashtun populated areas of Pakistan. In 1930, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan started Organization for Promoting Reforms among Afghans in North West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). The party won the elections in NWFP in 1937 and 1946. Later on, a plebiscite was held there in which more than half the population favoured to join Pakistan.<sup>37</sup> Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan gave a vote of allegiance to Pakistan as well but subsequent issues lingered on.

Both, Pakistan and Afghanistan have Pashtun population which is of approximately 43 million. In order to put pressure on Pakistan, Afghanistan has been raising the issue of identity of Pashtuns living in Pakistan. The idea of 'Pakhtunistan' demanding a separate land for the ethnic Pashtuns residing along the border of two states, was supported for a long time by Afghanistan.<sup>38</sup> Pakistan was concerned over the emerging Pashtun movement which intended to merge the Pashtun populated areas of Pakistan with Afghanistan.<sup>39</sup> The sub-nationalist groups regarded the demarcation of the border as contrary to the interests of the tribes living along both sides of the border and demanded a separate state for Pashtuns which would include Khyber Pukhtunkhwa and some areas of Balochistan.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, Afghanistan still opposes the fencing of the border on grounds that it would upset lives of the Pashtuns living on both

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<sup>36</sup> "First Biometrics System Installed at Border Crossing with Afghanistan," *Gulf News*, January 11, 2007.

<sup>37</sup> Abubakar Siddiqui, *The Pashtun Question*, 43.

<sup>38</sup> Amina Khan, "Pak-Afghan Border: A Case Study of Border Management," *Strategic Studies* 37, no 3 (2017): 24.

<sup>39</sup> Amin Saikal, "Afghanistan and Pakistan: the Question of Pashtun Nationalism?" *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 30 (2010): 6.

<sup>40</sup> Daniel Pinéu and Andrea Fleschenberg, "Border Crossings: The Politics of Transnationality in the Afghanistan-Pakistan Frontier Region," [https://comum.rcaap.pt/bitstream/10400.26/7669/1/NeD131\\_DanielPineu\\_AndreaFleschenberg.pdf](https://comum.rcaap.pt/bitstream/10400.26/7669/1/NeD131_DanielPineu_AndreaFleschenberg.pdf)

sides of the border.<sup>41</sup> The issue is causing rifts between the two neighbouring countries as the root cause lies in history.

### **External Involvement**

Afghanistan sought support of the US and USSR over the issue of Pakhtunistan (separate land for Pashtuns); however, it could not garner the support of the US because of Pak-US alliance during the Cold War. Pakistan and India have historically maintained links with different Afghan governments. As far as neighbouring states are concerned, India developed better relations with Afghanistan because of the latter's tensions with Pakistan. India chose to work with the Soviet installed puppet governments in Afghanistan and also supported Ahmed Shah Masood's Northern Alliance during the course of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.<sup>42</sup>

In the current scenario, the US is backing India's increased role in Afghanistan.<sup>43</sup> India is also investing in Afghanistan and strengthening their mutual ties to encircle Pakistan. The growing nexus of Afghan government with India is therefore the main concern of Pakistan. Undoubtedly, India is involved in tarnishing Pakistan's name at the international level by accusing it of sponsoring cross-border terrorism. Meanwhile India supports Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan and Baloch separatist movements in Balochistan in order to destabilize Pakistan internally.<sup>44</sup> The involvement of Indian spy Kulbhushan Yadav with terrorist elements planning attacks within Pakistan and his confession of destabilizing Balochistan is a glaring example of India's bad intentions in Pakistan.

### **The Attitude of Afghanistan**

All the peace efforts of Pakistan for border security are being sabotaged by the Afghan government. The hateful speeches and political provocation by the Afghan leadership has promoted abhorrence against Pakistan in the general populace. Former President of Afghanistan, Mr. Hamid Karzai, adopted a harsh attitude towards Pakistan and refused to recognize the borderline between Pakistan and Afghanistan. By mirroring the anti-Pakistan Indian rhetoric, he blamed Pakistan as a terror-mongering state. While talking to the media, he once stated, "The

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<sup>41</sup> Brad L. Brasseur, "Recognizing the Durand Line," *East West Institute* (2011): 8.

<sup>42</sup> Nicholas Howenstein and Sumit Ganguly, "India- Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan," *Journal of International Affairs, Columbia*, Mar 25, 2010.

<sup>43</sup> "US Wants India to Play a More Active Role in Afghanistan," *The Economic Times*, July 12, 2018.

<sup>44</sup> Mir Sherbaz Khetran, "Indian Interference in Balochistan: Analysing the Evidence and Implications for Pakistan," *Strategic Studies* 3 (2017): 114.

Government of Pakistan has no legal authority to dictate terms on the Durand line".<sup>45</sup>

After 9/11, Pakistan played a significant role in the War on Terror and it facilitated the US to militarily intervene in Afghanistan. The long duration of fight against terrorism has affected Pakistan because of its shared border with Afghanistan. Owing to the serious threat of terrorist attacks and the Afghan-US allegations on Pakistan for providing safe havens to terrorists,<sup>46</sup> a barrier was needed on the porous Pak-Afghan border. Former President Musharraf then suggested the fencing of Pak-Afghan border to control terrorist infiltration,<sup>47</sup> so that unauthorized movement over the border area could be controlled through border management. Initially, the plan was to fence the highly dangerous areas such as points of infiltration, illegal trade and drug trafficking.

Afghanistan considered that under the cover of prevention of terrorism, Pakistan was scheming to convert the unsettled Durand Line into a settled international border. In this way, Pakistan would also gain the support of the US. The former President of Afghanistan Hamid Karzai was against this fencing and proclaimed that this would split the Pashtun families whereas terrorists would not be deterred.<sup>48</sup> Still in 2007, 35km border with Afghanistan was fenced by Pakistan.<sup>49</sup> In the same year, during the Prime Minister of Pakistan's Kabul visit, he asserted that the fence would stop unsought people from crossing over either side but it did not yield a positive Afghan response.<sup>50</sup> Some Pashtuns of Balochistan and KPK were against the fencing and labelled it a division of Pashtuns.

When Pakistan proceeded with border fencing, clashes took place and exchange of fire was also reported. Pakistan received foreign offers to mitigate tensions and effective border management mechanisms were also offered including the mini-mobile radar system. However, no technology was received from any country. Subsequently, the government of Pakistan decided to start the border fencing again. Pakistan has deployed its troops on the borderland area and special radars are being installed for aerial

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<sup>45</sup> "Ex-Afghan President Says Kabul Won't Recognise Durand Line," *The Nation*, March 5, 2017.

<sup>46</sup> "Clash Erupts between Afghan, Pakistani Forces over Border Fence," *South Asia News*, April 20, 2007, [https://web.archive.org/web/20130123143833/http://news.monstersandcritics.com/southasia/news/article\\_1293995.php/Clash\\_erupts\\_between\\_Afghan\\_Pakistani\\_forces\\_over\\_border\\_fence\\_](https://web.archive.org/web/20130123143833/http://news.monstersandcritics.com/southasia/news/article_1293995.php/Clash_erupts_between_Afghan_Pakistani_forces_over_border_fence_)

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> "Barbs Fly at Kabul Meet: Aziz Agrees to Set up Jirga Commission, Karzai Complains about Aid to Taliban," *Dawn*, January 05, 2007.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> "Ties Deteriorating, Karzai tells Shaukat," *The News*, January 5, 2007.



surveillance. Around 338 border posts and forts were supposed to be completed till 2019.<sup>51</sup>

## Afghanistan's Concerns

Pakistan's efforts to manage Pak-Afghan border is being portrayed by the Afghan government as an oppressive tactic and the violation of international law. Their grievances are over the construction of new infrastructure and defence installations. They also contend that before putting up the military installations, Pakistan did not convey the message to Afghan government. Actually, Afghanistan is showing its concerns for some of its provinces and inhabitants of areas such as Kunar, Paktika, Zabul, Nangarhar, Paktia, Helmand etc situated near Pakistan's territory. Afghanistan is considering it as an attempt to cause segregation between families and also strengthen Pakistan's stance regarding the Durand Line.<sup>52</sup> However, these are illogical objections of Afghanistan because the said border is internationally recognized and Pakistan is allowed to secure its border and can restrict illegal activities. Meanwhile the parliament of Afghanistan has asked their government to convince Pakistan to stop border fencing. In Kabul, some locals organized a grand Jirga to reject the military installations and fencing of the Durand Line. They also tried to approach the UN to stop this initiative of Pakistan.<sup>53</sup>

Reciprocally, Pakistan has been trying to convince Afghanistan as to the advantages of effective border management on different occasions. On January 26, 2015, Ishaq Dar, Former Finance Minister of Pakistan, made a speech in a ceremony commemorating World Customs Day. He said Pakistan was determined to introduce Custom-Coordinated border management with its neighbour.<sup>54</sup> However, Afghanistan neither agreed nor complied with Pakistan's suggestions to manage the border. Afghanistan had been slowing up the border coordination mechanisms, which has resulted in rifts between the two states. Repeated incidents of violation of the border and frequent intrusions from the Afghan side into Pakistan's border area have exacerbated the tension. In May 2017, the border police of Afghanistan opened fire on Pakistani forces assisting the census team which was working in the border area of Chaman.

This move of Afghan forces was a glaring example of border violation which claimed the lives of nine people and forty people were

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<sup>51</sup> Amina Khan and Faria Pitafi, "Pak- Afghan Border," *Institute of Strategic Studies (ISSI)*, July 21, 2017, 4.

<sup>52</sup> "The Provocation of Pakistan in Durand Line Torkham," *Bakhtar News*, June 18, 2016.

<sup>53</sup> "FATA Elders Reject Fencing Durand Line," *Afghanistan Times*, July 09, 2017.

<sup>54</sup> "Govt Plans Coordinated Border Management," *Dawn*, January 27, 2015.

injured.<sup>55</sup> At that time there was no coordination mechanism adopted by the two countries. The discussions over border crossing were going on, and Afghanistan's complaints over militant's movements were becoming loud, but it was still not ready for launching border control mechanisms. The then Prime Minister of Pakistan, on the occasion of a meeting with Afghanistan's President Mr. Ashraf Ghani during the Paris Climate Change Summit, indicated that Pakistan was ready to have negotiations on border management to end the cross-border movement of terrorists.<sup>56</sup> The offer did not receive a reciprocal response from the Afghan side.

Previously, Afghanistan has shown its displeasure over the border management efforts with the closure of its Peshawar consulate (for a day) and stopped Pakistan's cargo service on entry points of Afghanistan.<sup>57</sup> The step was actually a retaliation to the operationalization of the border management system at Torkham. Afghanistan blamed Pakistan for not informing about the construction of a gate at Torkham, whereas Sartaj Aziz, the then Prime Minister's advisor on Foreign Affairs, informed the National Assembly about the prior mention to the Afghan government about the building of gate. He maintained that these steps were for the security of both states and did not violate international law.<sup>58</sup> He also added that the construction of a gate would lead to effective border management.<sup>59</sup> Suffice it to say that border security will remain elusive without mutual coordination. Thus, the border must be respected to assure future stability in the region.

## Conclusion

Border security has got paramount importance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century because the threat of terrorism has a global reach. The post 9/11 Afghanistan has been characterised as the hub of terrorism by the US. The neighbouring countries of Afghanistan have been affected by the War on Terrorism. Due to the long porous border of Pakistan with Afghanistan, Pakistan decided to not only cooperate with the US and Afghanistan but also realized the need to secure Pakistan's borders. Although Afghanistan has opposed all Pakistani efforts at border management, yet fencing and construction of gates are underway, and checking of travelling documents

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<sup>55</sup> Ali Akbar, "9 killed, over 40 Injured after Afghan Forces Open Fire on Border Village in Chaman," *Dawn*, May 05, 2017.

<sup>56</sup> "Afghanistan Delaying Move for Border Coordination," *Dawn*, December 05, 2015.

<sup>57</sup> "Pakistan awaits Afghanistan's Response over Border Management, says FO," *Dawn*, June 02, 2016.

<sup>58</sup> "Effective Border Management Key to Security, Aziz tells NA," *The Nation*, June 17, 2016.

<sup>59</sup> "Construction of Gate on Torkham is not Violation of Agreement: Aziz," *Dawn*, June 16, 2016.

and ID cards are mandatory for crossing the Pak-Afghan border now. Pakistan faced criticism of Afghan government on these actions; however, security situation in Pakistan is becoming better as a result of these steps and incidents of terrorism have remarkably reduced in Pakistan. As a matter of fact, Pakistan's internal and external security is directly linked to its borders.

Unfortunately, both Afghanistan and Pakistan have suffered due to the brutal attacks of terrorists across the border which pushed Pakistan to take some pragmatic steps. However, Afghanistan was not ready to recognize the Durand Line as an international border. Kabul needs to understand that improvement of ties with Pakistan is in its own interests as well. It will not only get benefits from China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) but the construction of Peshawar-Kabul Motorway would equally be helpful in the promotion of trade. The trend of accusations would certainly be destabilising both the countries' progress and would be fatal for smooth future relations. It is pertinent to understand that Pakistan and Afghanistan have harmony of interests and it would not be possible to cultivate peace in the presence of mutual distrust. Bilateral talks and cooperation are essential for moving forward in the future as new regional alignments are causing shifts in policies of all states in Asia. Unilateral measures of border management (from either side) would be a short term solution. Thus, both sides should exchange information to root out terrorism. It can be envisioned that proper border posts and forts would improve trade and people to people contacts. Bilateral talks should be held through diplomatic means to discuss and settle the differences.

## PAKISTAN'S COUNTER-INSURGENCY CAMPAIGN IN BALOCHISTAN: AN ANALYSIS

Fahad Nabeel\* & Dr. Mariam Asif\*\*

### Abstract

*Balochistan has been under the shadow of militant outfits for more than a decade. In early 2000s, the Pakistani state mostly employed military force and socio-economic developmental initiatives in order to curtail these groups. However, in recent years, political measures like Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan in addition to integration measures like 'Balochistan Peace Program' and 'Youth Mobilization Campaign' have been undertaken to weaken support for militant outfits and anti-state narrative. Meanwhile, security forces have also changed their approach since 2013 by eliminating the second and third tier leadership of militant outfits. The paper presents an overview of how military, socio-economic, political and integration measures employed by the state have played an instrumental role in restoring peace in Balochistan. Despite the restoration of peace, there is still a need to address the socio-economic grievances of a large segment of the people residing in the province. Until these grievances are addressed Balochistan will remain engulfed in turmoil.*

**Keywords:** *Balochistan, Deprivation, Pakistan, Peace, Security, Counter Insurgency*

### Introduction

Insurgency and counter-insurgency is depicted through various terms like guerilla warfare, (the stress is on tactics); armed resistance (emphasis is on the violent aspect); asymmetric warfare (demonstrates the asymmetries in power); "small wars," and revolutionary wars.<sup>1</sup> All these terms explain the various dimensions and

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\* MPhil International Relations, Department of International Relations, NDU, Islamabad. Email: fahadnabeelfn@gmail.com.

\*\* Lecturer, National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. Email: mariam.saqib1982@gmail.com.

characteristics of insurgency and counter-insurgency. Generally speaking, insurgency and counter-insurgency is defined as the use of force and violence to secure political aims and ensure that opponent surrenders to one's will.<sup>2</sup>

According to David Galula, the main target of the counter-insurgents is the insurgents' cause, which requires to be brought into disrepute or be 'stolen' by demonstrating that the injustices aggravating the insurgency are being properly addressed by the state. The second part is the experience of the counter-insurgent itself and tackling with the insurgencies which includes the political determination of its leadership and the external political, financial, military and moral aid.<sup>3</sup> For a number of researchers, the administrative limit of the counter-insurgent and their ability to control the population and territory without leaving a vacuum of governance where other structures of the insurgents could arise, are significant determinants in counter-insurgencies.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, counter-insurgency campaigns require effective coordination of all state apparatuses and agencies (military, police, intelligence, diplomatic, economic, judicial and propaganda devices). Thus, most of the authors assume that there are no military solutions to insurgency.<sup>5</sup>

Insurgency and counter-insurgency usually last for years and even decades in some cases, wherein both sides are trying to breakdown the other. In the words of Steven Metz and Raymond Miller, in most instances, insurgencies continue so long that their entire generations have to suffer from conflicts.<sup>6</sup> Since the independence of Pakistan in 1947, Germany-sized Balochistan, which constitutes 44 per cent of Pakistan's total landmass, has faced five waves of ethno-nationalist insurgency - 1948, 1958-59, 1962-63 and 1973-77. The fifth insurgency, which started around 2004, continues for over a decade thus making it the longest insurgency ever waged in any province of Pakistan.<sup>7</sup> At present, the most

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<sup>1</sup> Unaiza Niaz, *Wars, Insurgencies and Terrorist Attacks: A Psychological Perspective from the Muslim World* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 164.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> David Galula, *Counter-Insurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (London: Pall Mall Press) 19.

<sup>4</sup> Niaz, *Wars, Insurgencies and Terrorist Attacks: A Psychological Perspective from the Muslim World*, 167.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Steven Metz and Raymond Miller, "Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency in the Twenty-First Century: Re-Conceptualizing Threat and Response," *Carlisle: US Army War College Strategic Studies Institute*, 5.

<sup>7</sup> Waleed Hashmi, "'Fierce and Warlike': Could the Baloch Separatist Movement Remain Pakistan's Longest Insurgency?" *Small Wars Journal*, accessed January

prominent ethno-nationalist organisations operating in the province are Baloch Liberation Army (both Hyrbyair Marri and Aslam Baloch factions)<sup>8</sup>, Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF) and Baloch Republican Army (BRA).

The religious outfits have also been operating in the province which include Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Jamaat-ul-Ahrar, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ) and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi Al Alami (LJ-A). Most of the time, ethno-nationalist organisations have collaborated with these religious groups to conduct attacks in Balochistan. As a result, both ethno-nationalist and religious terror networks have been responsible for killing more than 5,500 people and wounding nearly 10,774 others in the province since 2006.<sup>9</sup>

In an attempt to address both these ethno-nationalist groups and religious terror outfits, the state of Pakistan employed some counter-insurgency measures. These include: military and law enforcement initiatives; socio-economic and political measures and integration efforts. The paper analyses the initiatives adopted by the Pakistani state against ethno-nationalist groups and religious terror outfits, the present obstacles to counter-insurgency measures, and recommendations for the success of counter-insurgency efforts in Balochistan.

## Military and Law Enforcement Measures

2004 onwards, Balochistan has been a victim of the fifth wave of ethno-nationalist insurgency.<sup>10</sup> The Musharraf regime initiated military operations in the region in February 2005 to deal with the security situation. The first step taken by the government was to ban Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) in April 2006. In the following days, bank accounts related with 42 suspected BLA members were frozen.<sup>11</sup>

The death of a significant Baloch leader, Akbar Khan Bugti in August 2006 served as a catalyst to the present ethno-nationalist insurgency as it not only aggravated the pace of the insurgency but

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28, 2018, <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/fierce-and-warlike-could-baloch-separatist-movement-remain-pakistans-longest-insurgency>.

<sup>8</sup> In August 2018, Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) bifurcated into two factions – Hybyair Marri faction and Aslam Baloch faction. For details see, Fahad Nabeel, "Aslam Baloch's Killing: Implications for Balochistan Insurgency," *Centre for Strategic and Contemporary Research*, December 28, 2018, <https://cscr.pk/explore/themes/defense-security/aslam-balochs-killing-implications-for-balochistan-insurgency/>

<sup>9</sup> "Pakistan Security Reports," *Pak Institute for Peace Studies*, May 29, 2019, <https://www.pakpips.com/publications#1512730923805-d52fde57-07fa>.

<sup>10</sup> Mickey Kupecz, "Pakistan's Baloch Insurgency: History, Conflict Drivers, and Regional Implications," *International Affairs Review* 20, no. 3 (Spring 2012): 95-110.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 3.

increased the grievances of the people of Balochistan towards the federal government. In November 2007, the insurgency faced a huge loss in the form of the killing of BLA Chief Balaach Marri who died under disputed circumstances in Afghanistan.<sup>12</sup> Some BLA members without any proof assumed that BRA chief Brahumdag Bugti had a role in the killing of BLA chief and thus caused divisions between the two outfits.<sup>13</sup>

The action that was taken against BLA - the most prominent ethno-nationalist outfit - led to the weakening of the insurgency. Some of the dominant leaders of ethno-nationalist groups escaped to Afghanistan. The most significant among them was Brahumdag Bugti, who fled from Sui, Dera Bugti to Afghanistan. Bugti lived in Afghanistan as a state guest till October 2010 before he left for Switzerland.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, several leaders switched loyalties to the Pakistani side in exchange for amnesty. Moreover, frequent killings of civilians generated more hatred towards ethno-nationalist outfits. As a result, the province experienced a fragile peace. There was a 19 percent decrease in fatalities in 2007 in comparison to the previous year.<sup>15</sup>

Following persistent failure in bringing ethno-nationalists to negotiations, the PPP government decided to adopt 'carrot and stick' policy in 2010. In September 2010, the government put a ban on BRA, BLF, Lashkar-e-Balochistan, *Baloch Musallah Difai Tanzeem* (Baloch Armed Defence Organization) and Balochistan Liberation United Front, freezing their accounts and other assets.<sup>16</sup>

Security forces were able to make significant headway in the 'no-go areas' of Awaran district, which was considered as BLF's stronghold<sup>17</sup>, after the region was hit by an earthquake in 2013. The operations conducted by the security forces weakened the BLF and compelled the BLF

<sup>12</sup> Saleem Shahid, "Balach Marri killed: Violence in Quetta, Schools Closed," *Dawn*, November 22, 2007.

<sup>13</sup> Fahad Nabeel, "Factionalism in the Balochistan Insurgency – An overview," *Stratagem*, January 2017, 60.

<sup>14</sup> Shailaja Neelakantan, "Exiled Baloch leader Brahumdag Bugti to get Indian citizenship: Pakistan Media," *The Economic Times*, July 13, 2018, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/exiled-baloch-leader-brahumdag-bugti-to-get-indian-citizenship-pakistan-media/articleshow/54358610.cms>.

<sup>15</sup> Khuram Iqbal, "Counter-Insurgency in Balochistan: Pakistan's Strategy, Outcome and Future Implications," *Pak Institute for Peace Studies* (2008): 3, [www.san-pips.com/download.php?f=pvt0004.pdf](http://www.san-pips.com/download.php?f=pvt0004.pdf).

<sup>16</sup> "Pak Bans Five Militant Groups in Balochistan," *Hindustan Times*, September 8, 2010, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/world/pak-bans-five-militant-groups-in-balochistan/story-ymIWTKHpdSfOHW9FrJf2kL.html>.

<sup>17</sup> Naziha Syed Ali, "Situationer: Who's Who of Baloch Insurgency," *Dawn*, June 1, 2015.

leadership to leave Awaran and take sanctuary in Iran. Following Operation Zarb-e-Azb and subsequent military operations, the focus of security forces shifted towards cleansing Balochistan from terror outfits. Since 2011, nearly 1,200 militants were killed in various counter-insurgency and intelligence-based operations.<sup>18</sup>

Since 2013, there has been a change in the military's way of dealing with the terror groups in Balochistan. Under the new approach, security forces started eliminating the second and third tier leadership of ethno-nationalist outfits and religious terror outfits. Through this new approach, security forces were successful in neutralizing chiefs of the Balochistan chapter of Lashkar-e-Jhagvi (LeJ) and Al-Qaeda (AQ), causing a severe blow to ethno-nationalist outfits. The main high-profile killings of ethno-nationalist and religious terror outfits are mentioned in Table 1.

**Table 1 – chiefs and senior commanders killed by security forces**

Date	Area	Group	Designation	Name
15 February 2015	Quetta	LeJ	Chief of Balochistan chapter	Usman Saifullah Kurd <sup>19</sup>
13 April 2015	Turbat	BLF	Commander	Hayatullah <sup>20</sup>
30 June 2015	Awaran	BLF	Commander	Balaach <sup>21</sup>
30 June 2015	Awaran	BLF	Commander	Shahjahan <sup>22</sup>
1 August 2015	Chaghi	AQ	Chief for Balochistan and southern Punjab chapter	Omar Abdul Lateef <sup>23</sup>
26 August 2015	Sui	BRA	Key leader	CheelaReesh <sup>24</sup>
30 January 2016	Mastung	BLA	Commander	Ashraf <sup>25</sup>
30 January 2016	Mastung	BLF	Chief Operational Leader	Dr. Manan Baloch <sup>26</sup>

<sup>18</sup> "Datasheet – Balochistan," *South Asia Terrorism Portal*, accessed January 28, 2019, <http://www.satp.org/datasheet-terrorist-attack/fatalities/pakistan-balochistan>.

<sup>19</sup> Amir Mir, "Killing of Usman Kurd a Major Blow to LeJ," *The News*, February 17, 2015.

<sup>20</sup> "BLF commander among 13 Militants Killed in Turbat Operation," *The News*, April 13, 2015.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Syed Ali Shah, "Al Qaeda Chief of Balochistan and South Punjab killed in Chaghi: Bugti," *Dawn*, August 2, 2015.

<sup>24</sup> Syed Ali Shah, "Eight Militants Including Commander Killed: Frontier Corps," *Dawn*, August 26, 2015, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1202978>.

<sup>25</sup> Mohammad Zafar, "BLA Commander Killed in Crossfire during FC Raid in Mastung," *The Express Tribune*, January 30, 2016.



21 March 2016	Kohlu	BLA	Commander	Jamir <sup>27</sup>
21 March 2016	Kohlu	BLA	Commander	Baloch Khan <sup>28</sup>
28 September 2016	Dera Murad Jamali	BRA	Commander	ZafarBugti <sup>29</sup>
11 November 2016	Hub	Jundullah	Chief	Amir Arif <sup>30</sup>
17 November 2017	Turbat	BLF	Commander	Younas Taukali <sup>31</sup>
4 April 2018	Kharan	BLF	Tactical combat unit commander	Ameer Baloch <sup>32</sup>
4 April 2018	Kharan	BLF	Tactical combat unit commander	Meeras Baloch <sup>33</sup>
20 July 2018	Kharan	BRA	Area commander	Abdul Bari Baloch <sup>34</sup>
21 October 2018	Bolan	BLA (Aslam Baloch faction)	Commander of Special Tactical Operations Squad	Fateh Qumbrani <sup>35</sup>

Source: Compiled by the authors.

As a response to the new approach adopted by the security forces, local leadership of most of the ethno-nationalist militant outfits and religious terror groups began to change their positions and code names for organizational and security purposes.<sup>36</sup> BLF leadership fled to Iran while

<sup>26</sup> "BLF Leader Killed in Gunbattle: Minister," *Dawn*, January 31, 2016.

<sup>27</sup> Mohammad Zafar, "Two BLA Commanders among 12 Militants Killed in Balochistan Operation," *The Express Tribune*, March 21, 2016.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> "FC Kills Militant in DMJ," *Pakistan Observer*, September 26, 2016.

<sup>30</sup> Sharif Khan, "Rangers Kill Jundallah Chief in Hub," *The Nation*, November 12, 2016.

<sup>31</sup> "Security Forces Kill 'BLF Commander Involved' in Turbat Massacre," *The Express Tribune*, November 17, 2017.

<sup>32</sup> "FC soldier martyred, two terrorists killed in Balochistan operation: ISPR," *Khyber News*, last modified April 4, 2018, <https://khybernews.tv/fc-soldier-martyred-two-terrorists-killed-balochistan-operation-ispr/>.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> "Two extremists killed, arms and ammunition recovered in Kharan," *Pakistan Today*, July 20, 2018.

<sup>35</sup> "BLA Commander Killed near Mach," *The Balochistan Post*, October 21, 2018, <http://thebalochistanpost.net/2018/10/bla-commander-killed-near-mach/>.

<sup>36</sup> Maaz Khan, "Balochistan Security in 2017," *Conflict and Peace Studies* 10, no. 1 (Jan – June 2018): 147.

many militants linked with BLA moved to various areas of Sindh. Feeling the need to cooperate for efficient response against the state, an increasing trend of forming alliances was observed among Baloch ethno-national militant outfits. In this aspect, BLA splinter faction, which was founded by Aslam Baloch, made an alliance with BLF in October 2017.<sup>37</sup> Few months later, BRA, UBA and LeB combined to form an alliance in February 2018 to help each other in conducting terror activities.<sup>38</sup> The alliance between BLA and BLF expanded by including the Baloch Republican Guards in April 2018. This new alliance was formally announced in November 2018 as Baloch Raji Aajoi Sangar (Baloch National Freedom Front). BRAS came into being in order to strengthen efforts to carry out coordinated attacks against Pakistani army; it also threatened Chinese interests in Balochistan including CPEC sites.<sup>39</sup> Baloch Republican Army's splinter faction<sup>40</sup> joined the conglomerate as a fourth group in May 2019.<sup>41</sup>

Despite shifting tactics of militant outfits, the military measures have played an important role in restoring peace, reviving economic activities and tourism in Balochistan. The residents of Dera Bugti, which was once considered a no-go area, now travel easily all across the province. Turbat, the second most populous city of the province, has witnessed return of businessmen, investors and artists from all over Pakistan.<sup>42</sup> Although exact figures are not available but there is a growing trend of domestic and foreign tourists returning back to explore Balochistan.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Fahad Nabeel, "Identity as a Pretext of Terror: Brief Backgrounder of Baloch Raaji Aajoi Sangar," *Centre for Strategic and Contemporary Research*, April 18, 2019, <https://cscr.pk/explore/publications/articles/identity-as-a-pretext-of-terror-brief-backgrounder-of-baloch-raaji-aajoi-sangar/>.

<sup>38</sup> Fahad Nabeel, "New Alliance among BSNGs – Prospects and Challenges," *Centre for Strategic and Contemporary Research*, March 10, 2018, <https://cscr.pk/explore/themes/defense-security/new-alliance-among-bsngs-prospects-and-challenges/>.

<sup>39</sup> Nabeel, "Identity as a Pretext of Terror: Brief Backgrounder of Baloch Raaji Aajoi Sangar."

<sup>40</sup> Baloch Republican Army bifurcated into two factions (one headed by Brahmdagh Bugti whereas the other one is headed by Gulzar Imam) in November 2018; For more details see: "BRACOMMANDERS KALJLAS, Gulzar Imampar ilzamat mustara, Naya Tarjuman Beebagr Baloch muqarar" بی آر اے "کمانڈروں کا اجلاس، گلزار امام پر الزامات مسترد، نیا ترجمان بیبگر بلوچ مقرر (Meeting of BRA Commanders: Allegations against Gulzar Imam rejected; Beebagr Baloch appointed as new spokesperson), *The Balochistan Post*, November 19, 2018.

<sup>41</sup> "BRA (Beebagr) joining BRAS is a positive development – Baloch Khan", *The Balochistan Post*, May 31, 2019.

<sup>42</sup> Kiyya Baloch, "Amid Weakening Insurgency, Peace Returning to Remote Balochistan Corner," *Gandhara*, last modified April 18, 2017.

<sup>43</sup> "Tourism Flourishing after Security Boost," *The Express Tribune*, May 9, 2018.

## Political Measures

In March 2008, Pakistan Peoples' Party (PPP) came to power and adopted a number of confidence-building measures (CBMs) to address the grievances of Balochistan towards the federation. Some of the major measures were halting military operations; withdrawal of cases against former Chief Minister Akhtar Mengal; and tendering an apology to Balochistan. Further, in continuation of the CBMs, PPP introduced Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan (AHB) package with the objective of addressing the grievances of the people of Balochistan. Through the 7<sup>th</sup> National Finance Commission Award, Balochistan's share was enhanced from 7.05 per cent to 9.09 per cent. The introduction of 18<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment planned to give more autonomy to the provinces.

## Mainstreaming Separatists

In August 2015, the then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif initiated the Balochistan Peace Program.<sup>44</sup> According to this program, a general amnesty was offered to those ethno-nationalists who were willing to surrender their arms before the state. Cash rewards were given to ethno-nationalists to enable their rehabilitation and to ensure their return to society as lawful citizens. More than 3,000 separatists have surrendered in the past three years.<sup>45</sup>

## Engaging Youth

Youth of Balochistan is an important group that needs to be engaged. Both ethno-nationalist groups and Islamist terror outfits are known for using youth for their nefarious activities.<sup>46</sup> Amidst such situation, Balochistan government and Army's Southern Command jointly launched Youth Mobilization Campaign in 2015 with the objective of promoting inter-provincial harmony among students and to demystify the existing stereotypes about one another.<sup>47</sup> Under the initiative, more than 40 tours have been arranged so far for students of Balochistan to different cities of Pakistan including Abbottabad, Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta. Similar trips have been arranged for students from other provinces to various cities of Balochistan including Gwadar, Quetta and Ziarat as part of this campaign. Tours within Balochistan were also conducted so that students from southern Balochistan can visit northern Balochistan and vice versa to acquaint themselves with one another. In

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<sup>44</sup> Syed Ali Shah and Irfan Haider, "PM approves 'Pur-aman Balochistan' programme in Quetta," *Dawn*, August 6, 2015.

<sup>45</sup> Mohammad Zafar, "In Balochistan nationalist, sectarian terror is contained, says Zehri," *The Express Tribune*, October 24, 2017,

<sup>46</sup> "Child Soldiers Global Report 2008 – Pakistan," *Refworld*, May 20, 2008, [https://www.refworld.org/docid/486cb123c.html#\\_ftn25](https://www.refworld.org/docid/486cb123c.html#_ftn25).

<sup>47</sup> Fahad Nabeel, "Restoration of Peace in Balochistan,".

total, around 7,000 students have taken part in this campaign. The program has proved a success in transforming views about Balochistan and its people among youth of other provinces.

### **Engaging Women**

Like youth, special importance has been given to engaging women for the betterment of Balochistan. Security officials believe that women have more influential role in convincing their male relatives for either taking up or giving up arms. Realizing such influencing power of women, 50 per cent quota is allocated for females in every trip arranged under Youth Mobilization Campaign.<sup>48</sup>

### **Return of Missing Persons**

The issue of missing persons has remained a controversial matter for several years. There are conflicting figures about missing persons. The Commission of Inquiry on Enforced Disappearances has received 360 cases from Balochistan.<sup>49</sup> There are many people from Balochistan who are known to be jailed in Afghan provinces of Paktia and Nangarhar.<sup>50</sup> A major development took place around mid-January 2019, when *Voice for Baloch Missing Persons* (VBMP) temporarily brought an end to its camp after 10 years on the assurance of Chief Minister Jam Kamal that his government should be provided two months to resolve the issue. VBMP chairman Nasrullah Baloch has claimed that more than 250 missing persons have returned to their homes since the assumption of power by Kamal's government.<sup>51</sup>

### **Social Development Measures**

Besides the military and political initiatives, many socio-developmental measures have been implemented to raise the standard of living of the people in Balochistan. These attempts have played a significant role in weakening support for terror organisations, leading to a positive image of federation among people of Balochistan and improving the conditions of the local population.

### **Infrastructural projects**

During the rule of Musharraf, several important mega-projects were completed which include strategic Gwadar Port, Makran Coastal

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> "Data of Cases from March, 2011 To October, 2018," *Committee of Enquiry on Enforced Disappearances*, February 1, 2019, <http://coioed.pk/>.

<sup>50</sup> Fahad Chaudhry, "'Matter of missing persons politicised,' chief of missing persons commission says," *Dawn*, August 28, 2018..

<sup>51</sup> "Missing persons' relatives suspend protest after 10 years," *Daily Times*, January 17, 2019,

Highway, Mirani Dam and Sabakzai Dam. The Gwadar Port is the lynchpin for regional connectivity between South Asia, Central Asia and Middle East. It acts as sine qua non for China's Belt and Road Initiative. The port was formally operationalized in November 2016.<sup>52</sup> In addition, the construction of the Makran Coastal Highway has resulted in the development of coastal cities of Gwadar, Ormara and Pasni. Mirani Dam was built with the aim of supplying water for uncultivated land in Kech valley. It is also source of water for Turbat and Gwadar. Sabakzai Dam has the capacity to irrigate 10,000 acres of agricultural land.

A tribal conflict between the Luni (Pashtun tribe) and Marri (Baloch tribe) remained a hurdle in realizing the potential of the second largest coal mine in Asia, Chamalang Coal Mines, for more than three decades. In 2006, Pakistan Army took over and revived the project. Since re-opening of the project, more than 75,000 individuals of Luni and Marri tribes have been given employment.<sup>53</sup> In September 2017, then Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi inaugurated Kachhi Canal Project. Through this project, agricultural benefits are estimated to be Rs.10 billion per year. 72,000 acres of Dera Bugti will be irrigated in the initial phase of the canal project.<sup>54</sup>

### **Educational Initiatives**

In 2007, Southern Command of Pakistan Army started the Chamalang Beneficiary Education Program. The program initiated with the enrollment of 303 students and is now one of the biggest social sector development programmes in Balochistan. At present, more than 3,700 students are been given free education through this project.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, under AHB seats were reserved for Balochistan domicile-holder students in the universities and higher education rate has increased by 100 per cent.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>52</sup> "‘Today marks dawn of new era': CPEC dreams come true as Gwadar port goes operational," *Dawn*, November 13, 2016.

<sup>53</sup> "Army's Contributions in Development of Balochistan," *Pakistan Army*, February 5, 2019, <https://www.pakistanarmy.gov.pk/AWPReview/pDetails629f.html>.

<sup>54</sup> "Much-delayed Kachhi Canal's commissioning today," *Business Recorder*, September 5, 2017, [epaper.brecorder.com/2017/09/05/5-page/902911-news.html](http://epaper.brecorder.com/2017/09/05/5-page/902911-news.html).

<sup>55</sup> Muhammad Khan, "The Socio-Economic Development of Balochistan (Pak Army's Contributions)," *Hilal English*, October 2013, <http://hilal.gov.pk/index.php/grids-preview/2014-09-09-14-38-33/item/652-the-socio-economic-development-of-balochistan-pak-armys-contributions>.

<sup>56</sup> Safdar Sial, "Pak-Afghan Relations Emerging Trends and Future Prospects," *Pak Institute for Peace Studies* (2011). url: [san-pips.com/download.php?f=164.pdf](http://san-pips.com/download.php?f=164.pdf).

More than 20,000 students of Balochistan have been admitted to educational institutions situated in the remote areas of the province, under Pakistan Army and Frontier Corps. In 2011, Sui was developed into an educational city by opening institutions like Balochistan Institute of Technical Education (BITE) and Military College Sui (MCS). These institutes have been established with the purpose of bringing Baloch youth at par with the students from the rest of the country. Cadets from MCS have won 'Sword of Honour'<sup>57</sup> consecutively in 2017 and 2018 and 'President's Gold Medal'<sup>58</sup> in 2017; nearly 4,500 students from Balochistan have received training through BITE and Army School of Technicians.<sup>59</sup>

For imparting quality education to the youth of Balochistan, Army and provincial government jointly established Gwadar Institute of Technology in April 2011. Army Institute of Mineralogy was established to impart basic knowledge and mining skills to the Baloch youth. Army also established Quetta Institute of Medical Sciences to promote medical education; Balochistan Institute of Marine Sciences for promoting vocational training in fishery and nautical sciences, and Balochistan Institute of Technical Education for imparting technical training.<sup>60</sup>

### **Employment Opportunities**

Through the AHB package, youth from the province has been recruited for different federal institutions including Federal Investigation Agency, Planning and Development Division and Anti-Narcotics Force, to name a few.<sup>61</sup> Over 3,900 candidates were recruited in the provincial education department. In order to attract Baloch youth to join Pakistan Army, Army's Southern Command launched a recruitment drive by relaxing pre-requisite medical and educational standards. Consequently, it has resulted in the recruitment of more than 20,000 youths in Pakistan Army since 2010.<sup>62</sup> Baloch representation in the Army now constitutes around 3.5 per cent of the total strength. Presently, 1,500 officers and 30,000 soldiers from Balochistan are serving in the military.

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<sup>57</sup> "Annual Parents Day held at Sui military college: ISPR," *The News*, November 18, 2018.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> "Army's Contributions in Development Of Balochistan," *Pakistan Army*, January 31, 2019, <https://www.pakistanarmy.gov.pk/AWPReview/pDetails629f.html>.

<sup>60</sup> "COAS General Kayani's achievements," *The News*, November 27, 2013.

<sup>61</sup> "2,000 Baloch separatists surrender in two years," *Pakistan Observer*, January 23, 2018, <https://pakobserver.net/2000-baloch-separatists-surrender-two-years/>.

<sup>62</sup> "Rules relaxed to induct Baloch youth into army: Gen Raheel," *Dawn*, December 13, 2013.

## Border Security Management Measures

### Afghanistan

Historically, Afghanistan has served as a safe haven for ethno-nationalist militant groups. BLA's first chief Balaach Marri was operating from Afghanistan when he was killed in November 2007.<sup>63</sup> Switzerland-based Brahmdagh Bugti, who is chief of Baloch Republican Army, resided in Afghanistan as a state guest before he fled Switzerland. Aslam Baloch, who was heading the splinter faction of Baloch Liberation Army operated from Afghan province in Kandahar since 2005 before he was killed there in December last year.<sup>64</sup> Meanwhile, it was also reported that BLF chief Dr. Allah Nazar also operated from Afghanistan.<sup>65</sup>

From 2010 onwards, cross-border raids from Afghanistan-based Islamist terror groups started wherein these anti-Pakistan organisations began to target Pakistani border areas and villages.<sup>66</sup> The principal Islamist terror groups functioning from Afghanistan include Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan and its different factions, Lashkar-e-Islam, LeJ, LJ-A, Jamaat-ul-Ahrar and Hizb-ul-Ahrar.<sup>67</sup>

Since the completion of tripartite commission's mandate following the end of International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan's mission in December 2014, no coordination mechanism existed between Pakistan and Afghanistan regarding border security.<sup>68</sup> Thus, to stop cross-border attacks and movement of militant groups in Balochistan from Afghanistan, Pakistan implemented a two-pronged strategy – diplomatic engagements and border security management.

Following the tragic terrorist attack on Army Public School Peshawar in December 2014, both Pakistan and Afghanistan initiated cooperation for checking cross-border terrorism. As a result, both

<sup>63</sup> Nabeel, "Aslam Baloch's killing: Implications for Balochistan Insurgency."

<sup>64</sup> Anisa Shaheed, "Baloch Separatist Leader Killed In Kandahar Attack: Reports," *Tolo News*, December 26, 2018, <https://www.tolonews.com/afghanistan/baloch-separatist-leader-killed-kandahar-attack-reports>.

<sup>65</sup> Nabeel, 60.

<sup>66</sup> "Pakistan Security Report 2011," Pak Institute of Peace Studies, last modified November 27, 2017, <https://pakpips.com/web/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/sr2011.pdf>.

<sup>67</sup> Tahir Khan, "A Profile of Pakistani Militants Killed in Afghanistan," *Center for Research & Security Studies*, December 31, 2017, <https://crssblog.com/a-profile-of-pakistani-terrorists-killed-in-afghanistan/>.

<sup>68</sup> "Afghanistan Delaying Move for Border Coordination," *Dawn*, December 5, 2015.

countries coordinated border patrols.<sup>69</sup> In July 2016, military officials from both countries met in Kabul to discuss various affairs including technical aspects of border security.<sup>70</sup> Meanwhile, Pakistani authorities repeatedly urged both Afghan authorities and NATO forces to target anti-Pakistan militants operating from Afghanistan. Consequently, a large number of high-profile leaders of different anti-Pakistan militant groups have been targeted in Afghanistan from 2016 onwards.

As part of diplomatic engagements, Pakistan handed over a list of 76 Afghanistan-based terrorists to Afghan authorities in February 2017 and asked them to either hunt them down or hand them over to Pakistan.<sup>71</sup> The visit of Pakistani Army Chief General Qamar Javed Bajwa to Kabul in October 2017 gave birth to Afghanistan and Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity (APAPPS), an initiative between the two countries for cooperation in wide-ranging areas including counter-terrorism and violence reduction<sup>72</sup>; which became operational in May 2018.<sup>73</sup> Since 2012, more than 400 Afghanistan-based militants have been killed by security forces while they were attempting to intrude into Pakistani territory (See Table 2). The work on fencing Balochistan side of Pak-Afghan border, which is about 1400-km in length, is expected to be completed by the end of 2019.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Fareed Assad, "Reaching out to Islamabad: Options for Kabul," *Pajhwok*, September 21, 2015, <http://www.pajhwok.com/en/opinions/reaching-out-islamabad-options-kabul>.

<sup>70</sup> Safdar Sial, "Security Landscape of Pakistan in 2016," *Conflict and Peace Studies* 9, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 59.

<sup>71</sup> "Afghan Officials Summoned to GHQ, asked to Handover 76 'most wanted' Terrorists," *Dawn*, February 17, 2017.

<sup>72</sup> "New framework for Talks with Afghanistan becomes Operational," *Dawn*, May 15, 2018,

<sup>73</sup> "Islamabad-Kabul to Coordinate Military Operations against Terrorists," *The News*, July 25, 2018,

<sup>74</sup> "Work on 900km Pak-Afghan Border Fence Completed: Army," *Dawn*, January 28, 2019.



**Table: 2 –Number of Afghanistan-based militants killed by Pakistani security forces.**

Year	Number of militants killed
2012	247
2013	10
2014	33
2015	25
2016	11
2017	89
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>415</b>

Source: Pak Institute of Peace Studies<sup>75</sup>

## Iran

In recent times, Iranian soil has been utilized by Baloch ethno-national militant groups for a number of objectives. Iran serves as a transit point for entering into Afghanistan. BLA's splinter faction chief Aslam Baloch fled to Afghanistan via Iran after getting wounded by security forces in Balochistan in March 2016. Meanwhile, training camps of ethno-national militant outfits have also been created in Iranian region bordering Pak-Iran border.<sup>76</sup> The Iranian security forces are also providing protection to the families of Baloch militant groups' commanders.<sup>77</sup> The militants affiliated with ethno-national militant outfits have reportedly also undergone medical treatment in Iran.<sup>78</sup> Recently, Iranian soil has been used to plan terror attacks inside Pakistan.<sup>79</sup>

In 2014, a number of steps were taken by Pakistani and Iranian authorities regarding border security. In May, both countries agreed to establish hotline between Frontier Corps (FC) in Balochistan and the Iranian border security force. In October, Inspector General of FC Balochistan met with Iranian border force's chief in Tehran and both officials agreed to boost intelligence cooperation in terms of border security.<sup>80</sup> Following then Pakistani National Security Advisor Nasser Khan Janjua's three-day visit to Tehran in July 2016, both countries decided to

<sup>75</sup> "Pakistan Security Reports," *Pak Institute for Peace Studies*, May 29, 2019, <https://www.pakpips.com/publications#1512730923805-d52fde57-07fa>.

<sup>76</sup> "Fidayeen Majeed Brigade, the Elite Unit of BLA," *Pakistan Institute for Conflict and Security Studies*, last modified November 26, 2018, <https://www.picss.net/fidayeen-majeed-brigade-the-elite-unit-of-bla/>.

<sup>77</sup> Muhammad Amir Rana, "Religion, Nationalism and Insurgency in Balochistan," *Dawn, EOS*, July 14, 2019.

<sup>78</sup> "Fidayeen Majeed Brigade, the Elite Unit of BLA."

<sup>79</sup> Nabeel, "Tracing the Activities of Baloch Sub-Nationalist Groups in Iran."

<sup>80</sup> Syed Ali Shah, "Pak-Iran Agree on Intelligence Cooperation following Border Unrest," *Dawn*, October 22, 2014.

further engage on establishing an institutional mechanism for overseeing border security.<sup>81</sup> Pakistan started fencing its 900-km long border with Iran from March this year.<sup>82</sup> Till now, at least 215 km of the border with Iran has been fenced.<sup>83</sup>

## Constraints

Despite a number of measures undertaken across different fields, there still exist many constraints which enable terrorist groups to recruit fighters, instigate anti-state feelings, and xenophobic tendencies towards people of other provinces. Balochistan remains the poorest province with a poverty rate of almost 57 per cent. The poorest 40 districts are in the province with Washuk district topping the list with a headcount poverty rate of 72.5 per cent.<sup>84</sup>

Regarding food security, about 45 per cent of the population of Balochistan is food insecure.<sup>85</sup> Out of 32 districts, only Quetta and Jaffarabad are food secure.<sup>86</sup> The persistent drought conditions in southern and southwestern areas of Balochistan since 2014 have affected more than 200,000 families due to successive crop failures and significant livestock losses.<sup>87 88</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> "Pakistan, Iran for fighting common threat posed by IS," *Dawn*, July 28, 2016,

<sup>82</sup> Aamir Latif, "Pakistan to Fence Border with Iran," *Anadolu Agency*, March 19, 2019, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/pakistan-to-fence-border-with-iran/1422980>.

<sup>83</sup> Imran Mukhtar, "Iran 'disrupting' Border Fencing," *The Nation*, May 11, 2019, <https://nation.com.pk/11-May-2019/iran-disrupting-border-fencing>.

<sup>84</sup> Ghazala Mansuri, Mohammad Farhanullah Sami, Muhammad Ali, Dung ThiThuy Doan, Bilal Javed and PriyankaPandey, "When Water Becomes a Hazard : A Diagnostic Report on The State of Water Supply, Sanitation and Poverty in Pakistan and Its Impact on Child Stunting," *World Bank*, November 11, 2018, <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/649341541535842288/When-Water-Becomes-a-Hazard-A-Diagnostic-Report-on-The-State-of-Water-Supply-Sanitation-and-Poverty-in-Pakistan-and-Its-Impact-on-Child-Stunting>.

<sup>85</sup> Adeeba Ishaq, Mahmood Khalid and Eatnaz Ahmad, "Food Insecurity in Pakistan: A Region-Wise Analysis of Trends," *Pakistan Institute of Development Economics*, September 2018, <https://pide.org.pk/pdf/Working%20Paper/WorkingPaper-157.pdf>.

<sup>86</sup> Wajid Ali and AzizullahKakar, "Balochistan's Water," *Dawn*, April 13, 2018.

<sup>87</sup> "Pakistan," *Food and Agriculture Organization*, January 9, 2019, <http://www.fao.org/giews/countrybrief/country.jsp?code=PAK>.

<sup>88</sup> "Pakistan: Drought," *International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies*, January 28, 2019, <http://www.ifrc.org/docs/Appeals/19/IBPKdr280119.pdf>.

The health sector of Balochistan has drastically failed in fulfilling the needs of the people. Balochistan has the worst ratio of doctors in the country. Only 6,157 doctors are available to cure 12.3 million population. The province also tops in infant and under-five mortality rate with 97 and 111 deaths out of 1000 children respectively. Maternal mortality rate (MMR) in Balochistan is nearly triple of the country's overall MMR.<sup>89</sup> In terms of child health, six per cent of children in the province face acute undernourishment while 40 per cent are underweight.<sup>90</sup>

Like the health sector, the educational facilities in Balochistan present a dismal picture. More than 1.9 million (70 per cent) out of 2.7 million children, between the ages of 5 and 16, are out of school in the province. In the last five years, there has been a drastic decrease in girls' enrollment in schools. Out of 11,627 total schools, more than 7,000 schools are shelter less, 6,700 schools need rehabilitation, 2,500 school buildings are considered dangerous and about 1,800 schools are without any building.<sup>91</sup> According to Alif Ailaan's 2017 District Education Rankings, Quetta was the only district of Balochistan which ranked among the top 50 most educated districts.<sup>92</sup> Balochistan has a literacy rate of 39 per cent.<sup>93</sup> The youth literacy rate of Balochistan is 50 per cent.<sup>94</sup> On gender basis, 18 per cent female and 56 per cent male population of ages 15 and older can read and write with understanding.<sup>95</sup>

In terms of access to basic utilities, some 62 per cent of people in Balochistan reportedly don't have access to electricity.<sup>96</sup> Despite

<sup>89</sup> "Balochistan Far Behind in Density of Doctors and Health Indicators as Compared to Other Provinces," *Center for Investigative Reporting in Pakistan*, last modified February 14, 2018, <http://cirp.pk/balochistan-far-behind-in-density-of-doctors-and-health-indicators-as-compared-to-other-provinces/>.

<sup>90</sup> "Balochistan Children Facing Acute Malnutrition: Experts," *The News*, December 25, 2018.

<sup>91</sup> Asim Ahmed Khan, "Balochistan Government Failing to provide Safe Education to Children," *Daily Balochistan Express*, January 11, 2019, <https://www.bexpress.com.pk/2019/01/balochistan-government-failing-to-provide-safe-education-to-children/>.

<sup>92</sup> "District Ranking," *Alif Ailaan*, accessed January 30, 2019, <https://elections.alifailaan.pk/rankings/>.

<sup>93</sup> Syed Fazl-e-Haider, "Education should Remain Top Priority for Balochistan," *Pakistan & Gulf Economist*, December 3, 2018, <http://www.pakistaneconomist.com/2018/12/03/education-should-remain-top-priority-for-balochistan/>.

<sup>94</sup> In Pakistan, a literate person is defined as someone who can read a newspaper and write a simple letter in any language.

<sup>95</sup> Hammal Baloch, "Being Young in Balochistan," *Daily Times*, May 25, 2018.

<sup>96</sup> Muhammad Zubair, "Balochistan Deserves Justice in Chinese Projects," *Gandhara*, last modified January 14, 2019, <https://gandhara.rferl.org/a/>

producing over 2,000 MW of electricity, Balochistan only gets 700 MW.<sup>97</sup> Despite peak demand of about 1,800 MW, Balochistan's electricity distribution grid cannot transmit more than 700 MW.<sup>98</sup> Consequently, no power has reached to Balochistan through all energy projects completed so far as part of CPEC. Makran division, where the all-important Gwadar city is located, still remains unconnected to the national grid.<sup>99</sup> About 7.6 million people do not have the adequate facility of safe drinking water which makes Balochistan the most water-scarce province.<sup>100</sup>

Following the inauguration of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) in April 2015, government officials, both at federal and provincial level, claimed that Balochistan will be the main beneficiary of the megaproject. However, the corridor did not bring any change in Balochistan so far. Despite providing 62 per cent of the land for the megaproject, the province has been allocated around \$5.5 billion (less than nine per cent) out of the total portfolio of \$62 billion. Furthermore, less than \$1 billion has been spent in almost past four years. Apart from Gwadar, no significant progress has made on roads comprising CPEC western route. Up till now, only two projects of the province – Gwadar Port and Hubco Power Plant – have been approved as part of the CPEC.<sup>101</sup>

The terrorist sanctuaries in Pakistan's western neighbourhood pose direct security threats to Balochistan. It is reported that the BLF leadership resides in Iran from where it plans and executes anti-Pakistan activities. Frustrated with not achieving substantial results regarding an independent Balochistan state, BLA (Aslam Baloch faction) has started use of suicide bombers to revive the weakened and factionalized insurgency.<sup>102</sup>

The law and order situation has also worsened in the province. Sectarian killings have also increased and the state has failed to provide security to other ethnicities in the region such as the Punjabis, Pathans and

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pakistan-balochistan-deserves-justice-in-chinese-projects-cpec/29708813.html.

<sup>97</sup> Adnan Aamir, "Making CPEC Public," *The News*, December 27, 2018,

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Khurram Husain, "Balochistan Cabinet Shocked by CPEC Presentation," *Dawn*, December 11, 2018.

<sup>100</sup> Ammaz Khan and Syed Shujaat Ahmed, "Achieving Sustainable Development Goals in Balochistan," *Daily Times*, December 18, 2018.

<sup>101</sup> Saleem Shahid, "Balochistan Voices Concern over its Share in CPEC Projects," *Dawn*, December 10, 2018.

<sup>102</sup> Malik Siraj Akbar, "China Jald-azJald Baloch Sarzameen Say Dastbardar Ho: Aslam Achoo

چین جلداز جلد بلوچ سرزمین سے دستبردار ہو: اسلم اچھو [China should immediately withdraw from Baloch land: Aslam Achoo], *Malik Siraj Akbar*, December 26, 2018, (accessed February 5, 2019)

Hazaras. In such a case, a large number of settlers in the province are migrating to other regions. This is leading to a situation of brain-drain where many of the doctors and teachers have left for other cities due to the unstable situation. The problem of forced disappearances and missing persons has also affected the stability of Balochistan. In many of the cases the FC (Frontier Corps) and intelligence agencies are known to be involved in such acts. The inability of the state to handle these cases effectively has also adversely effected the counter-insurgent efforts.

The economic activity is also very slow in Balochistan. Even though the province is rich in natural resources, they have not been utilized effectively. Lack of irrigation and water facilities has led to under-development in the region. Shortage of essential facilities like gas and electricity has heightened the grievances of the people.

## Way Forward

Peace has been restored to a great extent in Balochistan, but in order to create a conducive environment and for ensuring that terrorist groups are not able to recruit fighters, it is important for federal and provincial governments to focus on improving the socio-economic situation of the local populace. To decrease poverty, the provincial government should devise a comprehensive strategy with the aim to provide support to the low-income sections of the population. The province needs an effective banking system that not only channelizes the resources to the neglected economic sector but exploits the potential opportunities in those sectors. A sustainable banking and finance sector should be encouraged to accelerate economic growth by providing finance to low-income segments for poverty alleviation through encouraging investment, businesses and employment. The provincial government should encourage micro-finance banking for expanding microfinance supply; it can play an instrumental role in the economic empowerment of low-income households, especially rural women.<sup>103</sup>

In the case of the missing persons, the provincial government should develop a fast track mechanism for resolving the issue at the earliest. Similarly, it needs to properly identify the actual number of missing persons. In collaboration with the federal government, the provincial government should channelize the youth of the province in an appropriate way by providing vacant government jobs to youth on merit.<sup>104</sup> The un-utilized educational budget should also be utilized for developing educational initiatives. The incumbent provincial government

<sup>103</sup> Syed Fazl-e-Haider, "Poverty Ease In Balochistan, What We Can Do?" *Pakistan & Gulf Economist*, June 11, 2018, <http://www.pakistaneconomist.com/2018/06/11/poverty-ease-in-balochistan-what-we-can-do/>.

<sup>104</sup> KhaleeqKiani, "Jobs Promised to Balochistan Candidates Remain Unfilled," *Dawn*, December 22, 2018.

needs to put pressure on the federal government to seek a greater overall share in CPEC. Balochistan is important for CPEC because about the mega-project goes over two-thirds of Balochistan's landmass. The strategic Gwadar Port in Balochistan is sine qua non for CPEC. The provincial government should work in tandem with the federal government for introducing legislative measures to protect the ownership and inherent rights of local people in face of migrants coming from other provinces in search of employment to Balochistan.

The government needs to take up the issue of terror sanctuaries in its western neighbourhood on private and public level with official authorities in those countries. Intelligence-based operations should continue to target facilitators of foreign-based terror groups. In addition to fencing of borders with Iran and Afghanistan, strict border checking measures should be ensured. There is optimism among Pakistani security circles that the success of Afghan peace process can result in curtailing anti-Pakistan terrorist activities from Afghanistan.<sup>105</sup> There is the need of a political settlement between the state and the Baloch nationalists keeping in view the grievances of the people. The social contract based on mutual trust and confidence needs to be revived between the state and the people of Balochistan.

Despite the achievements made in dealing with ethno-nationalist groups and Islamist terror outfits, a number of steps need to be taken for socio-economic uplift of the people of Balochistan. Improvement in the living conditions of the people of Balochistan will not only downgrade the appeal of these terror outfits that help in recruiting people to fight against the state, but will also bring a realization among the terrorists that to surrender is an option better than to fight for an unachievable cause. Unless socio-developmental measures are taken, Balochistan will remain a vulnerability for Pakistan's internal security. Thus, a political rather than a military approach is to be adopted to address the security situation in Balochistan in the longer run.

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<sup>105</sup> Muhammad Amir Rana, "Situationer: US-Taliban Talks to Decide TTP's Fate, PTM's Future," *Dawn*, January 29, 2019.

## WATER CONSERVATION: BEST PRACTICES AROUND THE WORLD AND WAY FORWARD FOR PAKISTAN

Ms. Afsheen Zeeshan\*

### Abstract

*Water is the most valuable gift to human race by Mother Nature. On the globe, almost 97 percent of water exists in the form of oceans while three percent is available in the form of fresh water, thus conservation is a requisite. Scarcity of water resources, lack of water storage capability and unsustainable groundwater utilization are the main challenges for international and local communities. Population growth and climate change have enhanced stress on natural water resources. This research highlights best practices from all over the world and evaluates traditional as well as innovative methods by using secondary data to highlight civic responsibility regarding water conservation and provide guidelines for all the concerned authorities in Pakistan. This paper also addresses the challenges in adopting or adapting best practices in Pakistan and concludes that improved water conservation and management practices have monetary gains and assist in protecting the environment.*

**Keywords:** *Water Conservation, Water Scarcity, Urbanization, Industrialization, Innovation*

### Introduction

**W**ater is the most valuable gift to human race by Mother Nature. Water is not only significant for life on earth but also plays a vital role in maintaining equilibrium of the entire ecosystem by absorbing the Sun's heat, by scouring the mountains and carrying the sediments into valleys and rivers, by penetrating into rock crusts and taking part in the development of mineral deposits, and by influencing climatic and biological changes in Polar Regions.<sup>1</sup>

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\* Lecturer, Department of Government and Public Policy, National Defence University, Islamabad. Email: afsheen@ndu.edu.pk

<sup>1</sup> J. Barbier, *The Water Paradox; Overcoming the Global Crises in Water Management* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2019), 71-95.

Water is used in huge quantities in industrial and agricultural sectors. On the globe, almost 97 *percent* of water exists in the form of oceans while three *percent* is available in the form of fresh water. Fresh water comprises water in ice caps and sheets, icebergs, glaciers, bogs, lakes, ponds, streams, rivers, canals, and underground water called groundwater. Fresh water is usually regarded as having small quantities of dissolved salts and completely dissolved solids. However the terminology precisely excludes brackish water and sea water which does consist of mineral-rich waters. Fresh water does not mean only drinking water (or potable water). A large volume of the globe's fresh water (groundwater and surface water) is unsuitable for drinking without some treatment.<sup>2</sup>

Fresh water is a variable and renewable resource, but definitely occurs in limited quantities. It can only be replenished through the natural water cycle, in which water from oceans, ponds, plantations, land, streams, and lakes vaporizes and results in development of clouds and returns as rainfall or precipitation. Nevertheless, if more fresh water is utilized through human practices than is naturally refurbished, this may cause reduction in fresh water availability from underground and surface sources and can become a reason of severe damage to the environment. The growth in world population and the rise in per capita water consumption places more stress on the limited accessibility of clean fresh water. Several parts of the world are currently facing strain on water availability (or water shortage). Due to the faster leap of population growth and an increase in the volume of water slower than individual consumes, it is estimated that this condition will continue to become worse. The scarcity of water in coming years would be harmful to people as it would disturb everything from sanitation, to general wellbeing and grain production. Professionals highlight that population increase and urbanization are the key causes of global water crisis. The problem has also been worsened by global warming, poor water administration, and an absence of political determination to handle this crisis.<sup>3</sup>

Global Warming implies an increase in regular surface temperatures of the globe. An intense scientific agreement upholds that it is happening principally because of human consumption of fossil fuels, which discharges carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. The gases trap warmth within the air, which can have a series of impacts on the environment, such as rising sea levels, extreme meteorological conditions, and famines that make lands more vulnerable to wildfires. Global warming is anticipated to be the reason of about 20 *percent* of the worldwide increase in water shortage during this century. It

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<sup>2</sup> W. M. Denavan, "Evaluating the Impact of Water Conservation on Fate of Outdoor Water Use," *Journal of Environmental Management*, (2011): 02-11.

<sup>3</sup> B. Chellaney, *Water, Peace and War: Confronting the Global Water Crises* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2015) , 145-148.



is expected that it will alter rainfall configurations around the globe, melt mountain glaciers, and exacerbate the severity of floods and droughts.<sup>4</sup>

Global water usage increased six-fold in the last century - greater than twice the proportion of population growth. Water and inhabitants are unequally dispersed across the world and our present freshwater resources are facing substantial risk from overexploitation, contamination, and global warming. According to these trends, justifiable provision of sufficient water resources for farming, manufacturing and human use poses one of the extreme trials of this century. Water crisis is equally alarming for rich and poor nations and approximately three billion individuals live in limited water situations, which is more than 40 percent of the world's population.<sup>5</sup>

The indicators of general water deficiency are: increasing number of deaths each year due to starvation and water related illnesses, political clashes over limited water resources, extermination of freshwater species, and dilapidation of marine ecologies. Nearly half of all swamps across the world have already been vanished and dams have completely changed the flow of approximately 60 percent of the world's main water courses.<sup>6</sup>

## Water Crisis in Pakistan

Asia is the world's largest and most populated continent and water is becoming a threatening constraint in this region. Pakistan, an agro-based economy, has monsoon climate in most of its parts. Such type of weather is dependent strongly on yearly glacier-melts and monsoon showers. There might be abundant rain throughout the wet spell and then a very lengthy dry period where crop production relies primarily on irrigation water. Pakistan is among the most water-stressed states and per capita access to surface and groundwater sources is projected to continue to decrease in the years ahead because of urbanization and rapid population growth. As a harsh consequence of global warming, the yearly mean surface temperatures in Pakistan have been gradually rising during the previous century.<sup>7</sup>

Though there is growing awareness about climate change and increase in current water insufficiency in Pakistan, ambiguity rests about the extent to which this change may take place and its probable repercussions for various segments. Global warming is expected to

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<sup>4</sup> F. Pearce, *When the Rivers Run Dry: The Defining Crisis of Twenty-First Century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007), 167-175.

<sup>5</sup> A. Kallen, *Running Dry: The Global Water Crisis* (Springfield: 21<sup>st</sup> Century Books, 2015), 36-43.

<sup>6</sup> David Lewis Feldman, *Water* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012), 98-105.

<sup>7</sup> Khurshed. *Water Crisis in Pakistan: A Book on Informatic Material* (Riga: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2010), 111-123.

influence water quality and the occurrence of water-borne ailments. Water quality considerations comprising of acidity, nutrient and oxygen levels, are mostly sensitive to rising water temperatures; which stimulates the growth of numerous planktonic kinds that are directly or indirectly harmful to human health. Therefore, rise in water temperatures indicates an upsurge in water-borne bacteria and dangerous algal pollutants. It can also cause possible intensification in vector-related illnesses such as malaria, dengue, haemorrhagic fever or yellow fever etc.<sup>8</sup>

Global warming has become the reason for change in monsoon rainfall patterns and other deviations in precipitation intensities that could cause more occurrences of heavy rainfall events and riskier happenings like inundations and famines that have a direct effect on water quality and water-related maladies. Flooding and heavy rainfall also lead to great quantities of pollutants entering rivers from municipal industrialized and agrarian zones, further worsening water quality. Whereas drought situations not only decrease water supply, they also damage water quality as toxins become more concentrated in water. Likewise, water scarcity can force citizens to use unclean sources of water for drinking and other practices. Vegetables and crops, irrigated with wastewater, due to the inaccessibility of treated water, become contaminated with pesticides and other pollutants.<sup>9</sup>

Climate change is changing the water dynamics in Pakistan and if not attended to properly, it may have catastrophic effects, causing extensive insufficiency, clashes, and harm to fiscal wellbeing. With new trials and tribulations in trans-boundary water dialogues, comprehensibly much attention is focused towards Pakistan's regional water disputes with India and Afghanistan. But transnational practice indicates that water scarcity can intensify internal pressures. According to the UN Peace Institute, data from Pakistan illustrates that water shortage, famines, overflows and local negligence can prompt strains locally and this can worsen intrastate water differences. Because of the scarcity of water, and global warming; there is an annual increase in desertification of land and the level of underground water is also reducing. Water management must be the highest priority for the country. Merely impugning former governments for the predicament won't resolve anything. According to research, climate change does not pose development challenges only, but it also presents development opportunities.

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<sup>8</sup> Seth M. Seigel, *Let There Be Water: Israel's Solution for a Water Starved World* (New York: St. Martins Press, 2017), 311-327.

<sup>9</sup> H. Gliet, *Water in Crisis: A Guide to the World's Fresh Water Resources* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 401-419

## Importance of Water Conservation

Fresh water is the basis for survival of our planet, and freshwater ecologies link water courses with oceans and individuals with the resources they require to prosper. However, when waterways, ponds and lakes are ruined, their capacity to deliver consistent provisions of clean and fresh water and to sustain plant and animal species on which masses of vulnerable societies rely is endangered. Demand for fresh water is outstripping supply and according to an assessment, this need will exceed its consistent supply by 40 percent in 2030.<sup>10</sup> Cultivation, manufacturing practices, degraded areas and untreated waste are primary reasons of contamination in freshwater schemes. Lessened water quality intimidates freshwater species, disturbs fisheries, escalates water treatment expenditures and increases threats for human health. Everywhere on the globe, climate change is already upsetting freshwater mechanisms, as famines and inundations take place with greater intensity and frequency.<sup>11</sup>

Following are some key points that highlight the importance of water conservation:

- **It reduces the impact of famines and water scarcities.** Even though our requirement for fresh water sources is always growing because of population and industrial development, the supply we have remains the same. Though water ultimately returns to Earth through the water cycle, it's not always reverted to the same place or in the same amount and quality. By decreasing the quantity of water we consume, we can better guard us against future drought years.
- **It protects against escalating expenditures and political clashes.** Failing to conserve water can finally lead to an absence of a sufficient water supply, which can have severe consequences. These include increasing outlays, reduced food provisions, health vulnerabilities, and political conflict.
- **It facilitates the preservation of our environment.** Decreasing our water utilization lessens the amount of energy needed to process and deliver it to homes, farms, businesses and societies, which in turn assists to reduce pollution and conserve fuel resources.
- **It makes water available for recreational purposes.** It's not just swimming pools, spas and golf courses that we have to think about. Much of our freshwater resources are also used for improving our environment, watering lawns, flowers and vegetable gardens, as

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<sup>10</sup> Gary Chamberlain, *Because Water is Life* (Wilnona: Amselm Academic, 2018), 89-107.

<sup>11</sup> E. Douglass, *Water Crisis: Day Zero* (Visibility Press, 2018), 46-63.

well as washing cars and filling public fountains at parks. Failing to conserve water now can mean losing out on such issues later on.

- **It forms safe and beautiful communities.** Fire-fighters, hospitals, gas stations, street cleaners, health clubs, gyms and restaurants all require large amounts of water to provide services to the community. Reducing our usage of water now means that these services can continue to be provided.

## Traditional Water Conservation Techniques

People across different regions of the world have to deal with either scarce or excess water due to varying patterns of rainfall and land topography. The traditional water conservation methods, though not much popular, are still in practice and are effective. With the help of primary and secondary data, we will gain knowledge regarding use of these traditional ways in other countries and Pakistan.

### Chinese Water Conservation Techniques:

- **Clay Pot Irrigation Technique:**

A technique first used in China more than 2000 years ago is still used by many farmers in dry lands. The clay pot irrigation system uses a buried, unglazed, porous clay pot filled with water to provide controlled irrigation to the plants, where the consumption of water is influenced by the plant's water usage. According to Rai, the clay pot irrigation consumes as little as 10 percent of total water used otherwise through conventional surface irrigation. Such type of irrigation has proved to be more effective than drip irrigation system. In India, the melon yield through clay pot irrigation was 25 t/ha using only 2 cm water/ha as compared to 33 t/ha using 26cm of water/ha through flood irrigation. This traditional technique not only conserves water but also creates suitable conditions for seeds to germinate in hot and humid weather and gives a steady supply to the seedling.<sup>12</sup>

Buried clay pot irrigation (pitcher irrigation technique) has been used to grow a wide range of annual and perennial plants in China, Pakistan, India, Iran, Mexico and Brazil. In the arid district of Sanghar that is located in Southern Sindh Province, the farmers take benefits by using clay pot irrigation technique. It is impossible for them to harvest vegetables on the dry lands of this area. In an interview conducted with a farmer Hussain Soomro from Rano Junejo village said: "Clay pot method uses less labour and a small amount of water. I have installed 20 clay pots on the land in front of my hut and I live near Chotiari freshwater reservoir. I sow

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<sup>12</sup> S. Amrith, *Unruly Waters: How Rains, Rivers, Coasts, and Seas Have Shaped Asia's History* (New York: Basic Books, 2018), 226-287.

different vegetable seeds such as Okra, Eggplant and Cucumbers and after using some to feed my family, rest is sold at a local market of my town”<sup>13</sup>

## Indian Water Conservation Techniques

Due to climate change, the country's lakes and other water reservoirs are getting exhausted. The country is mostly dependent on rain water and monsoon season to satisfy its water needs. Around 83 percent of total fresh water is used for agriculture purposes. In order to conserve water and save it for future use, India has revived its traditional water conservation techniques which are still prevalent in the city of Jaisalmer of Rajasthan which is water sufficient despite scarce rainfalls. Following are the traditional techniques prevalent in India:

- **Taanka:** A technique specially employed in dry ranges such as deserts where water fetching becomes an ordeal. *Taanka* is a cylindrical underground pit that stores rain water and can fulfill the needs of a family of five over the summer season. In some cases the *taanka* is covered to avoid rapid evaporation of water in intense temperatures.
- **Johads:** The traditional conservation techniques are not only effective in conservation but also work as tool for social cohesion. One example of such technique would be a *Johad*. It is a community owned rain water harvesting technique. The construction site is marked at some elevated position where a deep pit is excavated which is then connected to major channels dug into the depth of the water reservoir.
- **Kund:** *Kund* is mainly used to conserve the drinking water. Historically *Kund* was mainly used for drinking water purposes and religious rituals were also maintained through *Kund*. The history of *Kund* dates back to Raja Sur Singh who built the early versions of *Kund* as early as 1607 AD. The structure of *Kund* is similar to the shape of a saucer which holds rain water to serve people for drinking water use.
- **Jhalara:** In order to secure water wasted as a consequence of seepage from a water reservoir, *Jhalara* is built with rectangular shaped step walls. The stairs are designed with the purpose of collecting the subterranean seepage from an upstream water reservoir of a lake. The main purpose of such sites was to provide essential water supply for the religious rites, royal ceremonies, and community use. Jodhpur, a city in India has eight *Jhalras* in total with the oldest namely *Mahamandir Jhalara* built in 1660 AD.

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<sup>13</sup> Afsheen Zeeshan, "Implementation of Disaster Risk Reduction Policy in Pakistan," *ISSRA Papers* 7, no. 1 (2015): 43-54.

- **Bawari:** Bawaris are mostly located in the state of Rajasthan. These were stepwells designed to store the rain water for consumption during water scarce times. The rain would be diverted to man-made tanks through manmade canals built on the hilly outskirts of the cities. The water would percolate under the ground to increase the ground water table recharging the intricate network of aquifers. The well had steps layered around it to avoid water evaporation.
- **Bhandara Phad:** The make-up of this technique is somewhat closer to the idea of a dam. A *bhandhara* check dam is built across a river leading to *kalvas* (canals). These canals further spread out in the *phads* (agricultural block). To ensure proper irrigation and to manage overflow of water the *sandams* (escape outlets) ensure that the excess water is removed from the canals by *charis* (distributaries) and *sarangs* (field channels). The Phad system is still operational in India. It mainly functions on three rivers in Tapi Basin – Panjhra, Mosam and Aram – in the Dhule and Nasik districts of Maharashtra.<sup>14</sup>

These techniques were used in Pakistan in early 50's and 60's but these days such traditional practices cannot be seen anywhere in the country.

### Water Conservation Techniques in Saudi Arabia

The water conservation tool bags are distributed among approximately 18 million inhabitants on regular basis. The water conservation tools bag consists of water saving showerheads and faucets, leak detection pills and toilet-tank-tank replacement bags. This campaign is included among the largest water conservation campaigns of its kind around the globe in terms of quantity as well as quality. Water conservation tools are also distributed and installed among the public sector institutions such as mosques, government buildings, parks, airports, schools as well as private sector facilities such as furnished apartments, residential compounds and hotels. A number of retail outlets have been opened for distributing the water saving showerheads at a very reasonable price to increase their use by the public.<sup>15</sup>

In Pakistan, awareness campaigns are being run on national and provincial levels to create civic sense among the public regarding usage of water. According to the collected data from a survey about these

<sup>14</sup> Sanchari Pal, "Modern India can Learn a lot from these 20 Traditional Water Conservation Systems," *The Better India*, July 15, 2016, <https://www.thebetterindia.com/61757/traditional-water-conservation-systems-india/>

<sup>15</sup> Chamberlain, *Because Water is Life*.

campaigns, only 15-17 percent of the campaigns have been funded by the concerned federal and provincial agencies whereas the rest of the campaigns have been funded and organized by private educational institutions, civil society and non-governmental organizations.<sup>16</sup>

The above discussion proves that the traditional techniques can improve our practices as well as transform our perceptions and social behaviour towards water conservation. The traditional and conventional practices have proven to be the best strategy for water conservation as well as effective agricultural yields. The traditional agricultural methods are more prone to survive any natural calamities. The traditional modes of production show strong ecological basis and lead to regeneration and preservation of natural resources including water. The sustainability of traditional structure lies on these key principles: species diversity, organic matter accumulation, the enhanced recycling of biomass and nutrients, the minimization of resource losses through soil cover and water harvesting, and the maintenance of high levels of functional biodiversity.

## **Innovative Water Conservation Methods**

“We never know the worth of water till the well is dry” was said by Thomas Fuller. While he made this statement in a symbolic sense, this research emphasizes the importance of water with regards to its management system where the more you manage the better would be the life expectancy of people, which is the most important thing. The idea is to focus on the allocation and distribution of the resources under the influence of effective management system. Water cannot be found as unlimited in any part of the world and therefore, it needs to be used with a great concern of management; otherwise, it leads to scarcity which is a threat for the survival of human life.<sup>17</sup>

Urbanization has devastated the water cycle by overexploiting ground water, reducing the open soil surface, increasing contamination rate and caused a resultant worsening in water quality. Industrial units and apartments face acute water shortages which force them to spend extensive amounts of money to purchase water from metropolitan and private water suppliers. However, the situation in rural areas is equally grim. The population explosion necessitates a proportionate increase in

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<sup>16</sup> A. Ayaz, “Water Resources and Conservation Strategies in Pakistan,” *The Pakistan Development Review*, vol. 6, no. 2 (2017): 997-1009.

<sup>17</sup> L.B. Sukia, “What is the importance of Water Resource Management and its Implication on Future Generations of Man-kind?” *Research Gate*, June 6, 2014. [https://www.researchgate.net/post/What\\_is\\_the\\_importance\\_of\\_Water\\_Resource\\_Management\\_and\\_its\\_implication\\_on\\_future\\_generations\\_of\\_man-kind](https://www.researchgate.net/post/What_is_the_importance_of_Water_Resource_Management_and_its_implication_on_future_generations_of_man-kind).

food production, which in turn demands more land, more fertilizers and pesticides, and more water.<sup>18</sup>

The innovation in water conservation mainly depends upon the management system. The conservation of rainwater is the most useful way to reduce the water scarcity. Climate change also causes a huge challenge for water conservation which makes it essential to have a particular set of strategies to overcome the environmental effects. The innovative methods that are in use around the world, and can be adopted in Pakistan, are discussed below.

### **Rainwater Harvesting**

Modern technology has introduced a new method of water conservation which can be easily practiced by high or low income households. It can be used for the potable and non-potable utilities in the house where the rainwater is a good resource for the non-potable usage like washing clothes, cars, house etc. The idea is successfully being implemented in India so as to manage water scarcity, especially in urban areas.<sup>19</sup>

The mechanism of rainwater conservation varies from the traditional methods to innovative methods. However, the modern innovative method basically emphasizes on roof-top based rain water storage which is used for potable as well as non-potable utilities of household. The second way of using the rainwater in an efficient way is to store water in the ground through the percolation process. Percolation is the process comprised of using pebbles for the refinement of water. So, as the rain water passes through these layers of pebbles, it is filtered and passes into the wells present in the ground. It can be used by the household residents and also commercial urbanized areas.<sup>20</sup>

In Pakistan, utilization of rain water has not been promoted yet and people do not understand the importance of conserving rainwater for domestic and other related activities. There is lack of awareness among the people regarding techniques for rainwater conservation and its importance. A mass awareness campaign in this regard is urgently needed.

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<sup>18</sup> "Harvesting Rainwater," C. P. R, Environmental Education Center, <http://www.cpreec.org/pubbook-harvest.htm#1>.

<sup>19</sup> Judah Samuel, "Pioneers of Rainwater Harvesting in India," Ecoideaz, 2015, <http://www.ecoideaz.com/expert-corner/rainwater-harvesting-movement-india>.

<sup>20</sup> Nelson Da Franca Ribeiro Dos Anjos, "Source Book of Alternative Technologies for Freshwater Augmentation in Latin America and the Caribbean," *International Journal of Water Resources Development*, vol.14, no.3 (1998): 365-398.



## Green House Evaporation Mechanism

Scientists are trying to convert the world's most arid areas into fertile land for vegetable farms, fertile fruits etc. through use of fresh water. This fresh water would be purified through solar energy from the sea water. An Australian expert has suggested that seawater be pumped from the sea, then dripping it through a honeycomb structure inside a greenhouse where it will get evaporated due to solar heat. The evaporated vapours will be condensed on the greenhouse roof which as result will form fresh water.<sup>21</sup> This fresh water is usable for potable and non-potable purposes of households, companies, farms and other areas. Another example of this method is the pilot project launched in Qatar in 2012 where it yielded successful results which led to the application of this method in Tunisia, Jordan and the different areas of Australia itself. Moreover, the tomatoes of Australia are famously recognized as a result of this innovative water usage and storage mechanism.<sup>22</sup>

Research and development regarding modern water conservation strategies has not been encouraged at federal and provincial levels in Pakistan and because of the lack of this expertise, we are not able to deal with water crisis. On the official website of Pakistan Council of Research in Water Resources, we do not find any single project related to this greenhouse evaporation mechanism that is gaining much popularity in developed countries for the supply of fresh water.

## Sensor and Automated Systems

This method has been applied in Australia for preserving water in agrarian practices. In this technique, computers are used to assist in the method of crop sprinkling. These sensors are positioned in farms and study how yields are developing and consequently, choose how much water is required. Adoption of this method will lead to clever utilization of water and also, sustain the wellness of the harvest and the farm. Rajiv Tikoo, Managing Director of One World Foundation in an interview with *The Times of India*, stated that sensor-based technology can be installed in metropolitan zones, too. These can be connected to water pipes and can monitor leakage as well as impurity. He added that Israel has already executed this knowledge effectively.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> H. H. Ozturk, "Evaporative Cooling Efficiency of a Fogging System in a Rose Green House," *Australian Journal of Experimental Agriculture* 46, no. 9 (2006): 1231-1237.

<sup>22</sup> James Wagstaff, "Sundrop Farms: Mixture of Sunlight and Seawater Leading the Way," *The Weekly Times*, March 22, 2017, <https://www.weeklytimesnow.com.au/agribusiness/decisionag/sundrop-farms-mixture-of-sunlight-and-seawater-leading-the-way/news-story/8928aff10d54c5d9a56024e72a6c0377>.

<sup>23</sup> C. Barnett, *Blue Revolution* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2012), 156-173.

Financial as well as technical resources are needed to use this method and in Pakistan, we face challenges in the acquisition of these resources. During an interview with a Senior Executive of Pakistan Council of Research and Water Resources, some details regarding provision of funds and status of current water management projects in Pakistan were discussed. According to the source, we need decades to use such innovative automated systems that use sensors as we don't have required technical expertise and financial means.<sup>24</sup>

### **Sharland Oasis**

The scarcity of a vital resource like water is mainly due to combination of factors like climate change, environmental degradation, increased human demand of water etc. The Australian Government introduced a strategy called 'Water for Future' which tends to secure the water for households via different innovative methods and saves the ground water for future. The government of Australia encouraged builders, real estate dealers and manufacturers to take up water efficient measures. The Deakin University, Australia funded this program which named it as 'Sharland Oasis'. It set the target of 80 percent of water conservation. The mechanism of this storage system is that the houses are designed in a way where there are tankers attached to the house; the rainwater is stored there by each household which is very useful for the non-potable purposes of water usage like washing clothes.

It has also being proved that stored rain water has very minimum level PH scale (salt intensity) which is useful and safer to use than the pipeline water provided to the people in the urban and rural settings. The Sharland Oasis project has adopted a mechanism where it provides the household a system where the rainwater in the tanks situated alongside the house can be used for irrigation of crops, washing clothes and cars and other non-potable uses. Moreover, it has equipped the household with a filtration mechanism where the same rainwater is helpful for the household to be used for drinking purposes and also for other potable uses.<sup>25</sup>

Like all other innovative ways, this technique is not being used in any area of our country and we are not able to reap benefits by utilizing such an important water conservation method.

### **Use of Big Data**

Big data usage is among the most modern water conservation techniques. Modern industrial businesses are utilizing data to regulate what can be

<sup>24</sup> This interview was conducted by the author with Mr. Saad Rehman, senior researcher at an organization, in Islamabad, on January 16, 2019.

<sup>25</sup> J. Barbier, *The Water Paradox : Overcoming the Global Crises in Water Management* (Yale University Press, (2019) :153-178.

practiced to make the future better by delivering predictive and analytical understandings. The US-based company, Pacific Gas and Electric, has an innovative method for residents to study and monitor their water and energy utilization. It also permits the consumer to match their use with other parallel homes. This practice has facilitated families to save energy and utilize water in a more effective way. Big data also performs a vital part in usage of smart meters. In the US, smart meters are now installed to monitor water use. A home can acquire data every fifteen minutes. This lets the family as well as the water administrator to attain knowledge about water consumption and implement suitable water conservation systems.<sup>26</sup> In the case of Pakistan, financial as well as technical expertise is required for installation of these meters and in Pakistan we are facing problems in managing these resources.

### **Current Water Conservation Techniques in Pakistan**

In Pakistan, people are using their indigenous knowledge to conserve water such as in many areas, cropping and fish farming are being run side by side so that no water or piece of land is wasted. Drip irrigation and sprinkler irrigation techniques are also being used for water conservation by the farmers. Some people store rain water on their roofs and use it to harvest the crops in large drums. It is observed that many domestic and commercial set ups have installed water pipes with such taps that only run when they have water in the pipes and rain water flows through these pipes. Various mulches are also being used to minimize the soil evaporation and conserve the water in soil for maximum time spans. Irrigation is properly scheduled according to the accessibility of water and its quantities. Land levelling is being done to save the water and terracing method is used for harvesting in most of the hilly areas of Pakistan to reap maximum benefits from the water availability. Small bunds are also constructed to conserve the water as well as crops are kept covered. In case of less water availability, zero tillage is utilized to harvest the crops and minimum tillage is a very suitable technique for saving the water.

### **Learning from the Best Practices:**

#### **A Way Forward for Pakistan**

On the basis of both traditional and innovative water conservation techniques, we are able to analyse which method is suitable according to the conditions of Pakistan, and where we need to be more resourceful in order to solve the water crises.

#### **Distribution Schemes**

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<sup>26</sup> L. Feldman, *Water*.

The lack of synchronization between water consumers and the Ministry of Water Resources has remained a main challenge since the establishment of irrigation system that has caused maladministration, meager maintenance, unfair and untrustworthy distribution. Under current rotational (*warabandi*) irrigation scheme, the delivery of water to the channels is unjust. The water outlets situated at the head and middle connections of distributaries draw three to six times more water than their allotted share, while exits at the end draw less than the actual allotted share; therefore, the unfortunate tail users are continually facing water scarcity. Those who draw larger segments use more water than the crop's necessity causing unnecessary damp pressures to harvests and disproportionate discharge of nutrients. However, the tail users use a reduced amount of water than requisite, causing dehydration strains on yields. All this proposes the need for appropriate administration and implementation of systematic methods to use the water available at the outlet. This could be practiced at the farm level either by refining the current methods or by launching effective irrigation procedures.

### **Improvement in Traditional Methods to Reduce Water Wastage**

Currently, the farmers are relying more on conventional flood irrigation practices without considering soil texture and land slope. Therefore, more than 20 percent water is wasted at the field level through deep filtration. Likewise, furrows are organized without suitable information on slope consideration. The agriculturalists require appropriate training on the preparation of furrow, border and basin irrigation techniques. These approaches would still contribute in great yields if they are correctly designed and organized according to water and soil conditions. One of the aspects recognized for unproductive usage of irrigation water through these systems is poor levelling. The un-levelled lands are categorized with non-uniform circulation of irrigation water and deep filtration, which disturbs application efficacy as a result. A suitably levelled field with an appropriate design and size decreases application losses, guarantees constant circulation, and increases crop production.

### **Modern Irrigation Methods for Better Water Management**

Resourceful irrigation approaches like sprinkler, trickle, pitcher, and sub-irrigation are vital to be initiated at the tail reaches with water scarcity issue. These systems are verified as efficient ones in terms of water saving but are considered as costly; therefore, agronomists are hesitant to utilize them. But, the approval of these procedures relies upon their achievement in terms of increased harvest returns connected with decreased usage of water. Since these practices have potential to conserve lot of water, therefore, more land could be brought under farming with lesser quantities of water available, predominantly, at the tail reaches of the delivery schemes.

The irrigation techniques so initiated must be suitable as well as economically reasonable for the agriculturalists. Henceforth, the government should adopt practices and fix demonstration areas at fields to make them familiar to the farmers. As soon as the farmers understand the advantages of water conserved and proceeds attained, they will implement such structures using their own means. Among the innovative approaches stated, trickle irrigation has been described as one of the most well-organized ways of water application than any of the traditional surface irrigation methods. It delivers prescribed quantity of water, accomplishes high field application productivity, deals with improved consistency, conserves water, and guarantees superior crops. Similarly, the water is delivered to plants in an accurate amount, thus their instant water necessities are fulfilled.

### **Water Storage Reservoirs**

The idea of water storage reservoirs at the farm level is quite innovative and requires research on how to make it physically and financially feasible. Their usage is a calculated management approach to use water when it is in surplus and use only when required. The storage volume is dependent on the size of the reservoir and obtainability of water to be connected.

The use of other best practices for water conservation needs resources to be implemented according to Pakistan's circumstances. Similarly Pakistan needs to invest more in research and development which is the prerequisite for design and implementation of innovative methods to save water. Initially to solve the water crisis, the provinces should abandon political playoffs and decide on establishing new water reservoirs. According to water experts, the rate at which our population is growing, a Tarbela-sized water storage facility is required to be built every decade.<sup>27</sup> Federal and provincial water commissions are also required to ensure well-organized water resource management at all levels along with national water policies.

The Council of Common Interests (CCI) officially ratified the National Water Policy (NWP) with consent in April 2018. The policy authorizes the provinces to build their own strategies within a national agenda for sustainable development and administration of water resources. It acknowledges that water resource is a state obligation, but irrigation, farming, water supply, and other water-related sub-sectors are provincial issues. The policy also endorses that the federal government can perform an important role in simplifying protocols to guarantee effective and ecological utilization of ground water, industrial usages and waste water supervision.

The legislators in Pakistan need to fight against the water crisis

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<sup>27</sup> M. Khurshed, *Water Crisis In Pakistan: A Book on Informatic Material*.

because it threatens to make arable land dry over the next decade. Long, medium and short term plans need to be articulated in order to reserve water. In a short time span, we may formulate and implement water treatment schemes and inform the stakeholders in order to attain an optimum level of existing water utilization for domestic, industrial and sanitary usage. In the intervening time, tactics for the medium-term may consist of a comprehensive evaluation of national water agreements and constructing dams so that water is distributed in an unbiased and viable way. In the long time, Pakistan can deliberate establishment of desalination plants to make more consumption of sea water possible. Many nations have taken up this plan to alleviate water concerns.

Actually the expenditures of founding such plants in the coastline zones of Pakistan would rely greatly on the kind of fuel that is utilized, though the paybacks of this ingenuity would be greater than the costs. With the launching of coal-based power plants under CPEC, it would appear rational to initiate planning for building desalination plants rather than making ourselves prepared for a waterless future. Attention must be given to the treatment of industrial waste before it is permitted to be discharged into water channels. The environmental regulations and their application need be followed more earnestly and sensibly. The practices that involve use of untreated wastewater for irrigation of crops should be instantly stopped as it is unsafe for the users of those vegetables and crops. Groundwater for drinking purposes must not be pumped near wastewater pipes.

Water from Monsoon rainfalls is one of the largest sources for water in the country because it also assists in cultivation of unfertile lands. By channelizing monsoon rainwater towards deserts like Tharparkar and Cholistan the region could be transformed. A huge amount of water is squandered annually and through appropriate utilization it could aid in electricity generation too. The academic circles, civil society and water research institutions have to collaborate in harmony for the resolution of current water crisis confronted by Pakistan. Water demand can be monitored and regulated with the help of a series of programs that encourage efficient water usage; comprising of awareness campaigns, voluntary acquiescence, legitimate constraints on water consumption, controlling of water or the obligation of water conservation principles in technologies. Words on paper and in promises cannot change the situation; action is the only solution to the problem.

### **Water Filtration from Lakes**

The increase in the use of water in outdoor rather than indoors in the urban areas has created a major dilemma for the equal distribution of water for the households. Corporations and development projects are increasingly expanding which leads to increasing demand for water consumption. As a result, the availability of fresh water for potable and

non-potable uses in the household is drastically affected. Therefore, the study brings some variant solutions from the traditional water conservation methods to develop an innovative water conservation strategy. The strategy entails that there should be reservoirs constructed by the government near the industrial zones that tend to consume more water than other ordinary (household) consumers. This is supposed to store the wastewater of those industries, corporations etc. and process it through filtration plants to make it usable for non-potable uses of households. It will be distributed among the households via pipelines. This service will tend to prevent the wastage of fresh water and will save the use of ground water from overconsumption. This process of filtration will reduce the scarcity of water in the long term. These reservoirs will be beneficial to store rainwater as well, which will augment the water storage rather than being wasted.<sup>28</sup>

There is negligence on the part of concerned authorities at federal as well as provincial level in Pakistan in understanding the significance of water filtration in reservoirs to meet the growing needs of water resources. During interviews conducted with officials of Pakistan Council of Research and Water Resources, it appeared that enough attention is not paid to use of innovative conservation methods in different parts of Pakistan.

## Conclusion

Global and local water challenges must be addressed as soon as possible. We need a new mode of thinking and we must shift our paradigm from old policies to sustainable policies in Pakistan. Smarter usage of innovative tools for obtaining, refining and dispensing water is necessary. It must be acknowledged at all levels that access to safe water and sanitation are fundamental human rights. We have to save water for future generations and a sustainable future is possible if we move all individuals, communities, countries and global course of action in the same direction of saving current water resources. Water conservation involves consideration and determination, but every little bit helps. We must not think that what we do does not matter and should make changes in our lifestyles to reduce our water usage. The trick is making water conservation a way of life, not just something we think about once in a while. As the societies and communities become more conscious and involved in sustainability at cultural, national and local levels, the collective and fiscal advantages of investing in water conservation are becoming more obvious and persuasive internationally.

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<sup>28</sup> D. Wallace, *The Uninhabitable Earth: The Life After Warming* (New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2019), 213-234.

## Book Reviews

**Title:**            **The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities**  
**Author:**       **John J. Mearsheimer**  
**Publisher:**   **Yale University Press: 2018, 328.**

**M**earsheimer's book presents a theoretical explanation of the contradictions in the US foreign policy embedded in a disconnect between liberal ideals, national objectives and real politics. It attempts to build an understanding of the US foreign policy behaviour from the perspective of interplay between liberalism, nationalism and realism. The premise is that the US pursuit of 'liberal hegemony' since the end of the Cold War and the desire to remodel the world in its own image have been self-defeating and doomed to fail with far reaching consequences. The euphoria generated by Fukuyama's 'End of History' and the notion that liberalism with its three pillars: democracy, free market economy and individual rights will be globally cherished and adopted has proved to be fallacious. The US hope of thereby ushering in a world order espousing liberal values which will lead to peace has been frustrated by the realities of geopolitics, the conceit inherent in great power behaviour, and nation-states jealously guarding their sovereignty and right of self-determination.

The case is built around limits of 'liberal hegemony' and how it has resulted in more instability, conflicts and wars damaging the US image abroad and liberal values at home. The analytical account of the US policies in the post-Cold War era presents a dim view of the outcome of these policy choices, which is evident from the failure of the Greater Middle East project and the eastward expansion of NATO that led to assertiveness by Russia as well as the Ukrainian crisis. The hypothesis is that 'liberal hegemony' delivered results in the uni-polar environment where the US had no major competitors and it was not constrained by the balance-of-power considerations. However, since nation-states are containers of their own culture, experiences and norms, US moves abroad have been trumped by nationalism in so far as implanting of democratic traditions and associated values such as human rights, liberal institutions, and market economy are concerned.

An appraisal of the recent trends and paradigmatic global shifts leads to the conclusion that great power competition is becoming an emerging phenomenon where the world has moved, in the least, towards bipolarity if not multi-polarity. The rise of China as an economic and military power is reducing manoeuvrability space for US 'liberal hegemony' pursuits. Unless there is a slowdown in the Chinese economy hindering its ability to develop militarily and politically, the world has little prospect of returning to a uni-polar international system. Until then,



the US will have to contend with competition from a 'potential peer.' The human rights commitment and the question of inalienable rights that are seen as universal are also flawed. It leads to intervention in other countries and the "logic pushes liberal states to favour using force to turn autocracies into liberal democracies." (p.219) Since there is no universal consensus on the features of inalienable rights, it plunges regions into more complexities and distress.

Under the prevailing global and regional security scenarios and foresights, foreign policies based on realism can provide the most suitable answer to the dilemma of a powerful country like the US to promote its interests. It would be advisable for the US to exercise restraint in its foreign policy and abandon 'liberal hegemony'. The arguments proffered in favour of such an option are derived from hardcore realist principles. Since survival is the primary objective of states, and not knowing the intentions of other competitors, great powers are essentially power maximizers and would not risk a war except in its immediate neighbourhood, in far off regions where competing major powers are located or in regions that are critically important for resources. In any case, from the realist perspective, conflicts normally take place when power is jeopardized on "moralistic, imperialistic or ideological enterprises." (p. 221) Mearsheimer further argues that the elite, primarily in the US establishment or 'deep state,' is wedded to the idealistic notion of 'liberal hegemony' as shown by the initial proclamations of Obama and Trump in their election campaigns regarding ending wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, followed by subsequent dilution or side stepping of these commitments in the years of their presidencies. Is there a need to cultivate a counter-elite culture to bring about meaningful change in the deep state elites' approaches? A remedy has been recommended by the author.

Being a structural realist himself and an ardent proponent of offensive realism, Mearsheimer's solution to the American foreign policy's perennial dilemma and oscillation between interventionist and isolationist tendencies is US' espousal of foreign policy restraint founded on principles of realism. However, the argument that the US foreign policy has been primarily guided by altruistic considerations or liberal ideology does not enjoy support from praxis. The undercurrent theme of US foreign policy from the mid-1990s, especially after 9/11, has been non-proliferation and terrorism rather than adherence to what is touted as American 'exceptionalism'. This is illustrated by US policy particularly in Iraq, Syria and Libya. In Afghanistan, the agenda has shifted from nation building to fighting the insurgents with the consistent aim of preventing Afghanistan's soil from being used against the US. The unveiling of Trump doctrine of 'America First' and the US' recoiling from the pro-democracy agenda shows that its primary focus is on maintaining economic, military and technological might.

The fundamental question related to human rights and humanitarian intervention has dogged theorists and scholars alike. Practical application of these ideals can be described as selective and duplicitous. Only where core national interests of major powers are involved, there has been more prompt and swift action. The Rwandan crisis where genocide occurred amidst inaction of the international community demonstrates the contradiction between words and actions. Major powers' reaction to the Indian atrocities and denial of fundamental rights to the people of Jammu and Kashmir negates the tall claims about upholding human rights. The US under President Trump, who calls himself a 'realist,' will be more interested in harnessing internal strengths. However, the world community needs to remember the factors that led to the two World Wars. Appeasement has unintended consequences and denial of legitimate rights fuels nationalism. The Great Delusion at its core advocates purely America centric approach to international peace and security issues that are at variance with the US vital objective of retaining its global status and outreach.

***Reviewed by Ambassador (R) Fauzia Nasreen, Senior Official of COMSATS Secretariat, Islamabad.***

## Book Review

**Title:** India's 'Surgical Strike' Stratagem: Brinkmanship and Response  
**Author:** Zafar Nawaz Jaspal  
**Published:** 2019, 234.

Uncertainly has come to be known as the normal state of the South Asian security environment by virtue of the incorrigible Indian hegemonic designs both within and outside the region. Indian leadership's obsession and anxiety vis-à-vis its neighbourhood has made it design, reformulate and propose a number of military doctrines to help ensure India's influential role in South Asian politics. Continued Indian offensive postures are predominantly aimed at Pakistan - India's only regional competitor. In addition to the longstanding territorial disputes between India and Pakistan, the latter's potential to check the former's hegemonic ambitions definitely irks India towards constant efforts to overpower Pakistan in this competitive equation. Hence, the Indian claims of successful surgical strikes against Pakistan, which the former believes can help it undermine Pakistan's potential.

It is this sensitive-cum-controversial issue of surgical strikes between India and Pakistan that Zafar Nawaz Jaspal's book aptly deals with. Professor Jaspal is an Islamabad-based academic specializing in the fields of South Asian strategic studies and International Relations. It must be acknowledged that *'India's Surgical Strike Stratagem: Brinkmanship and Response'* is a 'one of its kind' effort that provides a scholarly, elaborate, and strategically coherent account of India's newfound obsession with the term surgical strike.

The author views New Delhi's fabricated claims of surgical strikes as an irrational move and a display of irresponsible behaviour on part of a nuclear state. This, Jaspal claims, will leave the strategic balance ever more disturbed in an already nuclearized region. The writing provides comprehensive and well-thought-out answers to seven critical questions dealing with the practical application and operability of surgical strikes upon their integration into the Joint Doctrine of the Indian Armed Forces-2017 (JDI AF-2017) released by India back in April 2017. The JDI AF-2017 declares that "India has moved to a pro-active and pragmatic philosophy to counter various conflict situations", and this book delves deep into the practicability of this claim. Debating the relevance of surgical strike stratagem to New Delhi-Islamabad strategic competition by extrapolating

its implications for any potential peace efforts between India and Pakistan is another theme therein.

Dr. Jaspal has raised questions as to the viability of surgical strike as a tactical option by debating its compatibility in the context of the Pulwama incident, and its impact on the broader deterrence stability. The introduction covers the history of Indian bellicosity continuing to the current era and up to the Modi regime. The first chapter is about the evolution of Indian military doctrine and the strategic thinking that it encompasses. The philosophical foundations of the two are related to Hindu hyperrealist strategic orientation defined by Chanakya Kautilya, which produced two schools of thought after 1947 – hyperrealism and Hindu realism or Hindutva. The combination of both ideological maxims further promoted political Hinduism which permitted Indian leaders to adopt aggressive doctrines for ensuring supremacy (multifaceted) and a hegemonic Indian outlook in South Asia; hence the 2004 Cold Start Doctrine – based principally on proactive and pre-emptive actions against Pakistan. An understanding of the Indian doctrinal evolution, as given in the book, is essential to comprehend New Delhi's foreign policy in the region.

Then follows an inquiry into the post-Pulwama crisis of February 14, 2019, where the author discusses the significance of nuclear deterrence and the need for deployment of a nuclear arsenal. The discussion covers the Indian claims of a fictitious surgical strike as a tool for political capitulation, and Islamabad's restrained response killing the Indian purpose. To determine the rationality of Modi's claims of a Phantom Surgical Strike, the author builds on the evidence provided by the official statements of Pakistani and Indian authorities. The next chapter contains a record of India's military modernization, and the country's efforts to dovetail and benefit from its foreign relations advancing its strategic capabilities. This, the author believes, has empowered New Delhi's offensive and aggressive planning and policies. A revamped No-First-Use (NFU) policy is a case in point, which is based on three contesting schools of thought within India: one advocating the notion of NFU, the second suggesting an alteration in the nuclear doctrine, and the third supporting the idea of a twofold policy.

The aggressive intentions of the Modi government have been exclusively dealt with by the author, accompanied by a discussion over the legal aspects involved. The discussion culminates in answering questions dealing with the risks, legal justification and the international norms (as

given in international law or customs) relevant to the debate over surgical strikes. Dr. Jaspal concludes the debate by contextualizing it against the South Asian strategic realities, most important of these being the presence of two nuclear-armed historical foes. He posits that New Delhi's claims regarding the 'phantom' surgical strikes and Modi government's celebration of Surgical Strike Day, are both directed to play into the hands of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government as a political stunt to help secure the party's position in the 2019 Indian Elections.

This tactic is meant to achieve a three-pronged political feat for Prime Minister Narendra Modi by allowing him to divert public attention away from domestic issues, creating a simultaneous rally-around-the-flag effect in masses, and providing him an opportunity to tarnish Islamabad's image both regionally and internationally. Given this context, the book could not be better timed, as the situation has yet to unfold and mature. From a reviewer's perspective, this book offers an up-to-date study of South Asian strategic competition, which raises questions regarding the region's future amidst the constantly escalating situation. The issue is no-doubt of utmost importance and awaits the constructive role of the international community at large. Engaged in an already hostile regional competition, Indian claims of alleged success of phantom surgical strikes are destined to add fuel to the fire.

As suggested by Dr. Jaspal, the intended strategy of capitalizing on such propaganda is surely not going to bear fruit given the responsible rejoinder coming from the Pakistani side. The book has tried to bring home an analysis of the far-reaching consequences of irrational state behaviour in the context of South Asia. The study however, cannot claim to be completely devoid of the author's personal pre-dispositions, which in turn are a function of the specific strategic culture that one is socialized in. Biasness withstanding, the writing does serve the political purposes and yet manages to retain the required level of objectivity. That said, the timing of the book could not be better and for that matter, it is an essential read for anyone trying to comprehend the South Asian strategic environment in the current era.

***Reviewed by Attiq ur Rehman, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad.***

## Documents

### Document: 1

#### **Joint Statement between Pakistan and Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on the Visit of His Royal Highness Crown Prince Mohamed bin Salman, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, February 17-18 2019, Islamabad, Pakistan.**

Under the guidance of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King Salman bin Abdul aziz Al Saud - may Allah keep him in His protection- and at the invitation of His Excellency the Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Mr. Imran Khan, His Royal Highness Prince Mohammed bin Salman bin Abdul aziz Al Saud, Crown Prince, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, headed a high-level delegation of Ministers and businessmen, and paid an official visit to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan between 12-13/6/1440H corresponding to 17- 18 February, 2019.

The two sides reaffirmed the historical relations between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Prime Minister Imran Khan praised the leadership of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Salman bin Abdul aziz Al-Saud, and the efforts of his wise government, specially its services to the millions of pilgrims who visit the two holy mosques every year. The Prime Minister also lauded the leadership of His Royal Highness the Crown Prince for the development and investment files that would push the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in a rapid progress and prosperity in view of its Vision 2030, which aims to put the Kingdom on the path of development in various fields.

HRH praised Prime Minister Imran Khan's agenda of transforming Pakistan into a welfare state, based on Islamic socio-economic principles and assured him of the Kingdom's continued support.

During the high-level discussions between the two sides, they applauded the growing momentum in their bilateral relations in all areas of cooperation, held wide-ranging discussions in a cordial atmosphere and expressed their satisfaction at strengthening the level of leadership communications between the two countries.

The Pakistani side appreciated the leadership and positive role of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in resolving the issues facing Islamic Ummah worldwide. The Saudi side lauded Pakistan's important positions in the Islamic world and its efforts for regional peace and security. Both sides noted with satisfaction their strong defence and security ties, and agreed to further enhance cooperation in this field to advance shared objectives.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan reiterated their commitment to continue combating extremism and terrorism and expressed their deep appreciation for the achievements and sacrifices made by the two sides in the war against terrorism. They also applauded the martyrs who sacrificed their lives in order to confront this serious scourge and called on the international community to shoulder its responsibilities to join all international efforts to combat global terrorism. They also underlined the need for avoiding politicization of UN listing regime.

The two sides expressed their hope for achieving a fair, comprehensive and long-lasting peace in the Middle East in accordance with the Arab Peace Initiative and the resolutions of international legitimacy guaranteeing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the establishment of an independent and viable Palestinian state based on internationally agreed standards 1967 with Jerusalem as its capital.

During the official talks in Islamabad, His Royal Highness the Crown Prince and Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defense praised openness and efforts of Prime Minister Imran Khan for dialogue with India and the opening of the Kartarpur crossing point and the efforts exerted by both sides, stressing that dialogue is the only way to ensure peace and stability in the region to resolve outstanding issues.

The two sides agreed on the importance of political settlement and promoting peace and stability in Afghanistan so that millions of Afghan refugees in neighboring countries can return to their country and contribute to their development and lasting peace. The Saudi side appreciated Pakistan's generous hosting of millions of Afghan refugees and other initiatives by Pakistan in the Afghan context.

With a view to enhancing bilateral relations in various fields, the two brotherly countries decided to establish a Joint Supreme Coordination Council between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, co-chaired by His Royal Highness the Crown Prince, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense from the Saudi side, and by His Excellency the Prime Minister from Pakistani side for enhancing and institutionalizing the bilateral relations in various fields and take them to a higher level , and to hold its meetings in the two countries alternately.

The two sides agreed to make use of all available channels to promote bilateral trade, investment and promote communication between the two peoples and businessmen. The Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade, which is now part of the Saudi-Pakistan Supreme Coordination Council,

shall facilitate bilateral trade in specific sectors and products. The two sides agreed to further strengthen measures to promote trade, participate in exhibitions and events, welcome business meetings from both countries, and encourage the private sector to take the lead in building a strong economic partnership between the two brotherly countries.

Highlighting the growing economic relations, His Royal Highness the Crown Prince, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Defense and the Prime Minister of Pakistan witnessed the signing of a number of agreements and memorandums of understanding. The total investment opportunities resulted in over USD 20 billion, which would increase the mutual investment and volume of trade between the two brotherly countries.

The Saudi side expressed its appreciation for the initiatives taken by the Government of Pakistan to facilitate the conduct of business in the country and facilitate FDI in Pakistan. The Prime Minister called on Saudi Arabia to be a partner in economic growth and development in Pakistan.

His Royal Highness the Crown Prince and Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense also praised the efforts of Prime Minister Imran Khan to develop the economic and social structure in Pakistan. He stressed the potential of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which will contribute to the development and prosperity of the region.

The two countries called to promote dialogue, respect and understanding among followers of different faiths to promote peace and interfaith harmony.

They strongly condemned the atrocities and human rights violations committed against Muslims around the world.

At the end of the visit, His Royal Highness the Crown Prince, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense expressed his thanks to the Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan for his warm hospitality and brotherly feelings which are not unusual for Pakistan and the Pakistanis. For his part, the Prime Minister expressed his best wishes to the health and wellness of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Salman Bin Abdul Aziz, hoping to visit Pakistan in the near future.

**Source:** [https://pmo.gov.pk/news\\_details.php?news\\_id=944](https://pmo.gov.pk/news_details.php?news_id=944)



**Document: 2****Joint Statement of Trilateral Meeting on Afghan Peace Process,  
between Representatives of the United States, China, and Russia,  
April 26 2019, Washington, DC.**

**R**epresentatives of the United States, China, and Russia met in Moscow on April 25, 2019, and exchanged views on the current status of the Afghan peace process. The three sides reached consensus on the following:

1. The three sides respect the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of Afghanistan as well as its right to choose its development path. The three sides prioritize the interests of the Afghan people in promoting a peace process.
2. The three sides support an inclusive Afghan-led, Afghan-owned peace process and are ready to provide necessary assistance. The three sides encourage the Afghan Taliban to participate in peace talks with a broad, representative Afghan delegation that includes the government as soon as possible. Toward this end, and as agreed in Moscow in February 2019, we support a second round of intra-Afghan dialogue in Doha (Qatar).
3. The three sides support the Afghan government efforts to combat international terrorism and extremist organizations in Afghanistan. They take note of the Afghan Taliban's commitment to: fight ISIS and cut ties with Al-Qaeda, ETIM, and other international terrorist groups; ensure the areas they control will not be used to threaten any other country; and call on them to prevent terrorist recruiting, training, and fundraising, and expel any known terrorists.
4. The three sides recognize the Afghan people's strong desire for a comprehensive ceasefire. As a first step, we call on all parties to agree on immediate and concrete steps to reduce violence.
5. The three sides stress the importance of fighting illegal drug production and trafficking, and call on the Afghan government and the Taliban to take all the necessary steps to eliminate the drug threat in Afghanistan.
6. The three sides call for an orderly and responsible withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan as part of the overall peace process.
7. The three sides call for regional countries to support this trilateral consensus and are ready to build a more extensive regional and international consensus on Afghanistan.
8. The three sides agreed on a phased expansion of their consultations before the next trilateral meeting in Beijing. The date and composition of the meeting will be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

**Source:** <https://translations.state.gov/2019/04/26/joint-statement-on-trilateral-meeting-on-afghan-peace-process/>.

**Document: 3****Joint Communiqué of the Leaders' Roundtable of the 2nd Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation, Belt and Road Cooperation: Shaping a Brighter Shared Future, April 27 2019, Beijing, China.**

1. We, President Xi Jinping of the People's Republic of China, President Ilham Aliyev of the Republic of Azerbaijan, President Alexander Lukashenko of the Republic of Belarus, His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah of Brunei Darussalam, President Sebastián Piñera Echenique of the Republic of Chile, President Nicos Anastasiades of the Republic of Cyprus, President Miloš Zeman of the Czech Republic, President Ismail Omar Guelleh of the Republic of Djibouti, President Abdul Fatah Al-Sisi of the Arab Republic of Egypt, the First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan – Elbasy Nursultan Nazarbayev, President Uhuru Kenyatta of the Republic of Kenya, President Sooronbai Zheenbekov of the Kyrgyz Republic, President Bounnhang Vorachith of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, President Khaltmaagiin Battulga of Mongolia, President Filipe Jacinto Nyusi of the Republic of Mozambique, President Bidya Devi Bhandari of Nepal, President Rodrigo Roa Duterte of the Republic of the Philippines, President Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa of the Portuguese Republic, President Vladimir Putin of the Russian Federation, President Aleksandar Vučić of the Republic of Serbia, President Ueli Maurer of the Swiss Confederation, President Emomali Rahmon of the Republic of Tajikistan, President Shavkat Mirziyoyev of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Vice President and Prime Minister H.H. Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum of the United Arab Emirates and Ruler of Dubai, Chancellor Sebastian Kurz of the Republic of Austria, Prime Minister Hun Sen of the Kingdom of Cambodia, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed Ali of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras of the Hellenic Republic, Prime Minister Orbán Viktor of Hungary, Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte of the Italian Republic, Prime Minister Mahathir Bin Mohamad of Malaysia, State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, Prime Minister Imran Khan of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Prime Minister Peter O'Neill of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea, Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong of the Republic of Singapore, Prime Minister Prayut Chan-o-cha of the Kingdom of Thailand, Prime Minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and Vice President Jusuf Kalla of the Republic of Indonesia, met in Beijing on 27 April 2019 for the Leaders' Roundtable of the 2nd Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation themed on *Belt and Road Cooperation: Shaping a Brighter Shared Future*. We also welcome the participation of Secretary-General António Guterres of the United Nations and Managing Director Christine Lagarde of the

International Monetary Fund. The Leaders' Roundtable was chaired by President Xi Jinping of the People's Republic of China.

2. We met at a time when the world economy is facing both expanding opportunities and rising challenges, complicated by profound and rapid changes in the world. We reaffirm that strengthening multilateralism remains essential in addressing global challenges. We also believe that an open, inclusive, interconnected, sustainable and people-centered world economy can contribute to prosperity for all.

3. Recalling the Joint Communiqué of the Leaders' Roundtable of the 1st Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation, including the cooperation objectives, principles and measures contained therein, and reaffirming our commitment to the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, we reiterate that promoting peace, development and human rights, mutually-beneficial cooperation, and honoring the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and international law are our common responsibilities; achieving strong, sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth and improving people's quality of life are our common goals; creating a prosperous and peaceful world with shared future is our common aspiration.

4. The ancient Silk Road contributed to the strengthening of the connectivity and the expansion of the world economy in the spirit of promoting peace and cooperation, openness, inclusiveness, equality, mutual learning and mutual benefit. We look forward to restoring and rejuvenating such spirit, through the Belt and Road Initiative and other cooperation frameworks and initiatives.

5. As cooperation partners, we appreciate the progress already made and important opportunities created in the Belt and Road cooperation, especially the outcomes in areas such as development policy synergy, increased infrastructure investment, economic corridors, economic and trade cooperation zones, industrial parks, finance and trade cooperation, innovation and technology, maritime cooperation, business-to-business ties, people-to-people and cultural exchange. Such cooperation explores new sources of growth and offers potential for economic and social development, and contributes to the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals.

6. Looking into the future, we envisage high-quality Belt and Road cooperation in enhancing connectivity by promoting development policy synergy, infrastructure development, unimpeded trade, financial cooperation and people-to-people bond, thereby enhancing practical cooperation for the well-being of our peoples. In this context, we look forward to more efforts by cooperation partners.

--Such cooperation will be based on extensive consultation, joint efforts, shared and mutual benefits. We emphasize the importance of the rule of law and equal opportunities for all. We endeavor to move on with policy

and project cooperation through voluntary participation and consensus-building, based on common responsibility and outcomes. All states are equal partners for cooperation that respects openness, transparency, inclusiveness and level playing field. We respect sovereignty and territorial integrity of each other and affirm that each country has the right and primary responsibility to define its development strategies in accordance with its national priorities and legislation.

--Such cooperation will be open, green and clean. We embrace open economy and inclusive, non-discriminatory global market. All interested countries are welcome to join in such cooperation. We underline the importance of promoting green development and addressing the challenges of environmental protection and climate change including by enhancing our cooperation to implement the Paris Agreement. We encourage more efforts in building a culture of integrity and combating corruption.

--Such cooperation will pursue high standard, people-centered and sustainable development. We will work together in line with our national legislation, regulatory frameworks, international obligations, applicable international norms and standards. We believe that relevant cooperation should be people-centered and conducive to inclusive quality economic growth and broad-based improvement of people's livelihood. We are committed to promoting sustainability in all its dimensions.

7. We start from the conviction that connectivity contributes to boosting growth, economic and social development, trade in goods and services, as well as investment and creating employment opportunities and better communication and exchanges among peoples. In this regard, promoting global partnership on connectivity, based on transparency, openness and inclusiveness, provides an opportunity for all. Today, through such partnership including the Belt and Road Initiative and other cooperation strategies, we resolve to promote international cooperation, at sub-regional, regional and global levels aiming at a brighter shared future and common prosperity. We support a universal, rules-based, open, transparent and non-discriminatory multilateral trading system with WTO at its core.

### **Strengthening Development Policy Synergy**

8. To sustain common development, we welcome sound macroeconomic policies, encourage discussions with regard to Sustainable Development Agenda and will work together to enhance macroeconomic policy dialogue at the UN and other multilateral fora, and promote synergies among related development plans and connectivity initiatives based on the progress already made.

9. In this regard, we also emphasize the opportunities arising from the initiatives and cooperation frameworks, including, inter alia, the ACMECS Master Plan (2019-2023), the African Union including Programme for

Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA), APEC Connectivity Blueprint, the Arab League, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) including Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity 2025, ASEAN Smart Cities Network and ASEAN Initiative on Connecting the Connectivities, ASEM Pathfinder Group on Connectivity, BIMP-East ASEAN Growth Area, Central Asian Connectivity, Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), the Dubai Silk Road Strategy, EU strategy on connecting Europe and Asia, EU-China Connectivity Platform, EU Eastern Partnership, Eurasian Economic Union, Eurasian partnership, Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS), Global Infrastructure Connectivity Alliance, International G-Global Project, Lancang-Mekong Cooperation, Organization of American States, Pacific Alliance, Pacific Islands Forum, Union for the Mediterranean and those sub-regional and regional cooperation initiatives between all partners.

10. Determined to pursue trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, we aspire to further open our markets, reject protectionism, unilateralism and other measures that are incompatible with WTO rules. We highlight the importance of special and differential treatment in accordance with WTO agreements.

11. We recognize the importance of improving customs facilitation including by encouraging better cooperation and coordination of relevant agencies involved in border clearance, mutual assistance, information sharing and cooperation, streamlining customs and transit procedures. We encourage such facilitation to be consistent with the WTO Trade Facilitation Agreement and accompanied by efficient and effective controls to, inter alia, prevent illicit trade and fight fraud.

12. We call for strengthened cooperation on foreign direct investment and joint ventures in the context of our national laws and international commitments, and encourage an enabling and predictable environment for the promotion of investment and new business opportunities.

13. We intend to enhance cooperation in tax matters, encourage more agreements on avoidance of double taxation, and promote growth-friendly tax policies. To achieve these goals, we aim to work within existing international taxation cooperation frameworks.

14. We endeavor to forge inclusive and diversified global value chains, beneficial to all partners. We encourage greater cooperation on innovation, while protecting intellectual property rights. We also encourage the introduction of digital transport accompanying documents.

15. We support the development of sustainable blue economy and call for further developing maritime links and intensifying international maritime cooperation, including among ports and shipping industries, while sustainably managing marine and coastal ecosystems.

**Boosting Infrastructure Connectivity**

16. To sustain interconnected growth, we support comprehensive and multi-modal infrastructure connectivity, fostering economic growth and improving the standards of living catalyzed by infrastructure investment. We support policies and activities that help land-locked countries to transform into land-linked ones, including by strengthening connectivity and cooperation on transit arrangements and infrastructure.

17. We will strive to build high-quality, reliable, resilient and sustainable infrastructure. We emphasize that high-quality infrastructure should be viable, affordable, accessible, inclusive and broadly beneficial over its entire life-cycle, contributing to sustainable development of participating countries and the industrialization of developing countries. We welcome developed countries and international investors to invest in connectivity projects in the developing countries. We emphasize the importance of economic, social, fiscal, financial and environmental sustainability of projects, while striking a good balance among economic growth, social progress and environmental protection.

18. In the interest of sustainability, we support improving cooperation in project preparation and implementation, to promote projects that are investable, bankable, economically viable and environment-friendly. We call on all market players in the Belt and Road cooperation to fulfill their corporate social responsibility and follow the principles of UN Global Compact.

19. We acknowledge that transport infrastructure constitutes a foundation of connectivity. We encourage the development of interoperability of infrastructure to enhance air, land and sea connectivity among countries, including through interoperable and multi-modal transport. We recognize the importance of development of trans-regional transport and logistic routes including the ones connecting Central Asia with Caucasus, Europe, Africa, South and Southeast Asia and the Pacific region to increase its transport and communication potential.

20. We support strengthening energy infrastructure, in order to enhance energy security and to promote global access to affordable, clean, renewable and sustainable energy for all.

21. We aim to enhance connectivity among financial markets, in accordance with respective national laws and regulations as well as international commitments, while bearing in mind the importance of financial inclusion.

**Promoting Sustainable Development**

22. To promote sustainable and low-carbon development, we appreciate the efforts to foster green development towards ecological sustainability. We encourage the development of green finance including the issuance of green bonds as well as development of green technology. We also

encourage exchanges of good practices on ecological and environmental policies towards a high level of environmental protection.

23. Determined to protect the planet from degradation, we look forward to a climate resilient future and enhance our cooperation in areas such as environment protection, circular economy, clean energy and energy efficiency, sustainable and integrated water resources management including support to the countries adversely affected by climate change, in line with internationally agreed principles and obligations so as to achieve sustainable development in its three dimensions - economic, social and environmental - in a balanced and integrated manner. We support the implementation of the UN resolution on Midterm Comprehensive Review of the International Decade for Action, "Water for Sustainable Development", 2018-2028.

24. We encourage more cooperation in sustainable agriculture, forestry and protecting biological diversity. We agree to promote cooperation in resilience and disaster-risk reduction and management.

25. We support international anti-corruption cooperation and work towards zero tolerance in anti-corruption, consistent with national laws and regulations. We call for more international cooperation in line with our applicable respective obligations under international conventions, such as UN Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) and relevant bilateral treaties. We look forward to strengthening international cooperation and exchanges of good practices and practical cooperation.

### **Strengthening Practical Cooperation**

26. To achieve and sustain shared prosperity, practical cooperation should be strengthened. Such cooperation needs to be people-centered, result-based and growth-oriented, in accordance with market rules and our respective legal frameworks supported by the government when necessary. We encourage the participation by enterprises from all countries in the cooperation, including micro, small and medium enterprises. We highlight the importance of open, transparent and non-discriminatory public procurement procedures in accordance with national laws and regulations and welcome the exchanges of good practices.

27. We support continued efforts to build on the progress already made in developing economic corridors and economic and trade cooperation zones as annexed as well as other cooperation projects across all areas related to the Belt and Road Initiative, and further cooperation on value chains, industry chains and supply chains.

28. We will continue our efforts towards strengthening multi-modal transportation including inland waterways in landlocked countries, roads, railway networks, air, land and sea ports and pipelines in line with international law and respective domestic laws. We encourage digital infrastructure including transnational fiber-optic highways, promoting e-

commerce and smart cities, and helping narrow the digital divide while drawing on international good practices.

29. We encourage third-market, tripartite cooperation and Public Private Partnership (PPP) cooperation and welcome more efforts by enterprises and relevant international organizations consistent with national laws and regulations. We welcome legal cooperation, including the availability of dispute resolution services and legal assistance for the business sector.

30. We support collaboration among national and international financial institutions to provide diversified and sustainable financial supports for projects. We encourage local currency financing, mutual establishment of financial institutions, and a greater role of development finance in line with respective national priorities, laws, regulations and international commitments, and the agreed principles by the UNGA on debt sustainability. We encourage multilateral development banks and other international financial institutions to reinforce their support to connectivity projects in fiscally sustainable ways as well as the mobilization of private capital into projects in line with local needs.

31. We stress the importance of the development of water-saving technologies and agricultural innovations as an important component providing food security and supporting sustainable development. We stress the importance of cooperation on veterinary-sanitary and phytosanitary matters for agricultural products in order to facilitate trade and investment.

32. We take note of the thematic sectoral platforms as seen in the annex.

### **Advancing People-to-People Exchanges**

33. Considering connectivity as a means of bringing countries, peoples and societies closer together, we believe the Belt and Road cooperation promotes exchanges, mutual learning and dialogue among different peoples, cultures and civilizations. We welcome efforts to expand people-to-people exchanges including those between the youth.

34. We emphasize the importance of strengthening cooperation in human resources development, education, vocational and professional training, and build up the capacity of our peoples to better adapt to the future of work, so as to promote employment and improve their livelihoods.

35. We look forward to further exchanges and cooperation in areas of science and technology, culture, arts, creative economy, rural development and folk crafts, archaeology and paleontology, protection of cultural and natural heritages, tourism, health, sports etc.

36. We welcome communication among parliaments, sister provinces and cities, think tanks, academia, media, civil societies, as well as exchanges among women, persons with disabilities, and cooperation on overseas workers.



## Way Forward

37. We welcome the efforts to further promote bilateral and international cooperation with China under the Belt and Road Initiative. We envisage the Belt and Road Forum on regular basis with possible follow-up events.

38. We thank and congratulate China for hosting the 2nd Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation and look forward to the 3rd Forum.

## Annex

### 1. Economic corridors and other projects catalyzed and supported by connectivity:

- (1) Addis Ababa-Djibouti economic corridor, including the development of industrial parks along the economic corridor
- (2) Agua Negra Pass International Tunnel
- (3) Baku-Tbilisi-Kars new railway line and Alyat free economic zone in Baku
- (4) Brunei-Guangxi economic corridor
- (5) China-Central Asia-West Asia economic corridor
- (6) China-Europe Land-Sea Express Line
- (7) China-Indochina Peninsula economic corridor, including Laos-China economic corridor
- (8) China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan International Highway
- (9) China-Laos-Thailand Railway Cooperation
- (10) China-Malaysia Qinzhou Industrial Park
- (11) China-Mongolia-Russia economic corridor
- (12) China-Myanmar economic corridor
- (13) China-Pakistan economic corridor
- (14) Eastern Economic Corridor in Thailand
- (15) Economic corridor in Greater Mekong Subregion
- (16) the EU Trans-European Transport Networks
- (17) Europe-Caucasus-Asia International Transport corridor and TransCaspian International Transport Route
- (18) the Industrial Park "Great Stone"
- (19) International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC)
- (20) the Lake Victoria-Mediterranean Sea Navigation Line-Linkage Project (VICMED)
- (21) the Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia Transport corridor
- (22) Malaysia-China Kuantan Industrial Park
- (23) the Nepal-China Trans-Himalayan Multi-dimensional Connectivity Network, including Nepal-China cross-border railway
- (24) New Eurasian Land Bridge
- (25) the New International Land-Sea Trade Corridor of the China-Singapore (Chongqing) Demonstration Initiative on Strategic Connectivity

- (26) Northern Corridor Trade Route in Africa linking the maritime port of Mombasa to countries of the Great Lakes region of Africa and Trans-Africa Highway
- (27) North-South Passage Cairo-Capetown Pass-way
- (28) the Port of Piraeus
- (29) Port Sudan-Ethiopia Railway Connectivity
- (30) Regional Comprehensive economic corridors in Indonesia
- (31) the Suez Canal Economic Zone
- (32) Transcontinental shipment of cargo using the capacities of the Northern Sea Route
- (33) Transoceanic fiber optic cable
- (34) "Two Corridors and One Belt" Framework
- (35) Uzbekistan-Tajikistan-China International Highway

## **2. Sectoral multilateral cooperation initiatives and platforms:**

- (1) the Advisory Council of the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation
- (2) the Alliance of International Science Organizations in the Belt and Road Region
- (3) Beijing Initiative for the Clean Silk Road
- (4) Belt and Road Energy Partnership
- (5) Belt and Road Initiative Tax Administration Cooperation Mechanism
- (6) Belt and Road News Alliance
- (7) Belt and Road Studies Network
- (8) Digital Silk Road Initiative
- (9) Guiding Principles on Financing the Development of the Belt and Road
- (10) the International Academy of Science of the Silk Road
- (11) International Coalition for Green Development on the Belt and Road
- (12) Joint Statement on Pragmatic Cooperation in the Field of Intellectual Property Among Countries Along the Belt and Road
- (13) Joint Working Group on China Railway Express to Europe
- (14) Ningbo Initiative on the Maritime Silk Road Port Cooperation

## **3. Other relevant efforts referred to by participants:**

- (1) African Continental Free Trade Agreement (ACFTA)
- (2) Ancient Civilizations Forum initiated by Greece
- (3) APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting in 2019 in Chile
- (4) Belt and Road Forum for international cooperation in Belarus
- (5) Belt and Road lane for fast-track entry and exit at the land and air ports set up by Mongolia and interested countries
- (6) the First Forum of Mayors of Silk Road Countries held in Kazakhstan in 2018
- (7) the Global Silk Road Award initiated by Kazakhstan
- (8) the initiative by Mongolia to establish an award that encourages young scholars and diplomats to promote the Belt and Road cooperation

- (9) Pan-Arab Free Trade Agreement (PAFTA)
- (10) the Santiago Climate Change Conference on its 25th Session of the Conference of the Parties (COP25) to the UNFCCC in 2019 in Chile
- (11) Sustainable Blue Economy Conference in Kenya in 2018
- (12) the United Nations Convention on International Settlement Agreements Resulting from Mediation
- (13) the UNWTO International Meeting on the Silk Road Tourism in Greece in 2018
- (14) the World Forum on inter-cultural dialogue within the framework of Baku Process
- (15) the World Youth Forum held in Egypt in 2018<sup>1</sup>

**Source:**[https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/zxxx\\_662805/t1658766.shtml](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1658766.shtml)

**Document: 4****Address by Prime Minister Imran Khan at Opening Ceremony of Belt and Road Cooperation: Shaping a Brighter Future, April 26 2019, Beijing, China.**

Excellency President Xi Jinping,  
Esteemed World Leaders,  
Distinguished Participants,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

**I**t is my privilege to speak at the Second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation. I congratulate President Xi Jinping and the Government of People's Republic of China for organizing this important event. As the Belt and Road transforms from vision into reality, this gathering of partners and friends affords a useful platform for taking stock and setting the agenda. In a world of geopolitical uncertainty, of rising inequality and barriers to trade, the BRI offers a model of collaboration, partnership, connectivity and shared prosperity.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

BRI marks a new and distinct phase in the onward march of nations of the world along the path of globalization. The presence of so many world leaders today is proof that we choose hope over despair and cooperation over confrontation. 122 States and 49 International Organizations have signed on to BRI's vision and this is historic and monumental development.

Distinguished Participants,

Pakistan is proud to have partnered and pioneered with China in this transformational endeavour. We have been among BRI's earliest and most enthusiastic proponents. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, one of BRI's major components and one of its earliest manifestations, has made substantial progress.

Pakistan's energy supplies have increased massively. Our critical infrastructure gaps are being plugged. Gwadar, once a small fishing village, is transforming rapidly into a commercial hub. The Gwadar Airport will be the largest in the country. Together, Pakistan and China are entering the next phase of CPEC, with greater emphasis on socioeconomic uplift, poverty alleviation, agricultural cooperation and industrial development. We are expanding the frontiers of knowledge through closer

engagement and deeper cooperation in the fields of education, innovation and technology.

Along the length of the Corridor, Special Economic Zones are set to come up, offering opportunities for investments for Pakistani, Chinese and foreign entrepreneurs. Supplementing the next phase of CPEC, we are signing an expanded Pakistan-China Free Trade Agreement. We are changing Pakistan's economic landscape and Insha-Allah the destiny of our people. I want to thank China and its leadership for their unwavering support for Pakistan. Our deep-rooted friendship, partnership and brotherhood with China remains strong, resilient and unbreakable, standing tall in the face of every challenge.

I take this opportunity to invite all of you to avail of our liberal foreign investment regime and participate in our economy, in particular infrastructure, railways, dams, IT and manufacturing.

### **Distinguished Participants,**

As the Belt and Road Initiative takes a further concrete shape, I suggest we direct our efforts and focus on the peoples of our countries, and towards addressing impediments on their way to sustainable growth.

Some of these points have already been touched upon by President Xi Jinping in his speech. I suggest the following:

FIRSTLY To undertake joint efforts to mitigate climate change. In our Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, we successfully planted a billion trees. President of Chile has already elaborated on this. We launched a nationwide project to plant 10 billion trees. I suggest we launch a joint project to plant 100 billion trees in the next two years, so that we can mitigate the effects of climate change for our coming generations.

SECONDLY Establish a BRI Tourism Corridor to promote people-to-people contacts and inter-cultural understanding.

THIRDLY Establish an office of Anti-Corruption Cooperation to combat the scourge of white-collar crime. White-collar crimes are devastating the world.

FOURTHLY Create a Poverty Alleviation Fund that supplements national efforts in the fight against poverty and malnourishment. In Pakistan, we have recently launched a targeted poverty alleviation programme called Ehsas, or feeling. The aim should be to emulate China's spectacular success in lifting 800 million people out of poverty within a matter of decades.

FIFTHLY Make concerted efforts to further liberalize trade and investment flows encouraging our private sector and businesses to collaborate in projects.

**Distinguished Participants,**

China's marvelous civilization has given the world wisdom, harmony and prosperity. It has gifted to humanity, great inventions, art and aesthetics and a culture of compassion and co-existence. As a famous Chinese proverb says, 'The Ocean is vast because it rejects no rivers. Pakistan will continue to work on the basis of mutual respect and equal opportunity, with China and other BRI partners, for a better future of our people. Pakistan will partner with all those who share the vision for a peaceful and prosperous world. We will work together to realize a future of hope and happiness.

Thank You!

**Source:** [http://pmo.gov.pk/pm\\_speech\\_details.php?speech\\_id=99](http://pmo.gov.pk/pm_speech_details.php?speech_id=99)

**Document: 5****Statement by Prime Minister Imran Khan, SCO Council of Heads of State, June 14 2019, Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic.**

Excellency,  
Mr. Sooronbay Jeenbekov,  
President of the Kyrgyz Republic,  
Honourable Heads of Member and Observer States,  
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen!

I am delighted to join leaders from SCO Member and Observer States in this beautiful city of Bishkek. I extend our gratitude to President Jeenbekov, the Government and people of Kyrgyz Republic for their gracious hospitality. The Kyrgyz Republic's natural beauty and rich traditions make it the pearl of the SCO region. We congratulate Kyrgyzstan for its excellent stewardship of SCO since the historic Qingdao Summit in China last year. As the Russian Federation takes the baton, we are confident that SCO's onward march would continue apace.

Excellencies,  
Pakistan has historic ties with the nations and countries represented around this table. We may be new to the SCO family, but our links are deep and abiding. SCO is the modern expression of our historic roots. Our economic linkages are equally compelling. Pakistan provides the vital connectivity between the Middle East and China and Central and South Asia. These geographic proximities and economic imperatives draw us closer to SCO.

Excellencies,  
Pakistan today is a country of over 200 million resilient and enterprising people. Pakistan is an attractive investment destination and a large market endowed with a rich array of resources. Our predominantly young population is imbued with immense energy and creativity. Our other endowments include a vast pool of skilled human resource, a large agrarian base, tremendous tourism potential, diverse mineral wealth, and a developed IT infrastructure. Pakistan's foreign policy outlook is anchored on the inextricable link between peace and development. We build partnerships based on mutual respect, sovereign equality and equal benefit. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the flagship project of President Xi's far-sighted Belt and Road Initiative, is fast reaching fruition. Gwadar Port, at its southern end, marks the only point of convergence of the maritime Belt and the overland Road. I was in China in April, for the 2nd Belt and Road Forum, where we also launched the next phase of CPEC, and concluded an upgraded Pakistan-China Free

Trade Agreement. In time, CPEC is destined to catalyze the creation of an integrated pan-Asian sphere of shared prosperity.

Excellencies,

The world stands at a cross-roads. For the first time in ages, we are seeing the advent of a multi-polar global order. Epicentres of economic power and growth momentum are shifting eastwards. Regional integration is speeding up. Disruptive technologies are maturing. Threats from terrorism to climate change to narcotics to bacterial resistance continue to loom large on humanity. There are increasing barriers to open trade and innovation. Meanwhile, growing intolerance and Islamophobia are threatening to accentuate religious fault-lines. For its part, Pakistan condemns terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, including State-terrorism against people under illegal occupation. We are among the few countries to have successfully turned the tide against terrorism and at a heavy cost to our soldiers and our population. Pakistan remains ready to share its experience and expertise in counter terrorism. We will also remain actively engaged in SCO's counter-terrorism initiatives.

Excellencies,

There is finally a realization that the conflict in Afghanistan has no military solution. Pakistan is fully supporting efforts for peace and reconciliation, through an Afghan-led and Afghan-owned peace process. We deem this to be part of a shared responsibility and, therefore, appreciate the positive contributions being made by China, Russia and Afghanistan's immediate neighbours. SCO's support for post-conflict Afghanistan will remain crucial.

Excellencies,

South Asia continues to be challenged by common enemies: poverty, illiteracy, disease and under-development. Political differences and unresolved disputes further compound this predicament. Enduring peace and prosperity in South Asia will remain elusive until the main dynamic in South Asia is shifted from confrontation to cooperation.

It is important to seize the opportunities for peaceful resolution of outstanding disputes and collective endeavours for regional prosperity.

Excellencies,

The evolving situation in the Gulf and Middle East is a matter of great concern. We join the SCO members in urging the parties to exercise restraint, take steps to de-escalate the situation, and find solutions through diplomatic means. We believe implementation of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action by all parties is essential for international and regional stability.



Excellencies,

As a Sportsman, I have always considered the playground to be a remarkable teacher. Sports teach us that opportunities knock at our door in the shape of challenges. They inculcate sportsman spirit, fair play, justice and comradeship – values that are at the core of SCO's philosophy. On the turf of international politics, there is an opening for SCO to play its role in framing a brave new world.

I suggest the following eight-pronged course of action:

- 1) Reinforce our vision of cooperation, that rejects confrontation, and advance the imperatives of peaceful co-existence at the regional and international levels.
  - 2) Galvanize the "Shanghai Spirit" to strengthen SCO's core mandate of mitigating the risks of conflict, fostering confidence, and promoting stability.
  - 3) Finalize arrangements for trade in local currencies, and set up SCO Fund and SCO Development Bank to catalyze the trans-regional development agenda.
  - 4) Synergize the various region-wide connectivity initiatives, and work on complementing infrastructure connectivity with soft connectivity, including digital, cultural, touristic, and academic.
- I propose setting up SCO Culture & Tourism Corridors, clustering multiple SCO destinations into a single package.
- 5) Making SCO more relevant to the daily lives of citizens by promoting food security and enhancing cooperation in health and humanitarian sectors.
  - 6) Take the lead role in establishing a comprehensive framework for combating corruption and white collar crime to prevent billions of dollars annually money laundered from developing world on to offshore accounts.
  - 7) Prioritize women and youth empowerment by focusing inter-alia on strengthening the Women Forum and the Youth Council and mandating them to promote gender mainstreaming, skills acquisition and jobs mobility.
  - 8) Bridge the gap between region-specific research and policy by launching feasibility studies for creating SCO Centres of Excellence on Poverty Alleviation, something which the whole world can learn from the Chinese experience, De-Radicalization, Connectivity, and New Technologies.

Excellencies,

We have every resource, and every reason, to turn our dreams into reality. A far-reaching vision, strength of will, ownership, and synergy in our efforts will help us in successfully achieving this transformation.

Thank You!

**Source:** [http://pmo.gov.pk/pm\\_speech\\_details.php?speech\\_id=100](http://pmo.gov.pk/pm_speech_details.php?speech_id=100)

**Document: 6****Meeting between Prime Minister Imran Khan and President Ashraf Ghani, June 27 2019, Islamabad, Pakistan.**

Prime Minister Imran Khan and President Ashraf Ghani agreed to open a new chapter of friendship and cooperation between Pakistan and Afghanistan, based on mutual trust and harmony for the benefit of the two peoples and countries and for advancing the cause of peace, stability and prosperity in the region. Prime Minister Khan and President Ghani had a one-on-one meeting, followed by delegation-level talks today. The two leaders exchanged views on the entire gamut of bilateral relations. The Prime Minister affirmed that Pakistan remained committed to bring about a qualitative transformation in Pakistan-Afghanistan relations as part of his vision of a “peaceful neighbourhood.” The two leaders agreed on the importance of crafting a forward-looking vision of Pakistan-Afghanistan relations. Prime Minister Imran Khan reaffirmed Pakistan’s commitment to support the Afghan peace process as a shared responsibility. He underlined that an Afghan-led and Afghan-owned peace process was the only viable option to end decades-long conflict in Afghanistan. In this regard, Pakistan supported a result-oriented intra-Afghan dialogue. The Prime Minister underscored Pakistan’s respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan and its commitment to stand by the Afghan people at this crucial juncture. Pakistan remained committed to a peaceful, stable, democratic and prosperous Afghanistan and wished to have stronger political, trade, economic, and people-to-people relations with Afghanistan, the Prime Minister added. The two leaders agreed that enduring peace in Afghanistan would bring rich economic dividends to both the countries. They reaffirmed their commitment to work together to broaden and deepen bilateral trade, streamline transit trade, and strengthen efforts for connectivity. It was recognized that early completion of major energy connectivity projects such as Central Asia-South Asia (CASA 1000) electricity transmission line and Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline will bring long-term economic benefits to the countries involved. Further ways of strengthening trade, infrastructure and energy connectivity were explored. It was agreed to optimally utilize the existing mechanisms--including Afghanistan-Pakistan Transit Trade Coordination Authority (APTTCA) and Joint Economic Commission (JEC) -- to remove difficulties in transit and bilateral trade and to explore new possibilities of mutually-beneficial economic and commercial relations. There was also an exchange of views on regional issues. The Prime Minister shared his vision for peace, progress and prosperity in South Asia. Earlier, on arrival at Nur Khan Airbase, President Ashraf Ghani was given a 21-gun salute. There was an official Welcoming Ceremony, including

Guard of Honour, at the Prime Minister's House, where Prime Minister Imran Khan warmly received President Ghani. The Prime Minister also hosted a Banquet Luncheon in honour of the visiting dignitary and his entourage.

**Source:** [http://pid.gov.pk/site/press\\_detail/11204](http://pid.gov.pk/site/press_detail/11204)

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<b>Reference to a Newspaper:</b>	<i>Dawn</i> (Islamabad), July 30, 2007.
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2. Date should be written as December 7, 2007.
3. Abbreviations should be written in brackets after writing within bracket after spelling the acronym in full at first use, e.g., the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). Subsequently only SAARC should be used without bracket.
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## Faculty of Contemporary Studies

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Email: shaheenakhtar@ndu.edu.pk; editorjcs@ndu.edu.pk

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