

PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT in South Asia, Middle East, Central Asia Partners in Peace Developing Together

A Chronicle of Papers & Analyses







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Preface

Globalisation has lifted hundreds of millions of people out of poverty. The world is more interconnected today in an age of 5G and pandemic, though. It is, however, still unprepared for a paradigm shift in multilateralism, which is knocked by several new challenges, such as regional integration. 'Building blocks can be stumbling blocks,' unless an ensured, all-inclusive and broad-based response is contemplated, and implemented with utmost acumen. A pragmatic, holistic, comprehensive and cooperative approach with mutual trust and respect could be a base line for long-term objectives of Peace and Development.

Working on the resolve of interconnectivity in the realms of economic, political, and cultural norms, IPRI initiated a Dialogue on Peace and Development in 2019. It was meant to focus on South Asia, Middle East and Central Asia (SAMECA) region.

A galaxy of experts, researchers, professionals, and academicians from various parts of the world in the field of international relations, security and defence, conflict resolution, climate change, governance and cyber security were invited to share their expertise in order to make the region(s) a better place to live in.

The Two-Day Dialogue was also participated by the Prime Minister and President of Pakistan, several federal ministers, parliamentarians, senior bureaucrats and media personnel to reinforce the significance of SAMECA as a main component of evolving political, economic and cultural activity.

Shamsa Nawaz

Editor IPRI

PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT in South Asia, Middle East, Central Asia (SAMECA)

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The Margalla Dialogue 2019 was a co-creation of development experts, academics, civil society and policy leaders, among others from South Asia, Middle East, Central Asia and beyond and from many sectors including foreign policy, economic development, financial, environmental, technology and more. IPRI is grateful to all who collaborated, instigated, partnered, and contributed their time, energy, ideas, funds, and solutions.

The initiative could not have been possible without the leadership of Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Khan Hasham bin Saddique, then President of the Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI). All IPRI staff members, from the administrative team to the research scholars and publications and media team deserve special appreciation for their hard work and dedication in bringing the Margalla Dialogue 2019 to fruition.

IPRI is also grateful to the think tanks, ministries and the local and international scholarly community that supported us during the Dialogue and became part of this incredible event. Thank you for your dedication to peace and development in South Asia, Middle East and Central Asia (SAMECA).

Moving forward, we hope that this power of collaboration and insight moves us toward a more peaceful world — together.■

Introduction

Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Khan Hasham bin Saddique, HI(M), SI(M)

The rapidly transforming global geopolitical landscape has been in a state of flux for quite some time. A number of states across the globe mired in broiling conflicts are yearning for as yet elusive peace and prosperity. The contemporary milieu characterised by interdependence and real time connectivity, implies that the negative fallout spills are far beyond the territories of the afflicted states. The exponential expansion of a range of contentious issues and lackluster performance of organisational structures in place, to deal with these contemporary challenges, has exacerbated the problem even further. The void has been filled to an extent by a series of "dialogues" and "forums" that have emerged recently, providing cognizable platforms for consultations and collaboration. Such undertakings have enabled the policymakers, scholars and practitioners, officials etc. to deliberate freely and candidly on important political, military, developmental and social issues to seek feasible solutions. The dialogues are particularly useful for resolving shared issues such as climate change, food and water scarcity, countering violent extremism, cyber and hybrid threats etc. The diversity of attendees and broadening of agendas has allowed these forums to venture into both hardcore consultations and backdoor deliberations.

With so many Dialogues currently taking place, why was there a need for one in Pakistan?

Pakistan is strategically located on the confluence of three important regions of the world – South Asia, Middle East and Central Asia (SAMECA). It is a natural bridge and a pivot of this triad. The region has a huge geostrategic and geopolitical significance evincing great interest/influence from regional and extra-regional players alike. The countries here have their due share of volatility and conflicts that include Kashmir and Afghanistan which have lingered on for decades, causing large-scale sufferings and impeding economic progress. Furthermore, the SAMECA region is also confronted with the specter of terrorism/violent extremism, ethno-religious disputes, drugs, human trafficking, energy and water security, and climate change etc.

At the same time, SAMECA, being immensely resource-rich offers immeasurable avenues of economic cooperation and sustained growth. Mega projects like Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI), Central Asia-South Asia (CASA-1000) power project, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) that connect the region through trade/rail/road/ networks and corridors can radically transform its socioeconomic outlook.

The future of nearly 2.4 billion people is inextricably linked to robust Peace and sustained Development. SAMECA arguably holds the key to a prosperous and peaceful world in the Twenty-first Century.

Given the emerging scenario, a need was being felt to institutionalize a Comprehensive Regional Response to the peace and development challenges facing the SAMECA region by working

Introduction

out plausible solutions. Identification of frameworks, strategies, plans etc. through discussions with constituent countries and other relevant stakeholders can be mutually beneficial for shared prosperity. Hence, the first Margalla Dialogue on Peace and Development in South Asia, Middle East and Central Asia, took place in the city of Islamabad, Pakistan, from 13 to 14 November 2019. By compiling this edited anthology of the papers, thought pieces and keynotes of the delegates including the President and Prime Minister of Pakistan, IPRI hopes to shed light on how we can move towards a comprehensive and pragmatic regional response to the peace and development challenges facing the SAMECA region.

Welcome Address

Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Khan Hasham bin Saddique, HI (M)

President, Islamabad Policy Research Institute, Pakistan

H onorable President Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Dr Arif Alvi, excellencies, scholars, professors, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen *Assalam-o-Alaikum* and very good morning.

I am greatly honoured and privileged to welcome this august gathering, especially the President of Pakistan, for having spared his time to grace the occasion as chief guest today. Let me also express my gratitude to our worthy guests who have travelled from across the world to be here in this beautiful city of Islamabad. I wish you a very enjoyable and professionally rewarding experience. I am delighted that so many scholars and experts from abroad have responded to our invitation and keenly look forward to a free and frank exchange of ideas.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a matter of great pride for Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) to launch this pioneer initiative under the banner of 'Margalla Dialogue series' to be held annually in Pakistan. The dialogue is intended to be a track 1.5 undertaking and will focus on the most happening regions of the world, which is South Asia, Middle East, and Central Asia, acronymically called as SAMMECA. The spectrum of issues related to peace and

development within this region under the overall vision 'partners in peace, developing together' would be deliberated by the experts.

The singular objective has been to formulate implementable strategies and plans to tackle the challenges that confront us collectively. I feel such dialogues and forums being held worldwide have proven to be effective for multi-stakeholders for collaboration, so vitally needed in the contemporary environment.

I am confident that Margalla Dialogue with its modest beginning today, would carve a niche for itself as a credible edition in not too distant future. Insha'Allah.

Ladies and gentlemen, Margalla Dialogue comes at a time when the global geopolitical landscape is under radical transformation and taking a shift in global center of gravity towards the east. The SAMECA region is in the midst of this momentous paradigm shift. However, nearly 2.3 billion people who inhabit this region, continue to yearn for enduring peace and stability, marred by simmering conflicts and disputes.

Interventions by the extra regional powers, self-professed regional hegemons, obduracy, wars by proxies and violent non-state actors have made resolutions of conflicts and attainment of peace, a pipe dream not to be mentioned immeasurable human sufferings that have ensued.

In South Asia, the Kashmir dispute has mutated to a complex and protracted conflict, destabilizing the whole region. It goes without saying that prospects of lasting peace and development in South

Welcome Address

Asia depend on the resolution of all outstanding issues between the two nuclear armed neighbors, particularly the Kashmir issue.

Furthermore, the devastating war in Afghanistan is into its 19th year and Middle East too remains embroiled with armed conflict and internal strife. The region also faces a plethora of nontraditional challenges. Topping this list is perhaps climate change and environmental degradation. Sadly, the progress vis-à-vis the resolution of issues through established international and regional mechanisms has yielded minimal results.

On the flip side though, SAMECA region with a combined GDP of nearly 7 trillion dollars and boasting the largest deposits of natural resources, has the potential to be the engine for growth for the entire global economy.

Yet the human development intercedes and percentage of population below the poverty line amongst the constituent states, make less than optimal reading. Hence, the call to attention and action through Margalla Dialogue is to let us join hands to associate, to coordinate, to cooperate, to collaborate and what you have for the sake of bright and prosperous future for all of us.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Pakistanis have historic religious, cultural and ancestral links with what is now Central Asia and the Middle East and I am convinced that our future lies in the integration with these regions.

With the recent developments in and around us such as China and Pakistan corridor, surely have the potential to be the access, the hub and the pivot for peace and development in SAMECA. The

opportunity afforded by new economic geography, needs to be realized if we are to prosper and attain the rightful place in the comity of nations.

Ladies and gentlemen, this year's dialogue will cover some of the pressing issues which include conflict resolutions, geopolitics, economic integration, climate change and cyber security with a bit more focus on the Central Asian region. We have tried to make the event truly a representative affair, but my apologies to those who could not be represented due to time constraints. Similarly, it was neither feasible to cover the region in totality, nor discuss the whole range of issues faced by SAMECA.

I am sure, all the participants will greatly benefit from the expert views of our esteemed speakers, discussants and panelists. IPRI looks forward to lively debates and discussions in various interactive sessions. **Sir**, may I also inform you that IPRI is also launching a book in connection with this dialogue which is a kaleidoscope of Pakistan. It talks about Pakistan and these are the papers contributed by the young and budding scholars and some very old scholars also.

So, in the end, I thank you Mr. President for gracing the occasion today and all the audience, ladies and gentlemen, for giving me this honor with your presence. Good luck. Pakistan Paindabad.■

Special Remarks

Dr Moeed Yusuf

Chairperson, Strategic Policy Planning Cell, National Security Division, Prime Minister's Office, Government of Pakistan

would like to give you a sense from where we sit in Pakistan, of what this region looks like. You started off Sir, by talking about the importance of the region and have mentioned integration, I am sure all of you are aware that South Asia, and you can include Central Asia in this as a partner of South Asia, is the single least integrated region of the world and none is behind us. So that is the starting point.

The second issue to note, which I don't think is talked enough, is that there have been numerous terms used for Pakistan over the years. Either of the storms, staging ground, this and that, but today Pakistan finds itself in a truly unique geographical position. Thereby, we are actually the 'Melting Pot' for the three major nodes of great power competition in the world.

Everybody knows great power competition has resurged in the past couple of years. Let me explain how? And let me then talk about our challenge and opportunity. To me, there are three nodes of great power competition in the world today. The First one is US-China and the eastern part of that rivalry is essentially what the US now calls the 'Indo-Pacific strategy.' The border of that Indo-Pacific strategy is India. India is the west most country that is formally a

part of Indo-Pacific strategy. The idea of which is to be a counterweight to China.

The Second major node of the great power competition is US-Russia and the southern border of that rivalry is the Central Asian Republics and Afghanistan. That is essential where that rivalry plays out; and the Third node to my mind is the Middle East. I won't name all the countries involved. Actually everyone that matter is involved, but the eastern border of that great power competition is Iran. So three countries, India, Afghanistan, Iran and which is the country that sits right in the middle of these three borders is Pakistan. So today, actually if you look at the three nodes of great power competition, Pakistan geographically is nub in the middle of that. So we actually have no option to close our eyes and imagine a world where this is not happening.

To me, Pakistan has two options. It can be the melting pot which is the positive scenario where all the synergies of these great powers converge, and Pakistan becomes the conduit for the cooperation that may take place between the great powers of the world (China, Russia, US) and others; or it could like it has in the past misused by others to become the staging ground for Global Wars. That is the challenge we face.

Where does Pakistan stand? Let me just quote you two or three very specific examples that Pakistan wants to be the melting pot or a staging ground. On Saturday, we saw a historic occasion of the Kartarpur corridor opening. The Pakistani Prime Minister spoke there. This was also the same day that we had the Indian Supreme Court verdict on the Ayodhya Temple and Babri Mosque. Go back and listen to his speech. Not a word about the verdict is mentioned.

Special Remarks

The only thing he kept stressing was, once Kashmir is resolved according to the wishes of the Kashmiri people, we have to move forward to integrate the region and improve the relations with India because we owe it to our people.

That is the only common tune you will find in that speech, the only direction you'll find in that speech in terms of Pakistan and India relations, and I can tell you confidently now that while I am sitting in this system, I am looking up at how we are operating that despite what has happened since August 5th (2019). It is a complete travesty of justice whichever way you will come at it. Pakistan's line continues to be that India and Pakistan have to move forward, but of course, in the current circumstances where India has taken this issue of Kashmir, it remains sadly impossible.

The second node I talked about ends at Afghanistan. I sat in Washington and some of my friends are sitting here. We actually asked some of the very few people who kept arguing that you cannot look at Pakistan only from the Afghan's lens. There is much more to this country and relationship other than that. I will be the first one to acknowledge, I failed completely; maybe that's why I am back. But the point is, if you look at this reconciliation process, even the biggest critics of Pakistan there have acknowledged that in the last year, Pakistan and the US have actually worked together to bring this conversation to the point where it is now.

We can have our differences on whether that's the right way to go or not but there was an understanding which Pakistan and the US worked on to move this process forward and, of course, we have seen reports that imminently say there is going to be a hostage job as well between the Afghans and the Taliban. So the intention of Pakistan in terms of where Afghanistan should go, I think it is absolutely clear from Pakistan's involvement in the reconciliation process. Again, it is the melting pot approach; we need to get Afghanistan to peace, to bring peace to ourselves.

The third node I mentioned to you was essentially the Middle East and Iran. And in that too, you have seen that Pakistani Prime Minister made special trips to try and mediate between the key countries that are at odd in the Middle East. So in all three, I am quoting you the examples of actions not from my views, that there is a clear effort to see how we can get to the melting pot approach and ask the global powers not to see Pakistan as 'us vs. them'; but as everybody coming in and working together.

On the final point I will make, again from my vantage point that is China and CPEC. You know CPEC bothers a lot of interests, countries and people. There are also a lot of people, including in Washington, who think that it is a very good idea if this can move forward; but again all of the conversation is about CPEC being strategic and about military etc. The reality on the ground is that the entire struggle is to make the economic platform viable. To get the investment to an optimal point so that the results and the dividends can be the same within Pakistan. Not of any military nature but quite frankly, the struggle is how to get jobs going through CPEC, how to get the investment optimized etc.

I am tasked for part of that to take India into the conversation. So the point I really leave you with is that I have struggled with this and I stand in a different position today. So don't see this as an official speaking, but I would have said this even three weeks ago before I was in this position. We have struggled to convince the world of

Special Remarks

what Pakistan is doing and the kind of changes that are being made in where Pakistan wants to go.

The narrative outside remains is security centric: One that looks at Pakistan through its security lens. You know a lot of people say Pakistan is a security state. Quite frankly, I also find that the world has imposed that label on us because now I can personally see the efforts that are being made to shift this conversation towards economic diplomacy, towards integration and towards a melting pot.

Let me just say one thing on this, and then I am going to leave you with an information on what we are doing to end that. I want to implore everybody to think about this: how does one become a melting pot as Pakistan? When you see what is being done around you; I am asking you a general question, not talking of Kashmir -- the real estate. What has Pakistan argument been through out? Let the Kashmiri people decide.

If unilateral actions are taken on the other side, if Pakistan and the Pakistani Prime Minister and every official goes to the world talking about the lockdown and the curfew and what is happening there and if economic interest continued to take responses of the countries, how do we get to that melting pot? If Afghanistan moves in a direction of reconciliation and the opposition often times comes from the vested interest from within, how does Pakistan move to this process forward to peace in Afghanistan? I can go on and on, but the point I am making is that there is also a need for the world to see how Pakistan can be helped and how the world can help itself. Get to that point where Pakistan's territory is the transit and trade hub for this region.

I do not think there is any single country that will disagree with the idea that integration is crucial, and yet the actions actually are not moving us in that direction. So, let me just end by assuring you that I am very new to this but by every single thing I have seen so far, I can guarantee you that there is a genuine effort to move this melting pot idea forward in whichever way possible and every single point of resistance that Pakistan can get from the outside, we are getting.

So I think we must also look at this, sitting outside Pakistan. For those of you, who have come here, please become our ambassadors to take this back to say, here is what Pakistan is looking at and trying; how we can actually move this forward and we can have a constructive conversation.

The prime minister's office has for the first time set up a structure and the idea is to provide independent strategic thought to policymaking. There is a lot of conversation about the echo chambers and you know things do not move because things do not change. There has been investment, there are people who are sitting there, some brilliant bureaucrats that we have in this system with some private sector expertise and the idea is to pool resources of Pakistani and international think tanks, universities and experts to channel input to policy-makers.

Throughout my life, I have cribbed that I write this and speak this and nobody listens. I am standing here telling all of you who work for think tanks, in universities and experts sitting outside and inside Pakistan; we now have created this specific channel to push through good ideas to the ultimate decision-makers of this country.

Keynote Address

Mr Daniel F. Runde

Senior Vice President, Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS), Washington, D.C., USA

This is my second trip to Pakistan. On my first trip in 2015, I came to Pakistan because it is a country I did not know much about and I wanted to understand. So, I spent the week listening. I sought to hear about all of the issues people care about that are outside of the security issues which Pakistan have with the United States. After my trip, I wrote an article for Forbes.com where I argued that Pakistan has enormous economic potential and could be a turnaround story, and that the United States needed to see Pakistan not only through a security lens but also to see Pakistan as a place of immense opportunity. I still believe this is true. I seemed to be saying something different because I got 200,000 downloads of the article.

There are some ideas I want to put on the table. But I want to preface my remarks by saying I know that the United States has some work to do on its side. For example, the US needs to create a much larger community that understands Pakistan and is interested in the success of Pakistan outside of the military and intelligence communities. We need more American students studying in Pakistan. We need more American businesses in Pakistan.

My main message today is this: Pakistan and the United States need to prepare now for a reframed relationship not based on the

distorted and precarious lens, Afghanistan. Sooner or later the US is going to have less of a footprint in Afghanistan, and therefore we are going to have to rethink the US-Pakistan relationship on a different set of premises.

Now that I have said that it is a distorted lens please allow me to address the issue of Afghanistan because I think it is important. The US Special Envoy (Zalmay) Khalilzad has been working extremely hard to broker a deal that will get the Taliban and the Afghan government and other stakeholders to the table to negotiate a political settlement. I know he has praised Pakistan for its support in this effort over the last year. Thus far any deal is still tenuous.

It is important for Pakistan to recognize that if the Taliban "wins," the United States will largely hold Pakistan responsible. All the many sacrifices of the Pakistan military in the war against terrorism, and their security concerns in the region, will be largely forgotten. Pakistan will face another wave of millions of refugees in addition to those that are still here, with little sympathy from the international community. So I would simply urge that Pakistan think very hard about what else it can do to ensure that Ambassador Khalilzad succeeds in getting Afghans to the table, that the result of that negotiation is not an Islamic Emirate run by the Taliban, and that any such new government is not again undermined by forces that still have a home in Pakistan.

Pakistan and the US interests align in Afghanistan. Pakistan in theory wants a negotiated settlement, and, so, in theory, do we. There should be a convergence there and a chance of a happy outcome. Afghanistan is a central preoccupation of the US and cannot be avoided, so let's work together on it. Help on arriving at a

Keynote Address

political settlement will generate good will, or at least take some of the edge off of hostility.

There have been enormous social, political and economic gains that have been made in Afghanistan in the past 20 years. It would be immoral to throw those gains away.

I know I am not here to talk about Afghanistan, but I needed to put that on the table and dispense with it.

I know there is a long list of grievances, misunderstandings, suspicions and disappointments in the US-Pakistan relationship that go back to at least 40 or 50 years. Having a trusted relationship is a two-way street. Pakistan's approval rating of the United States was an abysmal 14 per cent in 2018. We could all come up with a word count on what that is about.

My reason for coming today is to propose that we break through the stale and unproductive approach to our relationship.

So much of our thinking in Washington around Pakistan is around security. Most people in Washington that know anything about your country are either intelligence professionals or high-level military officials. We have an over-militarized relationship with your country. I think I can speculate why? Because the national security issues are so important to the United States; these issues, in essence, crowd out thinking on anything else. You are far away from us. I would also note that the Pakistani-American population in 2015 was 519,000 people. The Indian-American population was 4 million people.

If I think about Pakistan's population, it is in the same league as Brazil, Indonesia, and Nigeria. The United States has security relations with each of these countries, but we also have a broader set of other relations with these countries. We have economic ties. People-to-people-ties! We have deep ties on technology, education, and innovation. We enjoy broad and deep relations which each of these countries that are mostly democracies.

We have collectively failed to have that kind of relationship with Pakistan for many decades. We have a much larger agenda with them and desperately need a much larger agenda with Pakistan.

Let me just give you some reasons why we need such an agenda. You are currently the fifth largest country in the world. You will grow to 245 million people by 2030. You have the largest number of young people as a percentage of the population in the world. These young people should power a demographic dividend for Pakistan not a demographic time bomb. You are strategically located. You have an enormous amount of natural resources. Pakistan will change significantly over the next 30 years. It is rapidly urbanizing, with 10 cities that already have populations over one million people. Karachi has 14 million and Lahore has 11 million.

But more importantly, you already have, and are going to have an enormous amount of human capital potential. I can't tell you the number of people I have met, both here and in the United States, of Pakistani origin. They are world-class talent. Incredible entrepreneurs! Some of the greatest academics in the world! Some of the best multilateral leaders, such as Moeen Qureshi, and globally regarded Javed Burki. My friend, Asif Shaikh, a Pakistani-American is an innovator in US global development circles. The recently

Keynote Address

returned Moeed Yusuf who has joined the government is also amongst them. Pakistan has an impressive and dedicated team of diplomatic corps and an impressive team of senior corps of the military. Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States have hired some of your best and the brightest candidates, entrusting large companies and key organizations to Pakistanis.

I want to take some time to talk about the opportunities in Pakistan.

Trade

Pakistan has been a member of the World Trade Organization since 1995. The Pakistan-United States TIFA was signed in 2003. Our two countries also have had a bi-lateral tax treaty since 1959. Pakistan is the 56th largest trading partner of the United States and Pakistan exports more goods to the US than any other country. Trade between the two countries totaled \$6.6 billion and created 10,000 jobs in the United States. I wonder what else could be done in the area of trade between our two countries, and imagine it would be mutually beneficial to increase it. I am sure this audience would be far more interested in trade and investment between Pakistan and the US, than talking about more US military or economic aid. Let's put together a roadmap for win-win opportunities in trade and investment.

Science Tech Innovation

The current Pakistani government is working to improve their science, technology, and innovation capabilities through programmes such as "Think-Future", which take seven emerging technologies, and workshops, to create solutions for the country.

The United States and Pakistan also have a US Pakistan Science and Technology Cooperative Programme, which encourages collaboration between the two countries for their mutual benefit. The programme was implemented by the National Academy of Sciences in 2003, and by 2014 there were 1400 PhD's trained in Pakistani universities. The programme is focused on the quality, relevance, and research in education within the scientific and technological fields. We should grow these efforts. Given your immense human talent, how can we build on these initiatives?

Education

Student exchange programmes in general are beneficial to improving relations between the two countries. In 2016, there was an 8.5% increase of the number of Pakistani students studying in the United States. The latest data I found shows there are 11,000 Pakistani students in the US. This is only half of the 22,000 Pakistani students studying in China. We need to increase the exchange programme between our two countries.

Tourism

Pakistan has a significant tourism potential. It is known for its ancient historical and religiously significant buildings, including the Badshahi and Grand Jamia Mosque. It is also known for its natural beauty, especially the mountains which attract multitudes of hikers and back-packers. The Hunza Valley and Deosai National Park.
Keynote Address

When I flew into Islamabad, I saw the beautiful new airport. Pakistan has great potential in the tourism industry but needs to work on its accessibility.

Pakistan is one of the least competitive countries in South Asia in regard to travel and tourism. Pakistan had 1.7 million visitors in 2017, compared to Sri Lanka's 2.3 million and Jordan's 4.2 million. It ranks 121 out of 140 countries. Tourism is a proven benefactor to a country's economy, but Pakistan needs to make some infrastructure, hospitality, and accessibility changes in order to see results. In March 2019, your country introduced an e-visa policy that improves the accessibility issue, opening the door for 175 countries.

Yes, there is enormous potential for tourism, but to get it you have to strike the right balance between dearly held traditional values in Pakistan by making tourism attractive from the West or other parts of Asia. You have to get tourists comfortable with the security situation. Pakistan should have 3 or 4 million visitors a year. Let us figure out ways to get there.

Agriculture

Agriculture accounts for 20 per cent of Pakistan's GDP and employs 43 per cent of its workforce. Pakistan's agriculture ensures food security, and fights starvation for the population. Agriculture also plays a huge role in the total exports, contributing around 80 per cent. However, Pakistan's agricultural productivity is relatively low, ranging from 29% to 52%. Additionally, around 50% of all agricultural products are wasted due to a lack of logistics and processing facilities. These low crop yields prevent Pakistan from reaching its full agricultural potential and, therefore, are a barrier to

its ability to become a major player in the global food processing industry. Pakistan should be another Argentina or Ukraine in terms of agricultural potential. How do we make that happen?

Hydropower

Pakistan has significant hydro power potential, with only 7,320 MW developed of its 60,000 MW of hydropower potential. If properly tapped, hydropower could play a key role in tackling the power deficit in Pakistan. Other countries also see the hydropower potential of Pakistan. Just this year, Saudi Arabia provided a \$131 million loan to Pakistan for the construction of the Jagran-IV Hydropower project.

Pakistan Embedded in a Regional Framework

There is an enormous opportunity in Central Asia and South Asia. Pakistan does not just need to look south; it also needs to look north. Afghanistan is going to continue to see how it can look north towards Central Asia, and sooner or later Central Asia will look increasingly south. Does Pakistan want to be left out of that?

Shockingly, South Asia is the least integrated part of the world on trade. Africa is more economically integrated than South Asia. I bet that Pakistan is leaving anywhere from 1 to 4 per cent of additional GDP growth every year because of this lack of integration. If you could grow an additional 3 to 5 per cent a year would that be enough to rethink your relations with India and Afghanistan? I could not find a precise measure of the upside for Pakistan of this greater integration. I think this means that we have all suffered from a poverty of imagination. We need to understand the potential of this

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country. You have tens of millions of young people who are going to join your job market. Where will the jobs come from? Greater integration could resolve this great challenge you have. I think we need to map the potential for greater integration and what that would mean for jobs for young people in Pakistan, energy in Pakistan and more and more diverse investment in Pakistan. USAID is funding the Pakistan Regional Economic Integration Activity (PREIA), which is a five-year project that is working to improve the trade sector in Pakistan. That is a good start, but it seems to me that this is an area worthy of serious study and worthy of greater understanding among your political elites and the region's political elites.

Conclusion

I have visited and worked in around 100 countries. I have never met a government leader or business leader that wants their country to be a complete vassal state to China. And I have not met anyone in Pakistan that wants this either. Pakistan, I strongly suspect, wants to enjoy relations with a broad set of partners, including the United States. However, this is not to ignore the fact that China is seen much more favourably than the United States in Pakistan. In 2015, 82% of Pakistanis viewed China favourably. I would assume China's numbers are even better than that today because of China's increasing investments in Pakistan. I am told that Pakistanis say they like China because it is a consistent friend and does not criticise Pakistan in public. I can understand why that is comfortable, but I would argue that rigorous debate, open competition, plain speaking, and core values, all of which the US brings to the table, are also very attractive to Pakistanis, which is why so many of your students aspire to attend US universities, or work in Silicon Valley.

There is a new opportunity with your Prime Minister, Imran Khan. Imran Khan is an outsider and it is clear that he got here on his own. He is the duly elected Prime Minister of your great country. As things change in Afghanistan, now is the time for us to think about what a new US-Pakistan relationship will look like. There are several things that will need to happen to bring in this new relationship. First, we are going to have to bring in a much broader group of US stakeholders who need to be educated on the opportunity that is Pakistan. This challenge is somewhat "on us" in the United States. I think my organisation, CSIS, could be an excellent platform to do this. My hope is that over the next couple of years we will be able to serve as a catalyst for this challenge. Ultimately though, reframing this relationship could easily be a 10-year project that is worthy of our collective effort.

Inaugural Address

H.E. Dr Arif Alvi

President, Islamic Republic of Pakistan

he President of Islamabad Policy Research Institute Ambassador Vice-Air Marshal Hasham Saddique, Mr Moeed Yousaf, my friend and Chairman of Strategic Planning Policy Cell, Mr Daniel F. Runde, ladies and gentlemen, Assalam-o-Alaikum.

First of all I must congratulate the Islamabad Policy Research Institute for organizing the Margalla Dialogue. It was very essential and much needed. I welcome the delegates who have come here. Welcome to Pakistan, and as Runde mentioned the fact that it is a very beautiful place. However, other places besides Islamabad must also be visited to encourage tourism.

It is, indeed, a pleasure for me to be here and I thank you for inviting me. I have heard some very good analyses by Mr. Moeed and Mr. Runde on the issues facing this region, and how to counter them.

I must start with the quote, ladies and gentlemen, from the founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. He said that "our foreign policy is one of friendliness and good-will towards all the nations of the world." While I was coming here in the morning, I had to wait for the hall to fill up. During that period, I recollected an article which was written by a 12-year-old in 1961. It is important to

read out some parts of it to know what the Quaid-e-Azam had said some 58 years ago.

The title of the Article is 'To live in peace with one another as good neighbors.' The starting sentence suggests that a good neighbor is a great blessing. Ever since the earliest times, peace and prosperity had gone hand in hand. A long spell of peace brings with it progress in every field. War is only a dreadful scourge, which destroys thousands of precious lives and shatters the hopes and dreams of humanity.

Today, as in 1961, if there is one desire which is foremost in the minds and hearts of the people of every nation: it is the desire for lasting peace. It is the universal plea of a generation that has witnessed the havoc of war, riots in the late 40's, the First and the Second World War; of the people who witnessed the devastation that resulted from the use of atom bombs dropped over Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

If the seeds of tolerance and understanding are sown in the hearts of the young, as mentioned by Mr. Runde as well, the blossoms of peace and goodwill will surely appear with the passage of time. Tolerance regarding the social and religious attitude of other communities must be taught at home and in the school. Every effort must be made to wipe out the prejudices which are often present as a barrier, which cannot be scaled.

Let there be no racial destruction, no color bar among the people of the world. We are God's creation and, therefore, equal in His eyes. With this thought in mind, it is not difficult to foster the spirit of brotherhood. Powerful nations will aid their weaker brethren

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willingly and stretch a helping hand to those in distress. If love of peace is instilled in the pure and innocent heart of a child, there will be no room for hatred and malice. If they learn to respect each other's rights, there will be little fear of aggression and greed.

A right direction would be enough to encourage the spirit of friendship amongst the children of various nations in every possible way. Mr. Runde mentioned the youth and the people. If these children could visit one another, correspond with one another, discuss their views and hopes and desires in friendly places, no doubt they would grow up into men and women free from prejudices and hate -- like the people from 1961. The author of this article must have had a good mother who taught him everything. It was Arif Alvi, class 8th-B Cantonment Public School in Karachi.

Imagine the dreams of people and the same arguments continue today. I don't see a difference between what was written then. I hadn't printed it in the morning. Imagine the dreams of the people and children and what the world is doing. Now, looking back and knowing more about history, I realize what happened after First and Second World Wars. First, the League of Nations was established since the nations had the power and arms. They had the economic power but these nations had to be brought to a table. After that, the United Nations was also established for the same purpose.

If the problems are kept unresolved and vested interests remain the priority of the nations, then these international organizations do not make any sense. For example, just talk about one regional issue; Kashmir. There were eleven resolutions in the UN by 1961. And the promise of granting self-determination to the people of Kashmir has been there, yet no resolution.

Once my friend, Moeed Yousaf invited me to a meeting at the USIP. I think it was in 2015. At USIP, I talked about the fact that man unlearns the things.

In the 70's when I was in the US, I had a great hope. I thought it (the US) had learnt a lot from Vietnam. It was a very welcoming country, it still is. Immigrants are welcomed. There is no prejudice; they're fighting against prejudice. It is a country which stands by principles. To an extent that when Russia (Soviet Union) came into Afghanistan, there were people in the US who said that what we learnt, they would learn over the next 10 or 15 years. But what happened? Every generation learns and forgets -- that's what I have found. It forgets and doesn't remember. What happens to the people then? What happened to Afghanistan? 3.5 million refugees came to Pakistan from Afghanistan. What is happening throughout the world? 3.5 million refugees today are in Syria.

People should be ashamed of the politics of the world. We are looking only through the lens of our vested interests. As long as every nation continues to think through its vested interests, there will be no love for humanity, in general. Of course, for your arguments and for your vested interests, you will talk about humanity. A cover of democracy, a cover of humanity, is always good. Somewhere along the line, it perpetuates war. Population of the world is exploding. There are people who are challenging the concept that the human race will survive.

We are thinking of the interests of nations only. We're not thinking of the human race. We are not thinking that every individual has a different value. If he is from a developed nation, the value of his life is much bigger; if he is a poor man from a third world country, his

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value of life is much smaller. So the world will not change unless it takes off its lens of only national and vested interests, and looks at the interests of the broader world.

So what has happened beyond that is the changing of paradigms. You see the League of Nations and the UN were established on the fact that the nation-states had to be brought on a table and they had to be controlled. Today, we see yet another paradigm shift. I hope it is realized and I hope intellectuals sitting here must be deliberating on that. There are multinationals who are bigger than the nationstates, who have more wealth than the nation-states, who have more influence in the society than the nation-states. You appeal to Facebook that this should be allowed and that should be stopped. It is almost like appealing to a state.

Never allow spread of fake news. There are lobbies working overtly, sometimes officially and sometimes legally like in the United Nations. In the United States, you have Foreign Agents Regulations Act. Similarly, there are other countries where they work officially and there are lots of countries where they work unofficially. There are several kinds of lobbies operating, there are vested interests, there are defense manufacturer lobbies, pharmaceutical lobbies, cigarette lobbies and there is a gun lobby.

So these lobbies and these multinationals have the ability to hijack opinion, to hijack taxes, to hijack policies of the world, but there is no forum, no recognition today in the world to accommodate them. They are answerable only to their stockholders. They are not disciplined by any principle of humanity. Although, there is a discussion going on but this is still a discussion, but as the pessimistic point of view is, the end of the human race may be very

close. Some scientific reports are suggesting that the total insect population has reduced by about 50%; some are extinct, for example bees, moths and butterflies. These are the basic structures of human race. Human race survives because of all this population.

There is global warming. There is an interesting aspect which was highlighted by the late Stephen Hawking in his last book, 'Brief Answers to Big Questions.' Similarly, philosopher Yuval Harari has also written a book, '21 lessons for 21st century'. Both have talked about global warming and the human DNA, which takes one step in every ten-thousand years. It is a chemical algorithm which is taken over by artificial algorithm, which modifies within days. And it is quite possible that judgments will be taken by algorithms. The crash of two planes identifies the fact that algorithm was malfunctioning.

Human race is under tremendous threat by its own creation and by its own acts. Therefore, it is a serious time. While you are talking only about the region; I intended to bring the whole world into what I am talking about. And it is not just a matter of progress in Pakistan; it is a matter along with the progress, there has to be peace and prosperity in the region. I am afraid, we have gone through polarization in our society and we have overcome that. We have overcome terrorism and it was the battle that took us 30 years. And I have come to understand, thinking of a philosophy, dragging people's idea into filth whether it was Nazi Holocaust in Europe, has a twenty or thirty years old cycle and it cannot be arrested, and Pakistan learnt it from its experiences.

In his speech, Moeed mentioned that the Prime Minister did not mention the Babri Masjid. It is, of course, a very serious issue. There is a frustration in the Muslims of India. Washington Post has

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published a good article written by a Muslim woman who was from Mumbai and it is worth reading. I know that the people, particularly the minorities in India are frustrated. I met Haseena Wajid, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, in Baku and I asked her about the Rohingya refugees, and she was devastated by the fact that there doesn't seem to be a solution in near future.

Nevertheless, if the world intends to do something, it can stop these issues from occurring again. The world must come together. If the world doesn't think on the principles, we will continue to see the worse happening. Even after the Second World War, we thought that the United Nations is a panacea, a solution to everything. However, at the same time, the countries of the world, in Asia, in the Middle East, were divided on the spheres of influence. Some were given to the Soviet Union; some were given under the influence of the United Kingdom and some to France. The victorious major powers divided the Middle East by the spheres of influence. Nobody objected to their spheres of influence.

Therefore, I still believe that if we look only through sphere of influence, as Moeed also questioned, where Pakistan stands; whether it would be a 'melting pot' of different interests of the three areas, particularly of three interests or not. It is not about Pakistan alone. The world has to rethink about its philosophies. How can we keep on talking?

Pakistan is a small country. Our principles cannot be picked up by the world. We have already realized on the Kashmir issue. The world, because of its vested financial interests, didn't debate the matter as we wanted to. Of course, it was discussed in the closed session of the Security Council. What message are you giving to the

world? What message are you giving to the deprived people of the world?

Can the world afford the sufferings of the *Kashmiri* people? It is very important. Of course Pakistan has to look after itself, Pakistan has to look after its own development, its youth, but when we interact with other countries; we point out issues that demand attention on a broader scale. Attention based on principles, unless we take off our own national spectacles, we will let the humanity rot, and it is rotting. Wars have been controlled. They have been manipulated. Let me not be totally pessimistic. War has been managed also. Once, Pakistan and India also came very close to a conflict.

Moeed has written a very good book and I appreciate the fact that he gave it to me as soon as I became the President of Pakistan. I read through it. The possibility of nuclear conflict between India and Pakistan is nearly at brink unless issues are amicably handled. Pakistan has a great role to play in the region. Imagine the Prime Minister of Pakistan has addressed the major issues which have bothered the Muslim World. The world has remained silent for the last 10-15 years on the issue of Islamophobia, blasphemy and money-laundering.

He also talked about Kashmir and peace in the region. Pakistan is playing a far bigger role than its potential. It is only because it was founded on the democratic principles. Pakistan was founded by votes; Pakistan was not founded by aggression. Aggression on our borders concerns me deeply, I tweeted yesterday as well that the Babri Mosque issue, on which the previous Indian governments were trying to come up with mediated solution, satisfying for all the communities living in India, has been decided in a very unilateral

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manner. It has added to the frustration of the Muslims in India, where my relatives also live.

I migrated and my parents also migrated from India. So we are concerned about the people suffering there. Those who do not understand that read the Washington Post article. Hence, let me reiterate the fact that peace is important. Confrontations must be reduced.

You can keep on writing books but it's in human nature that people forget history. Only the generation which was psychologically affected can understand what the world is going through. But then, I have seen it happening everywhere in the world that people forget.

In case this polarization starts in India, this cycle of viciousness will take twenty or thirty years to wipe out, as we have learned freshly. Therefore, Pakistan has continuously talked about peace.

The first message of the Prime Minister of Pakistan was peace, when he came to power. The first thing he talked about was poverty, misery, lack of health and lack of education. So let us move away from the wars and come to peace. The fact that this country was attacked and the fact that we downed the plane, and the fact that we returned the pilot, speaks volumes about what we intend to do.

Similarly, the opening of Kartarpur speaks volumes despite all this; Pakistan has always been talking about peace. I believe the struggle cannot be completed in such a short period of time. As far as the world is concerned, time is also running out. There will be more conflicts and more wars. I have already mentioned to you when global resources are under threat, more issues will emerge. Nation-

states will become less important. Human beings are more important.

Thank you ladies and gentlemen for the great opportunity to speak my mind here.■

Concluding Address

Imran Khan

Prime Minister, Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Ambassador Aizaz, Thank you very much – for what the Margalla Dialogue has so far achieved.

adies and Gentlemen, I think this is a great beginning. It is very important for Pakistan that we interact with minds outside the country. It is important to have think tanks developing and exchanging ideas with the outside world and portraying Pakistan's point of view outside the country. This is a great beginning.

When we started International Cancer Conference in Shaukat Khanum, there were hardly any outsiders to attend the first two conferences. Today, Shaukat Khanum International Cancer Symposium is one of the most well attended in the world. It produces its papers and exchange of ideas. Hence the whole level of competence and exclusivity has gone up from learning ideas from abroad.

You have covered a lot of subjects. Let me just start by talking about the lessons Pakistan has learnt from its foreign policy in the last four decades. One main lesson that we have learnt is not to align ourselves with any country with which we may have to fight someone's war. I think Pakistan has suffered. We initially, or the governments thought that they will gain by becoming frontline

states for some (major) power. We did gain a few things; we had aid given to Pakistan. But in the end, we discovered that we lost far more than we gained.

In 1980s, we were part of the Afghan jihad. In fact, we were a frontline state. In 90s again we were the frontline state in the War on Terror (WoT). The impact of joining these two conflicts was immense on our society. I do not think it has been properly analysed. I think if we ever sit down and analyse the negative impact, we will find that a lot of problems that we face today take us back to the time when we were part of the Afghan Jihad. And then the WoT was a disaster for Pakistan.

And so, what have we learnt that we will now be the bridge builder. We will try and play the role of a conciliator between rival countries. I think, once this realisation goes to every strata of society, we will never become a part of any conflict. Unfortunately, some people still do not believe what we lost out in participating in these two conflicts.

There are two countries we can learn form, one is China and the other is the United States. In the last 20 years, look at the infrastructure development in China. Compare that to the United States. The US supposedly won the wars in Afghanistan, and in Iraq; but the amount of money spent... God knows how many trillions of dollars were spent in these wars. At the same time, China was spending that money on its infrastructure; and anyone who has seen the change in China in these past 20 years will understand that the Chinese way of running the foreign policy is much more superior. They also have their conflicts, but nowhere did China commit to fight a war.

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Pakistan has great opportunities. As you mentioned Ambassador Aizaz, the geo-strategic position of Pakistan is such that if we, from now onwards put our house in order, and ease doing business, making it easier for investors to come and invest in Pakistan; simplifying our visa regime, making it easier for people to visit Pakistan, we can also develop. Previously, we made it so difficult for tourists and the investors to come to Pakistan. The investors would meet in Dubai. Similarly, the cricket teams won't tour Pakistan. In the last 10 years, we had trouble to attract sports people to Pakistan. So now, what we are trying to do is to make it easy to come to Pakistan, and we are opening up all our areas; removing a lot of no objection certificates for going into Northern Areas of Pakistan. For me, it is the most beautiful area in the world.

At the same time, we are also trying to help our neighbourhood to encourage peace, at the same time. We are proud to say that Pakistan is playing a very big role in bringing peace in Afghanistan. We are hoping that the recent developments will move towards a ceasefire through talks for a political settlement in Afghanistan. It is not easy, but it is the only way which the world now recognises. The only way forward is a political solution rather than a military war.

Saudi Arabia is one of our friends in need; whenever we needed help, Saudi Arabia has been there. I can never forget when my government came into power, some of the economic challenges that we faced, Saudi Arabia was the first country to come forward and help us.

Iran is our neighbor. We can never forget that in 1960s, when Pakistan was involved in a conflict, Iran came to our help. So both ways -- one as a friend; and one as a neighbour -- face a conflict situation. I am once again pleased to say that Pakistan is trying its

best. It has done its best to make sure that there isn't any conflict in our neighbourhood.

Pakistan has already suffered due to what is happening in Afghanistan, and during WoT. We also tried our bit. President (Donald) Trump asked me to have a talk with the Iranian leadership. I am trying to promote a dialogue between the Iranians and the Americans. I hope it works out. I repeat that the last thing that we want is another conflict starting in Iran or in the Middle East.

Our relationship with China is better than it has ever been. China offers us the greatest hope of improving productivity in Pakistan. Agriculture is our base, and China has come forward and offered us new technologies. There are exchanges taking place and if we can just double the yields. China yields are three times, four times than Pakistan, -- even if we double our yields, Pakistan becomes an exporter of agriculture products.

On top of it, we are working on the special economic zones. We have asked the Chinese industries to relocate in Pakistan; and we are working on that. China is also helping us in various technologies. We are setting up a university, where China is going to help us in latest technologies; in Artificial Intelligence and so on.

The problem is India. We tried our best to mend fences with India; start a dialogue and try everything. Unfortunately, India is in the grip of an extremist ideology. I probably know India than most Pakistanis. I have been to India many times. I have friendship there, I understand India. I have a lot of love and respect as a sportsman in India. What is happening right now in India is tragic. India has been taken over by a racist; an ideology that believes in racist superiority. An ideology that is built on hate; because whenever an ideology is sold, as RSS sold this ideology of Hindu superiority; it also sought

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the hatred. The reason why they could not reach to their great Hindu civilization was because of the belief that Muslims and Christians were invaders. So the hate when the two get together of racial superiority and hatred for other races, it always ends up in a bloodshed.

The nearest thing is Nazi Germany. When the Nazi party came to power in 1920s, no one understood where it is heading. The Nazi party in the beginning was taken by all the people and by the intellectuals was the best thing to happen to Germany because they talked about nationalism, pride and self-esteem. A country that had been defeated in the First World War, no one understood where it was heading. In my opinion, not everyone understands where India is heading right now. Between 1930 and 1935, in four years Germany went from a liberal democracy to a totalitarian fascist state – a racist state.

In India, their Nobel Prize winner, Amartya Sen recently gave an interview to New Yorker and said that he has never felt the fear in India. People are now scared. The media has been scared into submission. Opposition politicians are scared to speak because it is Hindu nationalism. This is a genie; when it goes out of the bottle, it is very difficult to put it back.

In my opinion, Narendra Modi is riding a tiger. With every passing day, it will be more difficult for him not to be controlled by this ideology. This ideology will win votes; it will give a lot of electoral success; so did Nazi ideology, but eventually this will lead to destruction.

In my opinion, India is going to suffer because India has more than 450 million people who will be marginalised by this ideology. Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, the tribals and the Dalits, will be all

excluded from this Hindutva ideology. That is where the danger lies but for India, it is the greatest danger.

Pakistan is also not out of the danger zone because of Kashmir. What they have done in Kashmir right now, I am afraid the Modi government has gone into a blind alley. This is now almost more than 100 days, people of Kashmir are suffering. It is incredible that how 8 million people could be put through this ordeal. But it can only happen when you have this racist ideology, which is built on hate.

So, it has been over 100 days, these people are in curfew. All the civil liberties have been taken away. Their human rights have been abused. Their leadership and thousands of them are put in jails all over India. Young people picked up in the mid of the night, they are just taken away. There are over 800,000 troops inside the Valley, spreading fear – obviously not fighting terrorism but terrorising the people. So what happens, at some point this curfew will have to be lifted, what happens then? I don't think this has been faceted. I think the Modi government thinks that through these tactics, they will make them submit to this illegal act that they have done.

It makes it more difficult for Pakistan to extend our hand of friendship to India, which is vital for the subcontinent. Peace is for the long-term future of the subcontinent.

One of the things you mentioned is climate change. Both countries are going to be affected by the climate change. The water shortage and the melting of glaciers are connected. So, if the two countries rather than fighting together against the climate change and poverty; we are now stuck in a situation where this extreme ideology has taken over 1.3 billion people, armed with nuclear weapons. That

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is why, in my opinion, it is beyond Pakistan. The world has to step in.

This interaction of ideas, like the Margalla Dialogue, is important for us to tell the outside world that there is a very serious situation developing. I repeat no one thought that when the Nazi started off, there will be 50 to 60 million people dead by the end. No one thought that in the beginning. I don't think many people could realise that two nuclear armed countries would be face to face. With this extremist ideology, where would this lead to eventually. No one knows but unless the world steps in – you hope for the best, but we should be prepared for the worst.

However, the world cannot be prepared for the worst, if this goes wrong. That is why it is very important for the international community to step in. Stop worrying about India being a counterweight to China. The consequences of this going wrong will affect the entire world. That is why I appealed to the UN when I was there. We are continuing to talk to all of the heads of the state – whenever I get this opportunity to talk to, to look into the situation and tell them that this could go wrong. Fortunately, I feel that from two months back when I used to talk to them, now there is much more awareness about the seriousness of the situation, which is taking place in India.

Apart from this situation developing on the eastern front, I am very optimistic I feel that Afghanistan issue is heading in the right direction. Central Asia, I visited Bishkek few months back. I met all the heads of Central Asian republics, and I feel that there is so much potential, the moment there is peace in Afghanistan and the connectivity with Central Asia is established; there will be enormous potential for those countries which are landlocked.

Gwadar has the potential of developing into a future big port providing access to most of the Central Asian countries along with Afghanistan. I repeat again, if things settle down and the US-Iran relationship improves, Iran would have the potential of becoming a real economic power house in the region provided the sanctions are also lifted. Of course, Pakistan will gain benefit from that.

The new strategic position of Pakistan right now is probably unique in the world. The moment we would improve the investment environment in Pakistan, spend more money on technical education, improve this country for foreigners to come for tourism, there will be an economic boom. This country has enormous tourism potential. We have probably the most unique religious sites and is probably the right country for religious tourism.

The northern mountains of Pakistan are the unique places in the world. Nowhere ever you see such hidden beauty -- unexplored beauty; people have not seen most of the Northern Areas.

Aside from the problem with India, we see a lot of optimism. We see a lot of investors heading to Pakistan. We are also seeing more increase of tourists in Pakistan and Insha'Allah, I am looking ahead, and they already look good.

All we need is, we hope that in the next four years, in India elections will deliver favourable result, and then we will have a proper relationship with India. Imagine two of the greatest markets on either sides of Pakistan – and that will help alleviate poverty in Pakistan. We have a young population, we want jobs for them. The best way is if we can open trade by 360 degree with our neighbours. This is how we can provide jobs for our people, and lift people out of poverty.

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I again thank you for inviting me here; ambassadors, ladies and gentlemen. I am really pleased that this dialogue has started and I hope we will keep improving this, and make this into an annual event internationally.

Thank you.■

Concluding Remarks

Ambassador Vice Admiral (R) Khan Hasham bin Saddique, HI (M)

President, Islamabad Policy Research Institute, Pakistan

onourable Prime Minister, Islamic Republic of Pakistan Mr Imran Khan, Federal Ministers, Speakers, moderators, excellencies, scholars, ladies and gentlemen, Assalam-o-Alaikum and a very good afternoon.

I am grateful to the Prime Minister for his gracious presence with us this afternoon. It is not only a source of encouragement for all of us; it also is reflective of the importance he attaches with the endeavours that have a potential to promote our national interest.

So let me very briefly recap events of the last two days which have been truly informative and really incisive. The Margalla Dialogue has been a maiden initiative by the Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI).

It is aimed at discussing and exploring solutions vis-a-vis important issues relating to peace and development within the triad of South Asia, Central Asia and Middle East regions acronymed as SAMECA. And with the overall vision of partners in peace, developing together the dialogue is intended to be Track 1.5 undertaking to be held annually in Pakistan.

The introduction of this dialogue has put Pakistan on the global map akin to the likes of Shangri-La and Manama dialogues to name a few. Needless to emphasize here that the inter-connected and interdependent world of today warrants a collaborative and coordinated approach to deal with contemporary challenges; lest the division, divisive forces of nationalism and destructive politics hold sway in the world.

It is an established fact that calm and constructive conversations afforded by such forums are essential to evolve consensus and defeat intolerant and unyielding attitude, especially in the context of SAMECA, which remains mired in numerous conflicts, disputes and abject poverty.

I feel the Pakistan with a pre-eminent geostrategic location, historic links with SAMECA countries and impending operationalisation of CPEC, is in pole position to be the linchpin for economic integration, for a peaceful and prosperous shared future.

The opportunity to reap benefits of new economic geography realities is now, and the window has a shelf life. I am happy to report Sir, the objective set fort for the dialogue such as threadbare analysis of geopolitics, prospects of interconnectivity, networking and more importantly, showcasing Pakistan's role in SAMECA, have been largely met.

So this year's dialogue consisted of four plenary sessions. The first session falling in the ambit of conflict resolution deliberated and analyzed at some length, possible solutions of Kashmir, Afghanistan and Yemen crisis. Honourable President Azad Jammu and Kashmir chaired this session. He emphasized the need for urgent restoration

Concluding Remarks

of peace not only to alleviate huge human suffering but also to remove the impediment in the development of this region.

The second plenary session with the Leader of the House in Senate Mr Shibli Faraz in chair was about understanding geopolitics and role of global powers in SAMECA region. Eminent speakers and discussant from USA, Russia, China, Kyrgyzstan and Pakistan shared their perspectives on possible future scenarios whether there will be conflict, competition, cooperation or is there a prospect of yet another Great Game.

So the day two commenced with an all-important sessions about exploring avenues of economic integration of the region, which has a combined GDP of nearly seven trillion dollars. Moderated by the former chairman BOI Mr Haroon Sharif, the session chair was Federal Minister for Planning and Coordination while Mr Abdul Hafeez Sheikh, the Finance Minister delivered a key note address in the morning.

Simultaneously, the subject matter experts discussed about cyberspace in 2025 and the emerging threats and ways and means to deal with it during a technology session. The big take away from the session was that there is a serious lack of awareness about the strategic linkage and implications of modern technologies, state security, economic development and their impact on the society. The federal minister for Science and Technology chaired the session.

The last plenary session dealt with the looming perils of climate change, particularly vis-à-vis water security. The region is arguably one of the most stressed beset with multitudes of issues ranging from melting glaciers to severe droughts, flooding, irregular weather

patterns threatening food security and prospects of internal strife and perspectives of inter-state conflicts.

Overall, 25 speakers presented their viewpoints, including 15 foreign speakers representing 13 different countries. It comprised renowned scholars, officials, experts and practitioners. The discourses by the speakers were indeed imaginative, generating highly intellectual discussions leading the way to proffering some extremely useful policy proposal.

Ambassador Aizaz Chaudhry, Member Board of Governors of Islamabad Policy Research Institute would be presenting conclusions in some inferences and recommendations a little while later from now.

So as we conclude this event, I acknowledge that the holding of Margalla Dialogue has been a matter of great honor and pride for Islamabad Policy Research Institute. We shall Insha'Allah build on this experience in this year. Firstly, to prepare more extensively and secondly, aim for tangible actionable policy outcomes in the future events.

I am extremely grateful to your government Sir, for outstanding patronage and your presence here today is indeed pinnacle for Margalla Dialogue.

In the end, let me on behalf of Islamabad Policy Research Institute extend a hearty vote of thanks to all the participants, for sharing their thoughts and objective postulations. We are greatly indebted to all the speakers and panelists for their enthusiastic and perceptive inputs throughout the dialogue sessions.

Concluding Remarks

I also extend my profound thanks to session chairs, keynote speakers, moderators, academics, discussants and audience who made invaluable contributions. A special thanks to all our friends from abroad for participating in this year's dialogue. It was great to have you and I do hope you carry home with you fond memories of Margalla Dialogue 2019.

We look forward to seeing you again and hope to remain in touch with you. I also extend my thanks to Serena Hotel management for their enormous cooperation and Expo for event management, and special thanks to PTV, the MDs here. PTV World was our media partner and other media for extensive coverage of Margalla Dialogue throughout the last two days.

Finally, I must appreciate the number of volunteers from universities and my own IPRI team for sustained hard work, dedication and having done a remarkable job in organizing the event in a different manner.

I thank you Mr Prime Minister and everyone sitting here once again. Until next year, Goodbye. Pakistan Paindabad.

Recommendations

In light of views expressed by the speakers, discussions and analysis during the 2019 Margalla Dialogue, the following recommendations need serious consideration, not just by policymakers within Pakistan, but also those in neighbouring South Asian, Central Asian and Middle East countries:

- Margalla Dialogue 2019 is a useful vehicle for policy-makers to benefit from research-based inputs and independent ideas. The Dialogue, therefore, must continue as an annual event.
- 2. Pakistan's strategic location in the new economic geography must be leveraged by making economic diplomacy, ease of doing business, creating congenial investment climate and following a people-centered approach as the top priority of the Government. Private sector must be enabled to play a central role for economic revival. Suggestions were made to introduce Schengen style visa regime in SAMECA.
- 3. Pakistan's bilateral cooperation with China has benefitted both countries. Both countries are now collaborating for industrialization and socio-economic development in Pakistan. Special efforts are needed for the economic zones and making CPEC true corridor of commerce and transit trade. Gwadar's full development must also be expedited.

- 4. Pakistan's relations with Russia are warming up. Efforts are needed to make tangible economic cooperation with Russia and Central Asia.
- 5. With the US and China's competition intensifying, 'Thucydides Trap' must be avoided. Pakistan has had a long relationship with the US. Pakistan's relations with China and the US are not a zero-sum game. Pakistan was and should remain a bridge between the two countries. Pakistan and the US are already working closely to secure peace in Afghanistan. Further, Pakistan and the US can also engage in deeper economic cooperation.
- 6. Peace with Modi's India is difficult, but remains a desirable goal for peace in South Asia. Pakistan's pitch for peace initiatives is welcomed. The resolution of Kashmir dispute is central to securing a lasting peace in South Asia. Suggestions were made to focus on the humanitarian and legal dimensions to convince the international community to play its part.
- 7. Peace in Afghanistan is in the best interest of Pakistan and the three regions of SAMECA. In the past one year, Pakistan has played a commendable role to facilitate peace talks in Afghanistan. That effort must continue.
- 8. Iran is a neighbour with deep historical and cultural ties with the people of Pakistan. Saudi Arabia too is a close friend of Pakistan. Pakistan must continue to offer its good offices for talks between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Pakistan must also caution the US and other parties that any outbreak of

Recommendations

hostilities in the region will spell disaster for all the countries of SAMECA, as well as for the rest of the world.

- 9. Cyber security has emerged as an important challenge. Pakistan must undertake legislation for national cyber security policy in order to establish a framework for internal management and external engagement. We also need technical capacity to deal with the cyber space as the threat is real and urgent.
- 10. Special attention may also be paid to climate change impacts and water security issues. Pakistan is a vulnerable country on both counts.
- 11. Pakistan's youth bulge is strength, or could be a huge liability, if it is not trained in usable skills. Nearly all success stories owe their rise to developed human resource. SAMECA has plenty of opportunities to learn from each other. Think tanks like IPRI could focus their studies on human resource development in Pakistan.■



PLENARY SESSION I

Seeking Peace through Conflict Resolution

Pakistan-India Relations and Regional Stability: Kashmir Issue Dr Mohammad Faisal

Jammu & Kashmir Dispute: Legal Perspective Mr Ahmer Bilal Soofi

Waiting to Disappear: An Evolving Humanitarian Tragedy in Indian Occupied Jammu & Kashmir Ms Mishaal Hussein Mullick

Intra-Afghan Dialogue: An International Dynamic Ms Fawzia Koofi

Resolution of Yemen Crisis: UN Initiative Dr Andreea Stoian Karadeli

Saudi Perspective on Regional Security Dr Mohammed S. Al Sulami


Pakistan-India Relations and Regional Stability: Kashmir Issue



Dr Mohammad Faisal

DG, South Asia and SAARC & Spokesperson, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), Government of Pakistan

Thank you very much for this opportunity.

would make some brief remarks. Most of you are already aware of the situation that we are facing. I begin by thanking everyone here and for the invitation to the dialogue. Just one correction, since I am also a Director General SAARC South Asia, I have to correct the narrative. It is not a Kashmir issue. It is the Jammu and Kashmir dispute that is the official position of the Government of Pakistan. That is the position of the United Nations Security Council. So please make corrections, accordingly.

There can be no doubt that we are going through a defining moment in the history of South Asia. India is trying to establish itself as the regional hegemon. It considers this a necessary prerequisite for its ultimate dream of becoming a global power. For it to become a reality, India has to overcome the most important obstacle as it sees it. Pakistan is the only perceived challenger in South Asia, since Pakistan is no minnow. It is a nuclear power in its own might with a formidable military, and 200 million plus strong nation to try to overcome this obstacle.

India needs one of the two things or both; a desire to establish itself as a hegemon and ample amounts of ill-founded and self-serving-

hubris. It has both in spades. Not a day goes by when we are not witness to a provocative, irresponsible statement from a senior Indian leader. They need to realize it in view of a personal responsibility, as well as on the ground situation.

Ladies and gentlemen, you may ask, why it is though. What compels India to act as such? There are many reasons, but the fundamental reason is the extreme right wing *Hindutva* ideology that forms the very core of the RSS for which the BJP government only serves as an appeasing child. It is an ideology based on hate, and an ideology based on hundreds of years of perceived slurs and insults, of the feeling of having been oppressed and exploited, of being dismissed as weak and inferior with the rest of the world goading India. That sense of collective shame, justified or not, has come back to haunt India with newfound awareness of its own global relevance.

The memories of India's perceived past sting more. It is this collective sense of loss that India wants to absolve itself of this memory that it now serves to replace with that of being a conqueror. This is extremely dangerous and has far-reaching ramifications. For one, this is par disparity misperception between India and Pakistan. Although the misperception is true that India has many times Pakistan's economic as well as demographic size. However, it is far from an all inspiring juggernaut. Pakistan is not exactly a small island country far out in the sea, no matter how badly the Indian government would want to believe or indoctrinate its people into believing. So any miscalculation, even of the smallest kind between the two nuclear powers as aptly put by my Prime Minister, 'can have catastrophic consequences.'

Ladies and gentlemen, India's perceived infallibility got a rude awakening when Indian pilot Mr. Abhinandan was captured in what can be described as a foolhardy plan to try to infiltrate Pakistan airspace and confront Pakistan's armed forces. India is facing

Pakistan-India Relations and Regional Stability: Kashmir Issue

humiliation after humiliation internationally, both on diplomatic and military front, following its illegal and unilateral actions in the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir. On August 5, the international media, including The New York Times, The Washington Post and others, have published countless articles on the on-going lockdown and media blackout in the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir, which has now been in place for more than 100 days.

The United Nations Secretary General himself has condemned the Indian government's restrictions on the *Kashmiris*' freedom of expression and movement since more than 50 years. Similarly, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, as well as the Amnesty International and the Human Rights Watch have expressed their dismay on the inhuman conditions on several occasions. A hearing was also held on the Jammu and Kashmir dispute in the United Nations Security Council. Over 45 members of the British Parliament have co-signed a letter calling on the UN Secretary General to intervene and prevent India's unconstitutional attack on Jammu and Kashmir autonomy.

Similarly, over 50 US congressmen have also urged India to address the concerns over the human rights situations in Jammu and Kashmir, and lift the communications blackout. It does not stop here. Prominent American senators such as Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren, Chris Van Hollen and Maggie Hassan have concerns. There been expressed similar has а thorough embarrassment in the hearing on Jammu and Kashmir by a subcommittee of the US Congress in which members of the congressional subcommittee and senior members of the American State Department clearly raised their concerns regarding the blanket restrictions in the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir and urged India to lift them.

All this, coming from a so-called strategic partner of India is a significant development, a setback for India's international image of a secular democracy, and is not to be underestimated in the reaction to over-whelming international pressure. India is desperate to try to portray an image of 'normalcy' in the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir.

The deployment of a hundred-and-eighty-thousand additional troops, taking the total tally to beyond eight hundred thousand Indian occupation forces in the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir, arrest of over six thousand innocent *Kashmiris*, is not reflected in the government's records. Young boys are being taken from their mothers in the middle of the night and tortured but it still does not make news.

The Indian soldiers barge into homes and threaten to molest women. It is not something the Indian government wants you to know that the entire region has been cut off from the rest of the world with no access to Internet or telephone. Turning the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir into the largest jail cell in the world is apparently for the 'development of the residents.'

That is what the Indian government claims of the region. As Director General South-Asian SAARC, I am privy to considerable information emanating from the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir. Let me narrate some heart-rending testimonies received from *Kashmiris* of the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir. These have been reported by the international media also. I will quote four:

One; "My father is a cardiac patient with two stents. My mother is a diabetic with poorly controlled blood pressure. For the last three months, I hear no health related complaints from them. I know they don't want to show that they are weak because of actions of a tyrant. Though the voice, I hear, tells a different tale."

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Second; "I was taken to an army camp. There they made cuts on my entire body with a sharp-edged razor, then sprinkled petrol and chilli powder all over it. While I was being tortured, the army put it all out on the loudspeaker. The entire village, including my family, could listen to my screams. These have been reported."

Ladies and gentlemen,

Third; "I was taken inside a room tied to a chair. I sensed danger and begged for mercy. But they didn't listen. Then one of them came and pierced a needle in my upper lip until blood started dripping down my chin and turned into a small pool -- drop by drop."

Lastly; "they took my son in one of the rooms inside the camp while I was pleading to an officer. When he came out an hour later, he looked normal. But as we reached home, he took off his clothes and broke down. There were bruises all over his body, and underwear had bloodstains."

These are the reported things coming out despite the clampdown. These Indian human rights atrocities in the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir are not isolated but an extension of India's larger policy of suppressing minorities, especially Muslims, to make way for its exclusively Hindu India. The reprehensible Ayodhya verdict by the Indian Supreme Court is a testament to how institutionalized this bigotry has become, with the Indian state institutions playing second fiddle to the BJP government's policy of *saffronization*.

I would request IPRI to have a debate for the enlightenment of everyone on the verdict, because the verdict in itself makes a mockery of the entire process. It is now in the public domain. So we need to study it. You people need to learn about it. We need to learn about it. How did it function for 500 years? It was a Muslim mosque. And then what happened? And now what is good? The implications

of it would be on all the places of worship in India, not just Muslims. This is a very-very serious issue.

Lastly, India is caught in an uncomfortable Catch-22 of its own doing. There is an instinctive realization at some level that the curfew in the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir cannot go on forever. It is, "unsustainable", as rightly pointed out by (German) Chancellor Angela Merkel in a recent visit to India.

The Indian government is getting terrible Press, worse than it ever thought possible. India's carefully cultivated veneer of a multiethnic, secular democracy is all but compromised. At the same time, India is terrified of lifting the curfew, fearing what could transpire if *Kashmiris* come out to protest, leading India to use violence to suppress them and in the process, being badly exposed in front of the entire world.

That is what India and the Modi regime should have thought "before they decided to illegally and unilaterally introduce demographic changes in the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir in violation of the United Nations Security Council resolutions and the potential backlash that would occur." But ideologically motivated regimes often have thin grasp of reality. Like I said before, in an effort to convince its public, the BJP government believed its own folly in the narrative.

It legitimately thought it could do away with decades old dispute instantly without any backlash coming from anyone. Now it is too late for India to win back Jammu and Kashmir. It has lost the hearts and minds of the people, even the ones who used to defend the Indian actions. Today, no *Kashmiri* is standing with India. That is because through August 5, India tried to preserve the very identity, the very soul of the *Kashmiri* people by refusing to recognize the right to self-determination, the right to make their own decisions. That is a right that Pakistan will not let anyone take away from the *Kashmiris*. It is sacred, non-negotiable and indivisible. For us, we will keep offering our utmost and full support to our *Kashmiri* brothers and sisters until they achieve the deserved right to self-determination, as recognized by the United Nations Security Council resolutions. And we will keep highlighting the Indian atrocities in the occupied Jammu and Kashmir until the perpetrators of those atrocities are brought to justice and the world takes notice. Very last point, the embers of the *Kashmiri* struggle may look deceptively lifeless for now, but believing them to be dead would be a grave mistake.

Jammu & Kashmir Dispute: Legal Perspective



Mr Ahmer Bilal Soofi

President, Research Society of International Law (RSIL), Pakistan

Honourable Chair, panelists, excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, *Assalam-o-Alaikum*

he questions that you have raised and the questions which surround this proposition, I would put them into three different legal baskets.

My first legal basket is of short-term issues arising from August 5th 2019; an event in which there has been a dismantling of Article 370 in a systematic lawfare move by the Indian side. Whether it is in accordance with the Constitution of India, whether it is in accordance with International Law, is the first basket issue. And within that basket is which statute will now be applicable for governance. Now the character of the Indian Occupied Kashmir is that of an occupied territory under the International Law and the law of occupation is so provided in the Fourth Geneva Convention.

In fact, Article 35A and 370 put together are a miniaturized version of the Fourth Geneva Convention. It carries evidence in the Constitution of India, existed for the last 70 years, that Kashmir occupied by India is an occupied territory. If you look at the legal features of Article 35A, it prohibited buying of properties and so on, so forth. So now that the situation has been further amplified by certain legal developments relating to citizenship, public property

and delimitation -- the Indian obligations are no more hidden. So that is Basket-One issue. In the same basket is an issue related to human rights and the curfew, which has still not been fully lifted.

Then I have a second legal basket, which is of the long-term issues. Is this an opportunity to consider seriously resolving the Kashmir dispute? In this legal basket, I believe we need to take up this issue; long-term resolution of Kashmir dispute has been outstanding for a long time. Is this an opportunity that history is presenting to us by default, not by purpose, not by intent, but by default? Who should have the ownership of this legal process or the process of resolving the Kashmir issue in a long-term basis or dispute? Under International Law, that obligation is with the international community. They need to step in. And they need to have their diplomacy done in order to have this issue resolved between India and Pakistan.

I have two specific legal grounds to argue this. The first one, that you have 15 to 17 UN and UNCIP resolutions in field which enjoy political backing -- at least by the international community. And then there is P5 commitment given in 1998. All the Permanent Members of the UN had given commitment in writing to seek a resolution of this dispute by bringing India and Pakistan to the table.

Now that document is still part of the UN archives record, presented to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in 1998, in response to a letter by Atal Bihari Vajpayee. The then Prime Minister of India was keen for the resolution, and P5 stepped in and said, "Yes, we would want to play our role definitely," and provided assurance to the office of the Secretary General. If anyone so desires, I can pass on the said documentation. It is explicit. It is clear. It is at par with taking and incurring an international obligation on the part of the P-5 to step in and make an effort to resolve the Kashmir dispute.

And then there is a larger obligation not only on the P-5, but for all the members of the United Nations. What we are witnessing in Kashmir is something extremely extraordinary in terms of violations. If you look at Article 370, it is leading to an inescapable conclusion. It violates the Constitution of India. It violates bilateral treaties. It violates UN Law. It violates the law of self-determination. So the illegality is patent, self-evident and if people do not wish to -- for any reason and do not believe in *Pakistani* voice, you may actually read opinions of several Indian lawyers.

If you were to pick up the voices of the Indian lawyers, who are writing aggressively in the Indian media and Indian legal journals, you will be shocked in terms of an assessment of Article 370 and in terms of the assessment of the Reorganization Act. On August 5, when I and my team were trying to put together those voices, those articles, those legal comments, which are published in the legal journals of India, arguing vehemently that this is absolutely an ultra vires exercise. Now it is self-evident, so when an Indian is criticizing India on legal, on constitutional and on International Law plane, I rest my case. I am trying to amplify in the second basket issue is the obligation on the international community to help resolve this dispute. This is further amplified by virtue of what is likely to happen.

Ladies and gentlemen, people are getting restless; Muslims all over the world are getting restless. There is a serious fault-line developing between the Indian and Pakistanis communities, not only here, but elsewhere. Wherever we have our Diasporas: whether it is in Europe,

in the US, whether in England, you can clearly sense growing tensions because Kashmir is a widely proverbial issue, which is unfortunately not settled properly. We saw a video recently in which the Indian and Pakistanis were having a scuffle on Kashmir. So the possibility of rage-breaking out anywhere in the world between this diaspora cannot be ruled out. This can cause a serious law and order situation. The Indians and Pakistanis do not even talk to each other when they have One-Day cricket match. In the US, in UK and elsewhere, there is only a talk of Kashmir. Kashmir was taken away when we got up in the morning of August 5^{th} , 2019. It is going deeper into the psyche. It can lead to rage. It can lead to violence amongst overseas. It can lead to violence internally. So the second basket containing legal issues require urgency to resolve the Kashmir dispute under the auspices of international community, the legal process they wish to start off is something up to them, whether it is the UN, whether it is the office of the UN Secretary-General, whether informally, whatever.

My third legal basket is about the issues regarding the treatment of Muslim minority in India. This third basket is also close to the second or the first basket -- having Kashmir issue as a major concern. The gross mistreatment of a minority in India, not by an individual on the street, but as a state policy is alarming. It can lead to anguish and disrespect, which can further lead to more disorder inside India. You don't have to have even a second guess about what certain governments are doing, what the officials like as high as the home secretary or the home minister are saying. They are admitting it openly. We don't have to send intelligence tentacles to get reports. We only have to work daily and ponder on what is happening in Gujrat. What has happened in Ayodhya? What are they planning to do?

Jammu & Kashmir Dispute: Legal Perspective

They are putting their plans as an official policy statement upfront. The government owns the discrimination and do not deny even the discriminatory remarks, neither do they correct them. In fact, if one subsequently read a statement from a Chief Minister of a certain province in India, it surprises everyone. Its condemnation is awaited for the next 24 hours, yet it is not corrected, clearly reflecting it to be a state policy. Hence, the state policy towards the treatment of minorities may lead to possibly a very serious reaction.

Lynching is yet another feature of the third basket with repeated manifestations all over India, leaving deep scars on Muslim psyche, both within and outside India.

Besides this, Babri Mosque judgment is an icing on the cake. A judgment without legal reasoning is shocking. Generally, title of the government properties is perfected the day a state comes into existence. In 1947, India was announced as an entity. Private property immediately became a personal property. As per the partition declaration, the property would vest a fresh on the day of independence. The starting point is from the time of partition and property would belong to whoever had the possession at that time, whether it is an airport, or railway station or a seaport or for that matter any other government property. As far as Babri Mosque is concerned, its history could be traced back to the year 1917.

If you want to go back into history, into archival studies, anthropology studies, then you are opening up a Pandora box since any one could requisition the title while inviting the litigation, which could be sometimes religiously oriented. You are opening and giving incentives to the people to step in, to file petitions, even amongst the clans and the minorities. Hence Babri Mosque judgment has

been fiercely criticized again within India. Indian lawyers are questioning the law of limitation. How could you circumvent a law of limitation and give a judgment in 2020, in respect of something that has been practiced since long?

When the previous high court had assumed a joint possession, in terms of Section 110 of the Evidence Act of India assumed joint title, even that was a politically balancing act in the legal sense. Even that argument is also completely wiped out. Law of adverse possession has also been belligerently sidestepped by the Supreme Court of India, which suggests that if for 12 years a private property is occupied, you can seek an adverse possession for 60 years. This applies to a government property as well.

So where are the state institutions of India going? The legislative institution of Lok Sabha has come up with the decision of August 5. On the other hand, the judicial arm of the Indian government has come up with a verdict on Ayodhya. And today is 13th November and there is a hearing in the Supreme Court of India on Article 370. We do not know what is going to happen. I hope someone from our side is also attending the session in the Supreme Court of India.

So, ladies and gentlemen, we are seeing a situation where in Ayodhya judgment has become far more pronounced and the feeling of helplessness of a minority is palpable in India. Now with Ayodhya judgment result, it will be a very very big cost for the Indian democracy in the long run. The people will feel helpless and will finally resort to force.

Already there are voices coming out from within India. We need to stand up against the Indian government and against this doctrine at

Jammu & Kashmir Dispute: Legal Perspective

this time. Here is a doctrine that is anti-minority, anti-Muslim and is so aggressively pro-Hindu. It becomes embarrassing. You do not stop even giving reference of International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights that India has ratified. Under International Law, it is signed and ratified by India; there is an explicit obligation to protect minorities. That protection has been demolished now through the judicial arm of the Indian state.

In short, if I may summarize, the actions done by the Indian government on the August 5, leading to the dismantling of Article 370 and attempted annexation, are a violation of International Law, a violation of bilateral treaties and are evading the Constitution of India. And as I said, I am not saying this, Indian lawyers are saying this.

Secondly, this treatment of situation as of now needs a new legal lens, which is the International Law of Occupation and Violations by the Indian armed forces. Prolonged detentions, curfews and other individual acts are war crimes. And perhaps ICJ if deems appropriate, can take notice of that. Any other country can also take due notice of serious violations, admitted violations. These violations, surprisingly, are not documented in the legal documents. You do not need to send human rights workers to figure out what they are saying. Look at the notifications being issued by the Indian Occupied Kashmir. A lot of those notifications are on the website. Each notification expresses curtailing the freedom of movement, freedom of speech and freedom of expression. It is an authentic evidence of the violation by the Indian state.

In the long run, the second basket issue should not be made to wait. I urge this to the international community that they should not wait

for the first basket issues to be settled and then commence the second basket issues. My submission would be to start working on the second basket legal issues, which talks about the resolution, political consensus building internally, externally, and also how international community has to take notice of this.

The second basket issue also include the UN Charter, under which you have an obligation that any situation likely to endanger international peace and security, there is an obligation to step in and this is that position.

And the third basket is again the domain of international community, which highlights the violation of minority rights which are well-documented and are admitted at a state level. I will stop here.

Thank you very much for your time.

Waiting to Disappear: An Evolving Humanitarian Tragedy in Indian Occupied Jammu & Kashmir



Ms Mishaal Hussein Mullick

Chairperson, Peace and Culture Organization, Pakistan

Assalam-o-Alaikum; and a big hello to all the international panelists, guests and to the Chair, President Azad Jammu and Kashmir

am really honored to be invited here. It is definitely a rare opportunity where the audience and the speaker both connect with each other, especially with a person who is directly linked with the freedom struggle in the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir; because we have somehow become invisible or alien to the world. We have gone missing because the whole world cannot contact us, especially since August 5.

It has been 101 days of the army curfew after scrapping of Article 370 and 35A. I remember even before, like for almost seven years, there was no foreign high-power delegation allowed to enter the Valley. And just at the end of last year, I think former Prime Minister of Norway visited Srinagar after seven years, that too, only just to meet some of the leaders. He was not even given full access.

So my sitting here is an opportunity not just for me, but for our people also. Because, first of all, apart from my introduction as chair of Peace and Culture Organization, I am, ladies and gentlemen, a victim of a divided *Kashmiri* family. We are leading the freedom struggle. Our family and my husband, Mohammad Yasin Malik, is the top resistance leader of the freedom movement.

Ladies and Gentlemen, he was the pioneer of the armed struggle in the late 80s in the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir. And he was the first to renounce it in 1994, when the international world, western powers, intellectuals of India and from all over the world, convinced him that you follow the peaceful Gandhian path and the world will listen to the *Kashmiris*. And at that time, when he renounced it in 1994, there were 50,000 people armed, struggling in the Valley. It was a very tough decision for him because he was the founder of the armed struggle. When he started the peaceful path, he lost over thousands of his colleagues who were part of his movement. They were shot at by the Indian forces.

I am giving you a little history because it is really very important and you should know. You actually get to know the personal insight, the way Dr. Faisal was sharing some incidents of the *Kashmiri* people as victims. So you are luckily sitting with one of the victims. However, I don't want to be called a victim; we are freedom fighters, peaceful freedom fighters. And we are leading the movement. So I can give you the dynamics of the women, the children, because you have my daughter sitting here, as well. She is seven years old and I have been married to Yasin Malik for the past 10-and-a-half years. We are a divided family, a separated family by force.

I have spent only sixty or sixty-two days with my husband. The rest he has been confined. He used to go hiding for his peaceful political activities also. And right now, he is in the Tihar Jail. Tihar Jail is one of the most notorious jails in the world, and his only crime is that he is peacefully leading the resistance movement along with other Waiting to Disappear: An Evolving Humanitarian Tragedy in Indian...

leaders. In fact, he is the only one who is kept in a death cell and being tortured. He is being confined under the draconian black laws.

I think, Mr Ahmer Bilal Soofi, in your Q&A, you can better explain black and draconian laws. When implemented, they give complete immunity to the Indian occupation forces in the Indian Occupied Jammu and Kashmir. They have this complete blank chit and you know, they can do anything with the people, kill them, rape them, burn them and do whatever. They will not be persecuted or punished. These occupation forces will never be held accountable. My husband is locked up under the Public Safety Act, under the anti-terror laws of TADA.

Right now, especially after August 5, after the abrogation of Article 370 and 35A, India has superseded all international norms, treaties, international conventions, UN resolutions, even their own constitution. They have unilaterally made this decision with the stroke of a pen. Right now, I am not in contact with any of my family members living in Maisuma, which is the Gaza Strip of Kashmir. I am really disturbed because there is a complete ban on communications, and on internet telephone lines.

I am sure none of you have ever gone through what *Kashmiris* are going through right now. Just imagine for a moment about the lifethreatening incidents when you are being attacked by stray bullets -on asking peacefully for your right to exist. When pellets are shot at you during search operation, even for opening the window slightly! The Indian army barges into your homes and they take away the women, and they rape them. And where children cannot go to school; instead of pencils in their hands, they have pellets in their eyes. This is the normalcy in Kashmir and this is going on for decades. The use of pellets is something new, introduced over the past five-six years, other than those shooter guns, pepper gas, phosphorous shells and torture cells. This is something very normal for the *Kashmiris* now, and killing is sadly very common in the vocabulary of the Indians. The life of *Kashmiris* orbits around curfews, cordons, crackdowns, search operations, custodial killings, bullets, marching of military boots and funerals of young being carried out by the elderly.

So the big question is that how can the world actually sell the idea of life and hope to a nation that is witnessing nothing less than violence, occupation, enforced custodial killings and disappearances? There is absolutely no political freedom, a blanket ban on the political parties on the Huriyyat, asking for our legitimate right of freedom as per the UN resolutions.

As the Universal Human Rights Charter is applicable to all human beings, we too have a right to honor, dignity and freedom, but somehow *Kashmiris* don't exist in that Charter. There is only a lipservice or it is just a condemnation, which comes from the world. They think it is not that important. For global economies, India is a big market to invest in, but somehow, I think that is a very weak spectrum. Their concern is very short-sighted. On 26 and 27 February, there was a possibility of a micro-nuclear exchange between India and Pakistan, which was realized by the world, but temporarily. Already, there have been a lot of research by the nuclear scientists going on emphasizing that the way this is going chronic, the whole world can be engulfed in it. So this is not just about India, Pakistan or the principal party of the *Kashmiris*. I mean, the whole world can be wiped out. It is like almost three-fourths of the global population which can die. If this escalates and the world Waiting to Disappear: An Evolving Humanitarian Tragedy in Indian...

does not come forward, it can be a nuclear famine. I mean there will be no agriculture in the world and no vegetation. And these are the side effects, not just for the *Kashmiris*, but for the world. It can be a global Ice Age.

And my question to all of you sitting here is that maybe for the world, it is a very beautiful place where you can see the Valley with snow-clad mountains. Scenic beauty of Kashmir is very attractive. But in reality, right now, what is happening over there is like the devil has caused the deadliest clout. It is like that every day for the *Kashmiri* people. It is like literally living in hell for them.

I think, now it is the responsibility of the international community to come up with some solution for the oldest pending conflict in the United Nations, because the sole purpose of the Indian policy, especially after the abrogation of 370 and 35-A, is to completely kill the Kashmir story. And by banning all forms of communications, as I mentioned, information, telephone lines, mobile networks, censoring all the TV reporting, this is basically to tell the world that nothing is happening over there. Everything is safe, everything is calm and quiet. And the meaning of calmness and peace for the Modi regime is a graveyard of *Kashmiris* right now.

The only thing that grows in Kashmir, or the only vegetation that grows, is the military foot mark over there, which is growing there like a horror story -- where the Indian army is in all the villages. They are attacking the people. Their late night raids are going on. The people, and a lot of youth, right now in jails are being tortured. There is a lot of international reporting also on the torture cells and how they are taken, and the way they are electrocuted. This is going on everywhere. Thousands of girls are also being kidnapped; even the young girls and kids are suffering. There are over 75,000 political

prisoners that do not have any council access because of these black laws.

So this is the reality of Kashmir and the future. I wanted to share the grievances of the *Kashmiri* people and the Kashmir story so that we can move towards a solution, towards a way out of this, to move forward. The most essential component is global pressure for a long-lasting solution, because in an era of globalization, global economies, global harmony, it is very very important for the Permanent Five countries, and the world at large, to use their good-offices to assert pressure on India to resolve this issue as per the UN resolutions.

So far, the UN has not totally abdicated its responsibility from Kashmir. Only last year, there was a very powerful report from the UN Human Rights Commission, the UNMOGIP. The UNMOGIP is present on both sides of the border ever since India took the issue to the United Nations in 1948, since there has never been a time bar on the resolutions of the Kashmir issue. We all must work together to prioritize the Kashmir conflict as a top agenda for global peace and global security right now. For that, we need to exert pressure on India and create an atmosphere of respect for the human life of the *Kashmiri* people.

In the past 50 years, we have seen a lot of bilateral talks between India and Pakistan, including the Simla Accord, the Lahore Agreement, Agra and (former President) Musharraf's four-point formula. But somehow, each time, India backed out of them. Now, I think, the shelf-life of bilateralism has died down; especially after the abrogation of Article 370 and 35 A. Now we need, if ever we want this to be resolved, dialogue or any resolution should have a timeframe since it is now passed on to the seventh generation. Seven Waiting to Disappear: An Evolving Humanitarian Tragedy in Indian...

decades of this conflict have passed by causing a heavy economic cost as well. Kashmir stands at a nuclear flashpoint between India and Pakistan, which can consume the lives of millions of people in an instant.

So allowing the dangerous political conflict to aggravate not only compromises the security and economy of the region, but also the entire world. As I mentioned earlier and the recent report in September 2018 by the World Bank, the vision of regional trade in South Asia has been launched. It discusses that potential trade between India and Pakistan stands at \$37 billion. Right now, it is merely or even less than two billion. I think Mr Faisal could give better statistics on that.

Secondly, we want the key leadership, the *Kashmiri* leadership, to be a part of the solution of this, because without the representation of the Huriyyat or the pro-freedom leadership -- who are leading the peaceful political struggle, I think it is impossible to come towards a solution. The key to solution lies with the top resilient leadership of this movement. India has plans to kill them. They have launched these false cases against them. There is a death trial against my husband. It is going on since November. Same is going on with the other political parties as well. So unless and until we don't have a say of the people, who are stakeholders in the Valley, and who are leading the movement, it is almost impossible to come towards any final settlement.

So that is where the world needs to save the political voices of this movement. That is also very essential. Apart from that, the human rights issues are invariably faced by the women and the children who are the worst victims of this conflict. As I mentioned, my own story and the story of my daughter, I have been attacked several times by the Indian forces. My daughter, she is 7. She was only two-and-a-half years old at the time when we would go to the central jail in Srinagar to meet Yasin and she would get attacked by the Indian forces.

For them, in any war or any conflict zone, women and children are the most vulnerable. Yet, *Kashmiri* women are the bravest because they are leading. They are the breadwinners of the movement. They are earning, they are going out in such hostile environments, being harassed, being molested, being abused, yet they are not giving up. It has the highest ratio of half-widows over there. A title which is scary that women who don't know where their husbands have disappeared or they are not in contact with them; and half-mothers, they don't know the whereabouts of their children; half-orphans, when children are unaware of their parents location, especially after getting disappeared or locked up or not being in contact with their families.

This is a tragedy of the *Kashmiri* people on a daily basis. We need to concentrate on making this world a safer place. We need to work together and join hands for global peace and harmony. We must give peace a chance, and not just in seminars and talk shows and in research papers, we must practically do something together.

It is in the interest of India also. India under the current regime is being disintegrated. What they are doing with the minorities? The Babri mosque decision by the Supreme Court, all reflects what is happening over there. More so, how they are treating the *Kashmiris* is also wide open. They are even changing the name of Kashmir Srinagar to *Shivynagar*, while moving up with the saffronization and the *Hindutva* narrative. Even I believe that every religion teaches tolerance and peace, sowing the seeds of extremism in any religion can tear the fabric of the entire society. And that is what India is Waiting to Disappear: An Evolving Humanitarian Tragedy in Indian...

doing under the current Modi, RSS regime. So this is a fascist regime. This is a regime of an extremist mind-set.

This is something which can destabilize not just the whole region, but the whole world, because I believe that the nuclear commands are in the hands of a man, whose hands are dripping blood of the Gujarat killings. He is responsible for the massacre that is going on in Kashmir right now. Probably, he enjoys this bloodbath and he thinks that every time there is more blood of minorities or *Kashmiris*, he is going to have a win-win ticket of getting more and more Hindu votes. And that is where he is leading it to. So we all need to work that if dialogue or a peaceful implementation of the UN resolutions is not an option, then definitely the other option is a war. So nobody likes wars. There are no winners in wars. It is always the women, the children and innocent people who die on both the sides.

It is my request to all of you to stand up, join hands for the *Kashmiri* people, because we were the first ones to follow the New World Order after 9/11, when the world decided to resolve issues through peaceful means and the *Kashmiris* were the first to take ownership of that. Right now, it is a majority, 99.9 per cent peaceful struggle against the highest occupation of the world. So we need to salute the *Kashmiris*, recognize them, recognize their legitimate indigenous struggle and give them that right that they deserve.

Otherwise, we will be silenced to death. The entire nation is already being wiped out right before us in the 21st century, and *Kashmiris* are like living in a Stone Age over there. All those from the developed world, you need to take charge, take responsibility of the people of Jammu & Kashmir, because if you keep ignoring it, it is

going to explode. It is already chronic. And then by that time, I think it will be too late.

Even if you love India or you favor India, then you should really, really support the people of Jammu and Kashmir so that they get settled. It is also in the larger interest of India if this issue gets resolved once and for all. There is so much of poverty, extremism going on with several problems, which needs to be addressed. We need to work towards stopping this world from another war, particularly a nuclear war. The best would be to give a voice to the *Kashmiris* and listen to them and assert pressure on India.

In the end, I know it was a long speech, but just a few more minutes. I have written this poem on our freedom struggle. And it is titled 'Carnage of Freedom'.

> Let's stroll into the gardens of heaven, they say Is it life or a tempest wild today The occupier's greed, the occupiers know? No, my creed is my Kashmir Be at heard afar, but never know If they'll seek heaven on earth, Go witness the beauteous Beyond all praise a place called Kashmir Without the wheels and curtains raised. My shattered eyes are a sight to see. What a heaven coffin by grieves. These nameless graves of today were bustling crowds of yesterday gone too soon, gone too far where they lay All mankind, now what to say? Have our turn and go away.

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The stains of their blood Are life draining from every path and street My countrymen have left for their trail Without an arrow or a bull in their hearts just ago Days and years have passed without the sight of your glance. Then a martyr came in my dreams and said Don't tell my wailing mother I have died for this life is but one night rest awaits the dawn of light Even the doom cannot shake the glory of his soul He who lies at the fountain of love, is a martyr Through roaring freedom from the streets And facing lashes of the tyrant's heat, who whips our weekly bodies with darts and tears our hearts And to the helms of the mighty hands that twirls our necks And boughs till the blood trickles into the ground Torture, trouble, mockery, slavery at every mile what all haven't I suffered in this trial? What Lizotte can we have with the budding flowers they see? One moment pencils and books, the next pellets Oh my Asifa. We are shamed to call this earth Your shining rain where you couldn't dance Nor play to the joys of innocence that day The beast was feasting on your hues and cries And the temple bells wailing your helpless sighs Oh my Yasin. Where have you gone? It has been five years and three months since we embraced you Ten months since we heard your merry voice How it haunts me. What you whispered The night of 22nd Feb this year when we exchanged our vows a decade ago Now the tyrant whips you with a single blow

And drags you by the handcuff to such a low To little Razia Sultana Your final words, my daughter I am going far yet she peeps restlessly thy window searching the stars where Papa is hiding behind the moon I am afraid it is the gallows of Barrack Number seven Tihar where no light descends, nor sunlight creeps into Iron walls Calamitous was thy night of severance terrible beyond words I die with pain. Had I to die that night Oh my Kashmir When the vultures took you away All your admirers left astray You have a glimpse of heaven as they say another name of paradise Our hearts are bleeding, blood dripping from veins Some brothers of Hitler are celebrating blood parties on our soil So red thy rivers are red with graves at every mile Oh my Kashmir, Oh my Kashmir

And the last verses are dedicated to Mr. Modi...

The tyrant that feels proud today for wearing thy crown Who knows Mishaal in this battle of swords and hearts Tomorrow it may forever drown.

Thank you.■

Intra-Afghan Dialogue: An International Dynamic



Ms Fawzia Koofi

Former Member of the Parliament and Chairperson Movement of Change for Afghanistan, Afghanistan

Thank you for organizing such an important initiative at the very right time, and for giving me an opportunity.

hen I looked at the list of speakers for this important discussion, I could see people from around the world with different backgrounds speaking on the same topic. We are so much alike than different.

This is an opportunity for us to find things that are familiar, or at least, sound familiar. More than four decades back, Martin Luther King named this world as a common house, where people with different views and backgrounds -- and with different beliefs -- could live peacefully with each other. Today, the world is much more divided than it was before. Politics has become very brutal, and there were discussions in the morning about how the political elites and leaders are disconnected from the ground realities. In this global dialogue, achieving a prosperous life for the common man is missing.

Afghanistan was no exception. Brutal politics has impacted it for over 40 years. Most of us in Afghanistan are born and grown up in war. We don't know what does peace mean for us? All of us are victims of war -- in one way or the other. I think it is time for us to unite and work for a better world. I would like to speak a bit about the peace process in Afghanistan, which is not just Afghanistan; it is the peace process for South Asia, in the bigger context of the world.

I would like to point out at the opportunities that exist today. There is a consensus to have a peaceful settlement with the Taliban. Internally in Afghanistan, there are different political players, religious and ethnic groups. Few years back, their political interests would have been at risk, if peace process was pursued. Now there is an understanding that we have to put an end to this bloodshed. So there is an opportunity.

However, the challenge is that there has been no consensus on the approach, on the roadmap, on the way forward, as to how to achieve peace? What will be the new political settlement? What is the desire of Taliban with regard to the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan?

We had few dialogues, of which I was a part -- two in Moscow, one in Doha with the Taliban. We could not agree on the roadmap for Afghanistan. Probably, our interpretation of peace and post-peace agreement is different from that of the Taliban. It is important to know Taliban's position. It is a power-sharing. It is a political arrangement in a democracy of pluralism where everybody, including the Taliban, will have space to participate in it. For Taliban, probably, it is a different scenario. They still think about the Islamic Emirates, where, you know one man can rule the country. So the opportunity is there, but the challenge is greater.

The second opportunity is of regional consensus. I can see various power-brokers now talking about peace in Afghanistan. They are Russia, China, Pakistan and Iran. Even Central Asian countries, including Uzbekistan, are involved in the peace process. Similarly,

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the United States and the EU member states are also part of the process.

However, the challenge is of conflicting views about the post-peaceprocess. Of course, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the UAE are far from the region. The only country which would like to stay engaged in the post-peace political agreement, and would continue to work for peace in Afghanistan, is Pakistan. The challenge here is of a conflicting demand and conflicting desire. There is a lack of honesty and genuine approach from these power-brokers, as well as the regional players.

Internationally, there is no doubt that the need for peace is more realized now than ever. However, the challenge is of missing Afghan ownership. The peace process can be called off with a tweet, since it is a tweet generation! We want to hear very short messages. So with a Twitter message there, the peace process was called off. Afghan ownership and Afghan leadership has been missing in this process. Now, there is a new opportunity to restart it. I have a few points that could be beneficial.

Firstly, I think there should be a simultaneous start of peace negotiations between the government of Afghanistan and other stakeholders. When I say government, our definition of government is in the broader context of the government, including politicians, civil society, women's rights activists as a part of the process. The United States and Taliban talks don't make sense. What is the rationale, if Taliban agree with the United States on their conditions? So there should be simultaneous discussions between all the stakeholders.

Secondly, I don't want to remind all of us about the cost. The two countries, primarily Afghanistan and Pakistan, have suffered heavily during the conflict. I think it is time for our regional friends, and neighbours, to relook at their strategy towards Afghanistan. The traditional way of working with Afghanistan should change. It is time to see where the problems are. I think, in Afghanistan, there is this willingness to reshape the narrative of our politics towards Pakistan. We expect the same from Pakistan. I come from a place where speaking against Pakistan, a few years back, would make you a political champion.

In politics you have to convince people as a leader, you have to convince people to do what you believe in and to follow what you believe in. I believe in a peaceful region. And we have taken the first steps to change the narrative. I think it is time also for our friends, brothers and sisters in Pakistan to probably relook at their strategy towards Afghanistan.

Afghanistan has enormous potential for investment. It is a beautiful country, of course. It is one of the most unexplored regions with hidden treasures, worth billions of dollars. It brings an opportunity for investment.

Unfortunately, 2019 was the deadliest year for Afghans. Today, as I am speaking to you, 37 people were killed, majority of them are children. I lost my father, four brothers, my husband and 26 members of my extended family in the war. When I was invited to Doha in July, two days before I left, there was a car bomb blast in Kabul, resulting in more than 100 casualties, including some athletes. My daughter told me they don't deserve your presence.

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Don't go. And my response to my daughter was to try to stop killings of more innocent people; I am attending these talks.

We have lost many lives for the sake of protecting others. We have to change this region to make it a better place to live in.

Thank you very much.■

Resolution of Yemen Crisis: UN Initiative



Dr Andreea Stoian Karadeli

Peace Mediator at EU and NATO, Romania

Honorable ambassadors, officials, fellow speakers, representatives of the media, distinguished guests. Good afternoon.

First of all, thank you. I would like to thank my previous speaker for creating the precedent of talking from the round shape table, U-shaped table as a mediator is great. What I don't like are the sharp corners. Those are tricky.

To begin with, please allow me to express my gratitude firstly to the Islamabad Policy Research Institute for inviting me to be here in front of you. Not just a Saudi friend is in his traditional dressing. I myself am in my Romanian traditional dressing. The intercultural dialogue that we promote here starts with the identity. So thank you very much for having me here. It is great to be in such a great country. I have never been to Pakistan before, but I am overwhelmed by your hospitality. I met Pakistan through my friends who were invited to the conferences that I participated or organized. And they represented your country with pride. I see the same pride here. And I am very happy to be among you.

What you have seen in this presentation today does not represent or reflect the ideas of any institution/ official organization. Ideas and perspectives are my own. Secondly, I would like to apologize for the images that you will see. We had a very touching speech before, and in the previous session, as well. That's why I went through the pictures, because pictures do speak, at least, as much as the words do. Sometimes we need a shock to wake up, and do what we have to do. So the pictures do speak for themselves and I apologize for the emotional trauma that I create with them, as well.

So today, I should be speaking about the UN's role in dealing with the crisis, but I would like to tell you a story. Last year, I was a visiting lecturer in Turkey in a university there, and I was teaching contemporary security studies, because that's actually my field. So we met in the first class. I asked my students that a variety of nations/ cultures mingle together, in a course you know. What do they believe? What are their definitions of security?

I had a great student from Afghanistan who was telling me that going to school without facing any bomb attack or any danger would be security. Then I got an amazing student from Yemen. I eventually had him write a paper and publish it. He told me that, for me, security means access to food and water, so that our children or my brothers, stop dying. It means more than whatever it means for you guys here. Unfortunately, no one has the ears to hear me. So what I am doing today, I am trying to spread the words of my students because I do believe they were very right.

So the aim of the presentation should definitely be to raise awareness, to make you understand the consequences, what has been done, what we are doing in Yemen to analyze scenarios of this conflict. To give you a brief assessment of what the UN has been doing -- good job, but not enough. And also to urge those who do have influence in India around the zone to shake hands, to come up together, because, my friends, we are now in a very critical time. So
let me begin with this structure, the context and chronology of the war, of the conflict in Yemen.

First of all, we have to emphasize the fact that the current conflict in Yemen has been the greatest preventable disaster facing humanity. Yes, preventable. We could have stopped this, but we like to remain in our own boxes -- very well closed. Nothing is touching us. Actually, if we realize that we live in such an interconnected world, we would understand how much everything around us affects us directly.

So what has actually happened since the conflict? Or let me begin by telling you what exactly the conflict has been from the very beginning. Many have defined it as a proxy-war between two states with a broader sectarian conflict.

As a bilateral struggle between them, the Houthi, the rebels and the government of Yemen have many ways of explaining the conflict. I am not here today to blame or to point fingers. Actually, this is the worst disaster that we can face while trying to ensure a peace process, or when we try to resolve any conflict. Blaming is what actually stops us from resolving a conflict. So leaving everything behind, what we must understand is the fact that the conflict is much more than any of the definitions that have been given. It is more complex, it is more than one, two, three countries. It is a mixture of countries and identities, and interests and agendas. Everything is actually destroying the lives of humans -- like me and you -- and everyone here in the room.

Yemen has not been well even before the conflict, either. According to the Human Development Index, it was ranked 153rd in 2015, and

all the other grading proves in what a dangerous situation it has been even before the conflict. The conflict has given birth to even more destruction. We have nearly a quarter of a million people killed directly by the war -- whether during fighting or indirectly due to lack of access to food, health, social services and infrastructure.

How many of you have children at home? Can you raise your hands? How many of you have children under five? I have one, and I can tell you that I have been touched when I heard that actually 60 per cent of quarter-of-a-million are children with the age under five. It is very hard when you try to do an exercise of imagination and think about your child back home. So actually, beyond all this, the whole longterm impact of this conflict is vast, and they do place it among the most destructive conflicts that we have faced since the Cold War.

And if you look at a figure, you can see how backward this whole war has dropped us too. We have three scenarios that I want you to keep in mind. First, let us believe that the conflict is going to end at the end of this year. Secondly, let us assume that it is going to go on up to 2022. And thirdly, let us assume that it is going to go up, which is the worst case scenario, though. I do not even want to think about it, but let us see. Let us say that it is going to go on until 2030. What is going to happen?

I am going to tell you exactly if it ends up this year, then Yemen is going to face a 21 years setback. If the conflict continues up to 2022, Yemen is going to face a 26 years setback. And in the worst case scenario, if all this game of power continues up to 2030, we have 39 years of setback. Do we really want to do this?

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So till 2019, we have twenty-two-hundred-thirty-three thousand deaths. We have one child dying every eleven minutes and 54 seconds. See what happens in 2022, four-hundred-eighty-two thousand deaths, approximately; and one child dying every seven minutes. By 2030, we have 1.8 million deaths, and one child dying every two minutes and 24 seconds. Do we really want to face this? Are we capable? Do we believe that our conscience is going to accept this?

Many have tried to point out, and to say that Yemen's conflict is very similar to other conflicts. We have it in Iraq. My field is counterterrorism, and I know what the conflict in Iraq has become. I know it is one of the main origins what has happened today with Daesh. So, yes, Yemen is alike, but very different. It is like the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1992. It is like Sierra Leone. It is like Liberia, but it is very different from all of them, because every context is different, and every person is different. And what we don't understand is that, unfortunately, if I have to go to NATO, the UN or the EU, all the international organizations would try to help by interference. Moreover, if unfortunately we do something wrong, they would take it without understanding the context. That is about understanding the context; that is not something that just we do.

We don't understand the meaning, the importance of the context by acknowledging fully and then acting, accordingly. And then there is another branch of the whole Yemeni conflict, and that is the one that I study more. And that is a terrorist nexus. In a TV show yesterday, I was trying to emphasize the fact that terrorism is exactly like cancer. When you have an acidic environment in your body, the cancer cells find the right place to spread. That is the case with terrorism, as long as they have the acidic environment. And that is

the conflict. We do have the sectarian fault-lines in Yemen. There is power vacuum and the security vacuum.

These are all the perfect factors that can explode. Then they impact people, psychology, human emotions, human interaction and human relations. They are a step ahead of us all the time. And then they play a very big role in the Yemeni conflict, as well. So what does the UN do in Yemen? The UN has been present for 60 years since it was founded in 1945, and Yemen has also been present for 60 years. There are several branches and in which it works out. First is development. Secondly, humanitarian and political issues have to be faced when it comes to a conflict.

Of course, the UN has assumed many roles apart from monitoring the area. Through the UN, we have negotiation, mediations and the peace process. Then we have security, stability and development. It also helps in creating a platform for dialogue, but no dialogue is possible if the parts that are coming together are not willing for a dialogue. The biggest achievement of the UN in the case of Yemen has been the Stockholm agreement in December 2018.

However, unfortunately, the implementation of this agreement, and the strategies that were derived afterwards, had made it even harder to become a reality. That is actually the problem with what people do at the UN. We have very interesting talks, very good debates, very good policy resolutions that could actually provide peace and stability, but implementing those ones when we lack the force is the problem.

In the previous session, one of the speakers was mentioning the timeframe. She is completely right because we believe our ideas are

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good. Some of them are actually very good, but what we need to do is to be very firm in the way we implement them; how we are going to do it and how we cooperate with the people on the ground, with the people that are directly affected, how we understand them, how we get direct experience that we have to comprehend before we actually do anything.

Just to conclude, we need to be aware of what is happening in Yemen beyond what is presented on TV; beyond what is presented on the media; beyond what to see in social media; beyond what we think and we believe. Such unions and such places are used to create a platform for dialogue. These platforms are harder to reach, but help us understand better what a situation is; what should happen next?

In the end, I would like to give three main points that are food for thought, mostly. First, we need sincere will and motivation to stand at the table -- not one with sharp corners! Rather at a round one, to stand at a table together and shake hands for peace.

Secondly, we need a greater involvement of the international community. The involvement should be done with the best acknowledgement of the people involved, of the ideas, interests, and backgrounds of the people that are directly affected by our involvement. There are three things that I always say to the people that I train in counter-terrorism. I say acknowledge, understand and then act, accordingly.

Last but not least, in counter-terrorism and counter-radicalization, you don't need an ideology to radicalize people. You don't need ideology to create terrorism. Terrorist organizations destroyed

families, bombed their houses, and killed their loved ones. You got it all.

Thank you very much.

Saudi Perspective on Regional Security



Dr Mohammed S. Al Sulami

Chairman of RASANAH International Institute for Iranian Studies, Saudi Arabia

Thank you very much. Assalam-o-Alaikum. Very good afternoon.

believe that life is not easy and we have to face these challenges any way.

First of all, I would like to thank Islamabad Policy Research Institute, your Excellency Ambassador, the organizers, and to all of you for your attendance to talk about Saudi perspective on the regional security.

It can start from -- maybe -- three dimensions; as a Saudi view, a regional and a global perspective. Saudi Arabia is a place from where Islam began. The geographical location of Saudi Arabia has been between three continents: Asia, Africa and Europe; quite relevant in its political and economic sense. Since Saudi Arabia is a cradle of Islamic message, and the home to two of the Holy Mosques, it enjoys a special place in the hearts of Muslims around the world.

In the Arab world, Saudi Arabia is an important actor in addressing the challenges facing the Arab states, in particular, their stability and development. It has strong and strategic relations with many of the Islamic states, particularly with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

Saudi Arabia enjoys good relations with most of the countries in the East and the West.

I would talk about Saudi perspective on regional issues when it comes to Saudi economic strength. As a member of G-20, and one of the largest and most important oil producers in the world, this is very important to know what the Saudi perspective is. Saudi Arabia has issued its Vision 2030, which needs careful reading because it outlines its economic and social reforms, while opening it up to the world. It's integration, partnership and cooperation is meant for a peaceful region. It is also for confronting terrorism, extremism and for that reason we have the International Islamic Military Coalition to fight terrorism. We also have 80 centres for combating terrorism, as well for the media, for countering terrorist activities on different platforms digitally.

Also, Saudi Arabia remains committed to its religious principles. Many will talk about the reforms terming them a move away from its main values or from principles. I want to assure you that Saudi Arabia sticks to its Islamic values and principles. Main Islamic issues and Arab issues, like the Palestine, are still very important for Saudi Arabia. It believes that benefits from Vision 2030 will not be limited to itself, but rather they will extend it to neighbouring countries as well. The mega-projects will start on. In fact, some of them have already started with Jordan, Egypt and other countries. Also in Pakistan and Gwadar Port, we have started a project which, of course, is an important port and has a future.

With this good environment, Saudi Arabia also wants to avoid any conflict in the region. However, it doesn't mean that Saudi Arabia will turn a blind eye to any attempt to target security and safety on

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its national interests. The most important topic we have right now is what happened after 14th of September, this year, when Aramco facilities were attacked. Saudi government has described it as an act of war. Unfortunately, it is coming from the northern part, and mostly from Iran.

We also have problems with the neighbouring countries, which we can solve but we have a serious problem with the Islamic Republic of Iran. What has happened in the region recently? Yemen issue touches all of our hearts, but not only Yemen, it is also about Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Sudan, Tunisia, Algeria and all the way to Nigeria. What is the Houthi Group? Those are some of the serious problems we have been facing in the region. They are dependent upon militias and proxies, who have relations with the state and with the government.

Relying on those proxies of religious minorities would not certainly help regional countries. In fact, it would rather make it very difficult to solve the problems. Pakistan has played a significant role, and Prime Minister Imran Khan has also tried to mediate between Saudi Arabia and Iran. We appreciate their attempts, and other friends around the world.

Our problem is not that difficult. In 2007, there was the GCC summit in Doha. At that time, we invited the President of Iran Mahmud Ahmadinejad to attend the summit. We requested Iran to respect international norms and laws by not interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. Unfortunately, our Iranian friends refused to sign that MoU or agreement, and started talking about religious minorities. Also, it is very important and we have to emphasize that we have had such a difficult relation with Iran, especially after the 14th of September -- when 50 per cent of Saudi oil and five per cent of international energy was stopped. It is very difficult to stay silent on that. We do not want war with Iran. I have to make it very clear, our vision is to build our state, to focus on our state, our people, our young people, empowering women and youth. Now, if you look at the ministers in the Saudi cabinet, most of them are under 35. Most of them have been educated in the West, or in the East in different countries. We want Iran to be part of such a big project of building relationship, economic relationship, political relationship and get rid of proxies or misusing religious minorities for political purposes.

My father used to tell me, and I think most of you, who were born before me in the 70s or 60s, would know that sectarianism was not an issue in most of the Muslim countries. It was not an issue in Bahrain, was not an issue in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Even in Pakistan, where 15 to 20 per cent of the population is Shia, we get to see intermarriages between Sunni and Shia. Sometimes they do not even ask, if you are a Shia or Sunni. They do not even care about it.

Yes, we do not want war with Iran but I think it is very important to foresee Iran through legal actions. Cooperation with the neighbouring countries is in need of a change in its behaviour. It should stop funding and training militias from Hezbollah -- all the way to the Houthis. We have been trying our best to solve this problem. I have been myself meeting with the Iranian officials, and think tanks. Last week. I was in Jordan and before that in Italy, in Germany, in Oslo and other places but we are still at square-one, unfortunately. We have not made any headway.

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I want to conclude with a hope that the region will soon be free of militias and armed organizations, and sectarian and religious conflicts. Riyadh does not mind having an agreement with Iran, and other states as well. Rather than getting deceived by media statements, we need to see concrete and very clear steps on the ground. We want to see it in Syria, Iraq, Yemen and the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain and other places. If Iran is willing to have at least a sustained relation, if not improved relations, with Saudi Arabia and the neighbouring countries of the GCC, it will be very helpful to the region. That is the best we can get right now.

We want to avoid any serious consequences for the region, and what happened on September 14 means a lot to Saudi stability. The world has to take an action. I am not talking about military actions, but we have to find a way to solve this problem with the political system in Iran.

Thank you very much.■



PLENARY SESSION II

Geopolitics in South Asia, Middle East, Central Asia (SAMECA): Role of US, China and Russia

Geopolitics in the SAMECA Region Senator Syed Shibli Faraz

Articulation of US Foreign Policy in SAMECA Region and Its Challenges Professor Emeritus Dr Marvin G. Weinbaum

Russia's Refocus on South and Central Asia: Perspective and Perceptions Dr Sergei Ermakov

Regional Dynamics and Outlook: China and Its SAMECA Neighbourhood Dr Li JingFeng

Great Power Politics in Central Asia: Competing Visions or Complementary Interests? Ms Lidiya Parkhomchik

Pakistan's Quest for Cooperation and Strategic Stability in Changing Geopolitical Environment in SAMECA Region Dr Huma Bagai



Geopolitics in the SAMECA Region



Senator Syed Shibli Faraz

Federal Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan

Honourable speakers, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, Assalam-o-Alaikum and good afternoon

et me begin by congratulating President Islamabad Policy Research Institute, Ambassador Vice-Admiral (R) Khan Hasham Bin Siddique, for inviting me and organising an intellectually stimulating gathering, where diversity in thought and representation appears abundantly. I have thoroughly enjoyed listening to the eminent speakers and their insights are, indeed, educative and perceptive.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The contemporary globalized world is moving into new dimensions of geo-politics and the challenges it brings are also manifold. Among these are economic and military tensions, territorial and border disputes, state fragility, marginalisation, societal divisions, and abject poverty. Rapid advancements in communication and transportation technology are softening or weakening political boundaries and shrinking geographical distances. While the process has brought economic and cultural benefits with the potential to reshape local institutions, it is in some ways, also challenging statesovereignty. In reaction, identity politics in the form of protectionist

tendencies and hyper-nationalism is gaining ground, especially in the advanced liberal democracies of the world.

Since 1990s, political and economic instability in South Asia, the Middle East and Central Asia (SAMECA), has been a key hurdle to peace and development. Post-9/11 transnational threats, armed conflicts and great power interventions have impacted the geopolitical realities of the region.

Admittedly, the geopolitics of the SAMECA region has always been complex; it has become more so in the contemporary world as the western-led world is being challenged by the rise of the East. Located at the junction of different regions, Central Asia with its vast oil and gas resources is a key attraction for regional and global powers.

The Trump administration's focus on withdrawal from areas of conflict and multilateral commitments is creating strategic space for a rising China and a resurgent Russia to step in with ever increasing self-confidence. They are beginning to influence events in their neighbourhood and beyond, and in the process challenge the post-Second World War Liberal World Order. Russia's role in Syria is a reflection of Moscow's active push towards playing a greater global role. The impending US military withdrawal from Syria ensures that the Russian influence proves to be deep and lasting.

At the same time, China's strategic Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) aims to connect Europe, Asia and Africa. Consequently, the already important location of the SAMECA region has achieved added significance. Contemporary SAMECA is thus playing host to

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multipolar rivalry involving Russia, China and the United States -- abetted by regional hegemons.

A key transportation belt from China to the Caspian Sea, Russia and Germany is located in Khorgos in Kazakhstan. Both China and Russia are, therefore, interested in the Central Asian stability.

A stable environment is essential for the success of China's grand strategy, and thus presents the key foreign policy challenge for both Beijing and the Central Asian capitals. Noticeably, Central Asia occupies a pivotal position within BRI, as it can connect China to markets in Europe.

Similarly, China and Russia's active interest in the Afghan peace process is another example of the changing geopolitics of SAMECA. The recent quadrilateral meeting of Pakistan, China, Russia and US aimed at addressing the complexities of the Afghan conflict. Political stability in Afghanistan, with its vast mineral resources, can translate into economic progress for not only Afghanistan, Russia and China, but for the entire SAMECA region and the US.

The emerging geopolitical realities in South Asia, I think, are driven by regional and global realignments. China's influence has increased in the region and Russia is also attempting to make inroads, as is reflected in better relations with Pakistan -- a close Cold War ally of the US.

South Asian countries are keen to connect with the Central Asian markets and energy resources. The tremendous opportunity offered by the China-Pakistan-Economic-Corridor (CPEC) -- the flagship project of BRI -- can yield regional and global economic benefits to

SAMECA. However, peace in South Asia is being held hostage to obdurate India. The belligerent government across our border is engaged in ethnic cleansing and continuously denying the right of self-determination to the people of the Indian Occupied Kashmir.

That being said, access to the Central Asian economic resources and markets will not be possible without an improved security environment in Afghanistan. In this regard, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization can play an effective part in urging its members and observers to move towards dispute settlement.

The Middle East is in the grip of fragmentation and violence since the Arab Spring in 2011. Transnational terror groups, proxy wars, as well as the great power interventions, have had devastating consequences for the geopolitics of the Middle East, exacerbating perennial tensions and conflicts in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen.

Iran-Saudi stand-off is, indeed, a matter of concern for all of SAMECA. The role of foreign powers in worsening the situation is apparent to all. The sanctions on Tehran and the termination of JCOPA have affected regional geopolitics negatively. The two great Muslim nations can play a pivotal role in uplifting the masses in the SAMECA region and, therefore, it is important that their differences be resolved amicably.

Russia seems keen to fill in the vacuum left by the US in the Middle East. President Putin's proposed collective security plan for the Middle East has been welcomed by China, too. BRI has already enabled Beijing, which has economic interests in the Middle East, to enhance collaboration with the Gulf States. These developments may increase the Chinese and the Russian influence on the region's geopolitics at the expense of the US. Let us hope such efforts can lead to peace and stability in the region.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Regional economic growth and socio-political progress can be accelerated through cooperation and integration. The only way to engage in development is through peaceful co-existence. I am optimistic that Margalla Dialogue is providing the platform for exchange of ideas and will accrue workable solutions.

Articulation of US Foreign Policy in SAMECA Region and its Challenges



Professor Emeritus Dr Marvin G. Weinbaum

Director, Afghanistan and Pakistan Studies at the Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C., USA

For us to understand US policy in South and Central Asia, as well as the broader Middle East, we need to acknowledge that this is the foreign policy of President Donald Trump and that it sharply deviates from the key elements of what has been American global policy over most of the last 75 years.

Classic US policy was based on the American leadership in constructing international institutions, both political and institutional, and on a willingness to project force in the name of maintaining global stability and peace. It favoured, even if at times inconsistently, free trade, support for democratic practices, the rule of law and the championing of human rights. These values were a source of American strength, every bit as convincing as its hard power.

There were always some foreign policy differences between the Republicans and the Democrats; and from one administration to other, but on the basics there was strong consensus. When addressing the major issues there was ordinarily non-partisanship. It was regularly said that when it came to foreign policy, differences stopped at the water's edge. The last three years have witnessed a conscious assault on a liberal, international-minded foreign policy that espouses as the universal right to life and liberty, human development, and self-government.

Some weakening of the traditional foreign policy framework was visible in the Bush and Obama administrations, either in overplaying the American hand in foreign policy or in a reluctance to take action where warranted. But for the most part, both presidents, certainly by contrast to President Trump, remained within the boundaries of traditional American foreign policy. As it were, Trump's actions are driven by a determination, almost whatever the policies, to overturn those of his predecessors; above all an almost perverse delight in unravelling those of Barak Obama.

Trump's America First policy is uncompromisingly nationalist. It perceives other nation-states as similarly dedicated to pursuing their own usually narrow self-interests. It is almost wholly transactional, disparages international organizations, and seems more comfortable with global autocratic leaders than with democratic ones. It has turned against traditional allies, retreated from multilateral obligations, and shown indifference to a resulting loss of trust. Raw nationalism seems prepared to surrender the moral high ground and liberal ideals. It, thus, betrays American widely admired values that besides acting to serve US strategic interests have also been welcomed by other nations. Obviously, there are policies not to be proud of. US in military actions in Vietnam and Iraq, are now accepted as having run contrary to American moral beliefs as well as strategic interests. A failure to intervene in the 1994 Rwanda genocide surely stands as a black mark on the US.

In breaking with traditional norms of the American foreign policy, President Trump not infrequently finds himself at odds with his own

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generals and diplomats, and his intelligence community experts. It rather than being confrontational, they have reportedly managed to go around or softened his stated policies at times, even to the point of ignoring them. The President has no patience for briefings from the policy and intelligence communities that ordinarily are so important to decision-making. The result is a breakdown in the traditional national security decision-making process. The kind of consultation and coordination that are ordinarily at the heart of a finely-tuned decisional process has given way to Trump's impetuous, ad-hoc, and often ill-informed decisions typically delivered in tweets. When asked about whom he consults on foreign policy, Trump has remarked: "My primary consultant is myself."

And yet Trump is influenced, notably in what he takes from his favourite news network. He also works with knowledge that he has a sizeable portion of the public that applauds his unconventionality; seeing it as a sign of his strong convictions and freedom from the establishment's views. The idea of pulling back from and disparaging international commitments resonates with his loyal supporters. Trump is further emboldened by the popularity beyond his political constituency of his promise to get the US out of "forever wars."

Now, turning to the SAMECA region, nearly all the foreign policy orientations I have described, find expression in the US policies towards South and Central Asia and the Middle East. They present clear challenges for these countries.

The United States active involvement in the region began with the Baghdad Pact in 1956, and expanded with Britain's East of Suez policy in 1968. What emerged were strategic approaches that centred principally around forming alliances in the region to block the Soviet

influence and penetration, protect oil markets, prevent nuclear proliferation, and promote the ideals of liberal democracy and human rights, while also strengthening Israel.

Cold War goals are, of course, gone and the others have been since 9/11 overshadowed by a set of objectives, specifically designed to deny bases of operations to terrorist organizations like Al Qaeda and the Islamic State. With Trump, they have also been amended by a resolve to redefine relations with allies.

Regional disengagement had, of course, begun in the Obama administration with its policies for Iraq and Afghanistan. The desire to back out of the Middle East grew out of frustration in trying to deal with its endemic problems, and from a strategic judgment that dictated an American pivot to East Asia. The disengagement that is happening currently is a product, however, of isolationism born out of hyper-nationalism. The Trump administration appears willing to cede responsibilities in the Middle East to Russia, China and Iran. Referring to his actions on Syria, Trump was quoted as saying that its problems should be left for "Turkey, Europe, Syria, Iran, Iraq, Russia, and the Kurds to figure out." Referring to the region, one observer said that, "America didn't lose this battle for influence, it surrendered."

The region is challenged as never before by doubts about the reliability and aims of American policy, and above all, its unpredictability. This has injected uncertainty in to a region much of which is in turmoil. There is a little evidence of a coherent overarching strategy behind policies for the region, or its most consequential countries. So much appears improvised.

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All this was on full display as the US betrayed its Kurdish partners in Syria. The intentions and commitments of the US have previously created confusion in the Gulf, Afghanistan and Pakistan. As a result they and others have felt it necessary to reassess their defence plans, and have sought out other security options.

Notwithstanding, the US retains the ability to project hard power in the region. The ability of the American armed forces to threaten and employ force can serve both for the US and others, as a necessary component of a foreign policy that aims at stabilization and threat reduction. Hard power, if not measured and informed, raises the dangers of miscalculation and inadvertent escalation. With reduced leverage, and now reluctance, to re-engage militarily, the US is left, as demonstrated in its policy toward Iran to depend on strategic communications and sanctions.

The Trump administration is living with the consequences of its withdrawal from the nuclear deal, and its policy of "maximum pressure" on Iran that has succeeded in fuelling wider regional tensions – exactly opposite to what it supposedly sought to achieve. Iran is yet another example of unilateralism, replacing multilateralism and improvisation, replacing careful planning. It is also an example of ignoring expert advice. When Trump pulled out of the Iran agreement, it was over the objection of his Secretaries of State and Defence, as well as his national security advisor; the three most important national security officials in a US government. All three would later resign. It is a reversal of the saying "walk softly and carry a big stick."

Most countries across the SAMECA region have felt this disengagement in the form of reduced foreign assistance. This has

been conspicuously selective. The US is frequently accused of preferring authoritarian leaders and militaries. In the past, these relationships were usually situational, a matter of who was in power and could deliver what the US sought in a partner. Currently, it seems to signal strong approval of strongly autocratic regimes such as that in Egypt.

Running against this narrative of American intended disengagement is a counter-narrative, commonly heard in Pakistan, as elsewhere in the region. It is the belief that the US is not really looking to leave but is, in fact, continuing its presence as part of a geostrategic policy, aimed at a long-term or permanent foothold in Afghanistan -- in order to check great power rivals and Iran, and to exercise control over domestic politics and resources.

This counter-narrative offers fertile ground for various conspiracy theories, but overlooks the fact that the US lacks both the capacity and will. There are perhaps some in the Pentagon who may think in these strategic terms, but the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have demonstrated the limited reach of the American hard power. No less significant is the lack of any appetite in the American public and Congress for an indefinite military commitment in the Middle East and South Asia.

Despite this, it is still difficult to imagine any American policy that turns its back entirely on the Middle East and South Asia. The issues and dangers the US confronts, including terrorism, nuclear proliferation, and oil markets are global. These issues would seem to make it imperative that the US retain influence in the region, possible only through having some meaningful military and nonArticulation of US Foreign Policy in SAMECA Region and its Challenges

military presence. Were the US to leave, it would in all probability find itself having to re-enter under worse circumstances.

The challenge for the US is then how to balance or reconcile the need for global US leadership with the forces pressing for a diminished role. One means; the US can take to address this challenge is with the retention of a small military presence in Afghanistan and the Gulf area. It assumes an American presence not designed or capable of scoring military victories or securing resources, but one offering a low risk, low casualty, low cost domestically acceptable way sufficient to maintain the stability that the US and others seek. Such an approach may require a long-term presence, but does not conflate, as Trump has done "forever wars" with an unending presence. Richard Haass of the Council on Foreign Relations has termed it an "endurance strategy."

Meanwhile, the message and resulting challenge to SAMECA capitals around the world is that the US is committed to getting out. Quite naturally, most are scrambling to build for themselves new security architecture. To overcome this, and make a positive contribution to the region's stability, progress and peace, the US must have a more consistent, clear foreign policy than it presently has, and that policy has to be built on cooperative engagement and shared values.

The 2021 presidential election could be critical in shaping the American foreign policy in ways that affect the SAMECA area. Depending on the election's outcome, it could lead to readjustments in the substance and tone of the American policies, or to deepening of the trends of the last three years. But even were the Trump administration replaced, its legacy would be long felt. There has been inestimable damage not only to the American institutions, but

also to the US international alliance structure and the way the country is perceived globally. It did not take much to create the damage; it will be difficult to repair.

Russia's Refocus on South and Central Asia: Perspective and Perceptions



Dr Sergei Ermakov

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Speaking about Russia's policy in the Eastern direction, it is very important to present the true goals, objectives and principles of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation. The point one that last time many experts argued was that the tensions between the West and Russia over the conflict in Ukraine have pushed Russia towards the East, including towards China.¹ So, the Russian shift refocuses on pivot to Asia. These experts assess as Moscow's attempt to balance and hedge its position in the world arena. It seems to be true to some extent though, but I cannot fully agree with such findings. Rather western pushing accelerates the Russian move to Asia than predominantly Moscow's approaches and attentions towards East.

Indeed, promoting its modern foreign policy, Russia proceeds from the fact that the world is currently going through fundamental changes related to the emergence of a multipolar international system. The structure of international relations is becoming increasingly complex. Globalization has led to the formation of new

1 Bossuyt F. Connecting Eurasia: Is Cooperation between Russia, China, and the EU in Central Asia Possible?// Site of the Russian International Affairs Council. May 30, 2019 Available at: https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and comments/analytics/connecting-eurasia-is-cooperation-between-russia-china-and-theeu-in-central-asia-possible/?sphrase id=32382087 (accessed 20 October 2019).

centres of economic and political power. Global power and development potential is becoming decentralized, and is shifting towards the Asia-Pacific region, eroding the global economic and political dominance of the traditional western powers.

In today's world, cross-border challenges and threats are rapidly becoming more pronounced and far-reaching in nature and geographic scope, including the illegal proliferation of the weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, uncontrolled arms and human trafficking, illegal migration, illegal trade of narcotic drugs, corruption, sea piracy, cybercrime, climate change and so on.

For my part, I do believe that it should speak not about a reversal of the Russian foreign policy, but about its adaptation to new environment.

I would like to stress that the Russian Federation carries on the consistent and abiding foreign policy, in accordance with its national interests, shared principles and long-term priorities. A systemic vision of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation is provided by the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, approved by President Vladimir Putin on November 30, 2016.²

With a view to upholding the national interests of the Russian Federation and achieving its strategic national priorities, the State's foreign policy activities shall be aimed at accomplishing the main objectives stated in this conceptual document. But I would like to pay attention on some of the most important among them.

² Foreign Policy Concept Of The Russian Federation, 2016. Approved by President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin on November 30, 2016. Available at: http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/official_documents/-/asset_publisher/CptICkB6BZ29/content/id/2542248 (accessed 20 October 2019).

Russia's Refocus on South and Central Asia: Perspective and Perceptions

First of all, Russia considers a true, mutually respectful, pragmatic and consequently solid relations can only be built between independent and sovereign states.

Russia stands for strict compliance with the international law and enhancing mutual confidence and respect. Moscow is building interstate relations and communication on fair and democratic foundations with an emphasis on the UN Charter.

Our country is focused on stepping up security and stability, on fighting international terrorism and other threats and challenges. We act for the sake of establishing a system of equal and indivisible security, resting on far-ranging and collective work. This would include Asia also.

One important Russian foreign policy goal is to promote, within bilateral and multilateral frameworks, mutually beneficial and equal partnerships with foreign countries. Inter-state associations, international organizations and the commitment to pursue national priorities on a non-confrontational basis, expansion of international cooperation on a non-discriminatory basis, facilitating the emergence of network alliances and Russia's proactive participation in them would form a pivotal part.

In reference to the Russian regional foreign policy priorities, it should be noted that they include developing bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and further strengthening integration structures within the CIS, involving Russia. Russia makes efforts to further unleash the CIS potential, establish the Commonwealth as an influential regional organization, a platform for multilateral political dialogue, as well as a mechanism for economic and humanitarian cooperation and for countering traditional and new challenges and threats.

Russia views strengthening and expanding integration within the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) in order to propel the steady development, comprehensive technological modernization and cooperation, enhance the competitiveness of the EAEU member states and improve living standards of their populations as a key objective. The EAEU is intended to ensure for the free movement of goods, services, capital and workforce, and offer a platform for implementing joint infrastructure and investment projects. The EAEU is based on universal principles of integration, and is designed to play an important role in harmonizing integration processes in Europe and Eurasia.

Russia views the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) as one of the key elements of the current security framework in the post-Soviet era. Russia seeks to facilitate the development of the CSTO into a prominent multifunctional international organization, capable of overcoming challenges and threats the world is facing today, amid the growing pressure from various global and regional factors within the CSTO's area of responsibility and in the adjoining regions.

Russia attaches importance to further strengthening the SCO's role in the regional and global affairs, and expanding its membership, and stands for increasing the SCO's political and economic potential, and implementing practical measures within its framework to Russia's Refocus on South and Central Asia: Perspective and Perceptions

consolidate mutual trust and partnership in Central Asia as well as promoting cooperation with the SCO member states, observers and dialogue partners.

The heads of the governments of SCO, who met in early November 2019 in Tashkent, adopted a new version of the SCO multilateral trade and economic cooperation programme until 2035.³ It aims to strengthen the positive dynamics of the member states' development in such segments as banking and finance, industrial, technological, transport and logistics, scientific and educational. social. information and digital technology. The priority among the organisation's most important issues is the task of creating the SCO bank and the SCO development fund. This will be one of the measures the nations will take in order to bring payment systems and settlements in the national currencies closer together between the member countries.

Thus, the most important direction for the Russian policy remains the near abroad, where the main diplomatic efforts were aimed at forming a space of good-neighbourly relations and stability along the Russian borders. To this end, work was carried out to strengthen multidisciplinary cooperation with the neighbouring countries, to develop integration processes and allied cooperation within the CIS and the CSTO. Russia's chairmanship of the EAEU bodies last year focused on promoting the integration agenda across the spectrum and strengthening the international authority of the Union.⁴

³ *Khasanov U.* The SCO and the Transformation of Modern Political Processes// Valdai Club 07.11.2019 Available at: http://valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/sco-and-transformation-modern-political-processes/ (accessed 08 November 2019).

⁴ Foreign policy and diplomatic activity of the Russian Federation in 2018. Review of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Moscow, March 2019.

Russia is also committed to establishing a common, open and nondiscriminatory economic partnership and joint development space for ASEAN, SCO and EAEU members, with a view to ensuring that integration processes in Asia-Pacific and Eurasia are complementary.

Russia views strengthening its positions in the Asia-Pacific region, and stepping up relations with its states, as a foreign policy area of strategic importance, which is attributable to Russia belonging to this vibrant geopolitical region. Russia is interested in participating proactively in the integration processes in Asia-Pacific, using the possibilities it offers to implement socioeconomic development programmes in Russia's Siberia and Far East, and creating an inclusive, open, transparent and equitable collective security and cooperation architecture in Asia-Pacific.⁵

In this regard, Russia introduced the integration initiative on linking the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). This initiative to form a comprehensive Eurasian partnership, also known as the Great Eurasian partnership, was announced by President Vladimir Putin at the Russia-ASEAN summit in Sochi on May 20, 2016, and became Russia's "umbrella or framework mega-initiative."

The Russian President called for joint efforts in cooperation in the framework of the EAEU-SCO-ASEAN. As Putin emphasized, "although the process is complex... we need to join efforts of integration associations, at least in those areas where it is possible." According to Putin, this will eliminate repetition in the work of integration associations and create favourable conditions for

⁵ Vardomsky L. Eurasian integration: some results and possible development scenarios// Russian Foreign Economic Journal. No. 4. 2019. PP. 122-123.

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business development. It supposed that countries are going to move in this direction gradually.

It should be noted that the support of China, the largest Asian economy and one of the continent's leading political players, gave special weight to this initiative. Since China is the organizer of the proposed transformation of continental Asia, the real assessment of the prospects for Great Eurasia will be largely determined by its vision and interests.⁶

In Greater Eurasia, Russia can produce and supply, together with old and new partners, a few high-tech goods, food, water-intensive products, and a variety of raw materials processed to deep levels.⁷ More importantly, it can become the main security provider on the continent, which it already does.

Geographically, the project is likely to encompass countries that participate in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), ASEAN, countries involved in the integration of the Silk Road and the EEU, probably including Turkey, Iran, Israel, Egypt and a new economic space to be created along with the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership promoted by China and ASEAN with India, Japan, and South Korea. Russia and its EAEU partners will have to decide how they should join in the process of building this soft economic grouping.⁸

⁶ China supports Russia's integrational initiatives — Foreign Ministry 17:24. TASS Rassian News Agency. 23 MAY 2016. URL: https://tass.com/economy/877568 (accessed 20 October 2019)

⁷ Vardomskiy L. Eurasian Integration in the Context of Greater Eurasia Formation// Belarusian Economic Journal. 2019. No 2. PP. 52–63.

⁸ Karaganov S. From East to West, or Greater Eurasia. 25 October 2016. Available at: https://eng.globalaffairs.ru/pubcol/From-East-to-West-or-Greater-Eurasia-18440 (accessed 20 October 2019)

Organizationally, Greater Eurasia will, and obviously should be based on the coordination of several economic and political projects such as the EAEU, the SCO, other organizations and rapidly multiplying financial institutions in Eurasia.

The main institutional resource of the Greater Eurasian Partnership is the Eurasian Economic Union, which can act as a supplier of norms, standards and practices. In recent years, the EAEU member states have launched the process of involving the Union in external integration and economic initiatives, in particular, the intensification of cooperation with ASEAN in the ASEAN – SCO – EAEU format and negotiations on the creation of free trade zones with foreign partners.

The SCO, in its turn, can act as a binder in this construction, with a greater number of observer states and, most importantly, with standing committees and negotiation forums to be created within it, to liberalize trade, coordinate technical standards, and economic, financial, and security policies, including the fight against terrorism and cybercrime, as well as the migration control efforts.

It is worth to note that Islamabad positively assesses the international importance of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Since joining it in 2017, Pakistan has been actively participating in various SCO events. For example, recently Pakistan and India took part in multi-national counter-terrorism military exercises in Russia "CENTRE 2019" under the umbrella of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), aimed at evolving drills of the participating armies in the fight against international terrorism, ensuring security and stability in the region.⁹

⁹ *Gul A.* Pakistan, India Join Russia-Led Military Drills Despite Kashmir Tensions// Voice of America. September 17, 2019. Available at: https://www.voanews.com/south-
Russia's Refocus on South and Central Asia: Perspective and Perceptions

It should be stressed that a partnership or community of Greater Eurasia is based on enlightened and realistic principles. Naturally, this project is open to all countries and continents, and it should remain so.

It seems that less structured "umbrella" or framework projects can more effectively solve the problem of overcoming the "competition of regionalism." Flexibility of the agenda reduces the conflict potential of such initiatives. And, perhaps more importantly, a more flexible format of cooperation allows partners to participate more actively in institution-building. The promotion of "umbrella" geopolitical and geo-economic initiatives, characterized by a wide geographical scope and an equally broad potential agenda, is a distinctive feature of the international policy in recent years.¹⁰ The desire to develop the Eurasian integration "in-breadth" and "indepth" indicates that the multi-level regionalization processes complement each other.

Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergei Lavrov has recently emphasized that time has proven the correctness of the line of this multi-speed and multi-format movement on post-Soviet space.¹¹ Today, associations like the Eurasian Economic Union, the Collective Security Treaty Organisation and the CIS have asserted themselves as very important elements of stability and security in the Eurasian region. For example, expanded intra-EAEU

central-asia/pakistan-india-join-russia-led-military-drills-despite-kashmir-tensions (accessed 20 October 2019).

¹⁰ Novikov D. Greater Eurasian Partnership: Possible Regional Influence and Interests of Russia // National Research University Higher School of Economics. International Organisations Research Journal. Vol. 13. No. 3. 2018. PP. 82-96.

 ¹¹ Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's remarks at the meeting of the IMEMO RAS Academic Council, on the 90th birth anniversary of Yevgeny Primakov, Moscow, October 28, 2019. URL: http://www.mid.ru/en/foreign_policy/news/-/asset_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/3868259 (accessed o7 November 2019).

collaboration, where participant states managed to come a long way over a short time period – from the elimination of customs barriers to establishing a common goods, services, capital and workforce market, even though with some difficulties. They, however, still persist and reflect each participant's desire to obtain the maximum possible economic benefits. Meanwhile, the agenda looks years ahead into the future, including the formation of a common energy resource market.

The expanded foreign ties of this integration policy highlight its successful nature. Several dozen countries and sub-regional associations, ranging from Asia and Latin America to Africa, are interested in talks on concluding free trade agreements with the EAEU. Some have been signed and are entering into force.

Work continues on merging the Eurasian Economic Union with China's Belt and Road Initiative. All this creates conditions for the initiative to forge a Greater Eurasian Partnership, as suggested by the President of Russia Vladimir Putin. That would involve the EAEU, the SCO and ASEAN member countries, as well as any other countries on our enormous Eurasian continent.

Regional Dynamics and Outlook: China and its SAMECA Neighbourhood



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Abstract

China and South Asia, the Middle East, and the Central Asian countries are all developing countries. These countries have a special significance in China's foreign strategy, mainly because:

1. It is a strategic extension of China's neighbouring diplomacy;

2. Oil in the Middle East and Central Asia is related to China's energy security;

3. The region is potentially a large market for China's exports and imports;

4. The countries in the region are political resources that China must rely on for its peaceful development.

In future, China will continue to attach importance to its developing relations with SAMECA countries, enhance the region's position in China's foreign strategy, and inject new connotations and vitality into existing relationships.

Key words: China, Pakistan, diplomacy, SAMECA

Introduction

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a development initiative launched by China. Its proposal and implementation are a major event in the history of the development of relations between China and South Asia, the Middle East, and the Central Asian (SAMECA) countries. It reflects new ideas and new measures of China's diplomacy towards SAMECA countries in the new era. It points out a new era. China's goal and direction of SAMECA's national diplomacy marks a new curve in which China has taken initiative in its diplomatic engagement with SAMECA countries.

In April 2019, the second BRI summit was held in Beijing. The scale of the conference and results of the conference far exceeded the first one, highlighting the tremendous energy and global impact of the BRI. The SAMECA region is one of the pioneering places of the BRI. Most of the leaders of SAMECA countries demonstrated the high priority and recognition of the BRI. Guided by the BRI, China's relations with the SAMECA countries have been transformed and upgraded into a golden age. There are some main characteristics:

 Cooperation and Mutual benefit. China firmly adheres to multilateralism, adheres to cooperation and win-win strategy. It opposes protectionism, unilateralism, and zero-sum games. Without cooperation, it cannot be called multilateralism. Similarly, without a win-win situation, multilateralism is difficult to proceed. The Belt and Road Initiative is based on the principle of mutual cooperation, co-construction and sharing. It tries to promote regional economic cooperation with the concept of mutual benefit and win-win situation, strengthening the interconnection of projects, strategies and systems, and promoting the cooperation in a larger scale, and on a higher level, to achieve sustainable and common development between China and SAMECA countries. China's intention is to highlight economic cooperation without geopolitical purposes. It is not exclusive and does not target third parties.

- **Being proactive.** Action is more important than a series of plans. Building the BRI is the largest public product China provides to the world. China is willing to work with the SAMECA countries to build BRI with high quality and inject new vitality into multilateralism and multilateral cooperation. Taking the opportunity of jointly building the BRI, China's diplomacy towards the SAMECA countries has entered an active period and has made a series of progress, indicating that China's diplomacy in the region has begun to turn to active planning and action.
- A vigorous drive. China's need is in line with the actual needs and interests of SAMECA countries. China's focus on SAMECA countries' diplomacy is to focus on development issues. It is also the focus of governance that is currently of general concern to countries in the region. According to the forecast of the International Monetary Fund since 2019, the global economic growth rate in 2019 will continue to decline in 2020. As a result, the economy of SAMECA countries has generally fallen into a period of slow growth, and how to stop falling and rise, has become a key demand of the SAMECA countries. In this context, BRI initiative provides a Chinese program for the development of the SAMECA countries, providing new opportunities for the development of the economy of the SAMECA countries.

I. Dynamics and Outlook of China and South Asian Countries

As one of the important sections in the BRI, South Asia will undoubtedly carry China's major concerns in surrounding diplomacy, economic corridors, border issues and security of the Indian Ocean. It, therefore, has a very important geographical value. In the medium and long-term, the strategic concern from China gathered in South Asia is bound to increase.

The only all-weather strategic partner of China in South Asia to date is Pakistan. Moreover, India is also in South Asia which has risen almost simultaneously with China. There are also Nepal and Bangladesh, the least-developed countries. Among the Indian Ocean island countries are Sri Lanka and Maldives. Bhutan is the only country in South Asia that has not established diplomatic relations with China. There is also a long-term turbulent country like Afghanistan. For China, which is committed to promoting neighbouring diplomacy and BRI, it needs to engage in geo-political and geo-economic interactions with them to build a benign network. From the perspective of the SAMECA region, Pakistan and Afghanistan are clearly the regional hubs of the region, while India is a regional power in the SAMECA countries.

1. Pakistan is the fulcrum of China's relations with SAMECA countries

The high-level communication between China and Pakistan has provided political guarantees for the two countries relationship, and a new chapter is opened up for the construction of CPEC.

On April 27-29, 2019, the 2nd Belt and Road Initiative International

Cooperation Summit was successfully held in Beijing. President Xi Jinping and Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan attended the meeting of national and international organizations with leaders from over 40 countries. More than 6,000 foreigners from 150 countries participated in the forum. As an all-weather strategic partner of China, Pakistan saw China-Pakistan Economic Corridor play a leading role in the Belt and Road Initiative. Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan made important speeches at the opening and the round table session of the Second Summit. China and Pakistan reviewed the important consensus reached with the Prime Minister Imran Khan during his visit to China last year and made a top-level planning for the future high-quality development of the corridor.¹

Under the guidance of the leaders of China and Pakistan, China-Pakistan relations are progressing smoothly and new projects continue to emerge. On May 26-28, 2019, Chinese Vice-President Wang Qishan visited Pakistan and met with the Pakistan President, Prime Minister and Chief of Army Staff, respectively. During the visit, Vice-President Wang Qishan exchanged views with Pakistan on China-Pakistan relations and CPEC, and added four new projects to CPEC (Transmission line of 660KV between Matiari and Lahore, Rashakai Economic Zone, Confucius Institute at the University of Punjab, Huawai Techinical Support Center). In order to ensure that CPEC project can be completed on time, in May 2019, Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan announced the establishment of a new management mechanism for CPEC to ensure effective coordination with the relevant departments involved. On July 10, 2019, Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan said in Karachi that in the past year,

 ¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Yao Jing, Ambassador to Pakistan, published a article in the mainstream media in Pakistan, May 3, 2019, https://www.mfa.gov.cn/web/dszlsjt_673036/t1660555.shtml, Last login: November 7, 2019.

Chinese investment and expansion of imports have helped Pakistan improve its economic situation.²

China and Pakistan have close communication at the government, legislation and other levels. The intensity and frequency of this communication is rare compared with when China communicates with other countries. It is a concrete manifestation of China-Pakistan all-weather strategic partnership.

Pakistan is at the interchange point of the Belt and Road Initiative. CPEC is an important project of the Belt and Road Initiative. Transportation infrastructure projects and energy projects are the important areas of the early harvest of CPEC. Through the implementation of these projects, Pakistan's transportation hub position in the SAMECA region has been strengthened. Pakistan's energy shortage has been effectively alleviated.

With the comprehensive transportation corridor and industrial cooperation between China and Pakistan, as the main axis, and with concrete economic and trade cooperation, and people-to-people exchange and cultural communications as the engine; CPEC is based on major collaborative projects for infrastructure construction, industrial development and livelihood improvement. It is aimed at socio economic development, prosperity and security in the regions along with it.³

² Jehangir Nasir, Prime Minister Forms CPEC Authority to Monitor Project Progress, Pro-Pakistan, August 20, 2019, https://proPakistan.pk/2019/08/20/prime-ministerforms-cpec-authority-to-monitor-project-progress/, Last login: November 7, 2019.

³ Long Term Plan for China – Pakistan Economic Corridor (2017-2030), p4.

Speed up of infrastructure construction projects.

In 2018, the China-Pakistan optical cable was completed, the flight of Guangzhou-Lahore was launched. Gwadar New International Airport is a key project under the framework of CPEC and the largest foreign aid project of the Chinese government to date. After completion, it will significantly improve the local aviation infrastructure and help to build Gwadar into a regional aviation hub. On March 29, 2019, Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan and Ambassador to Chinese Pakistan Yao Jing attended the groundbreaking ceremony of the Gwadar New International Airport. On May 5, 2019, the Beijing Urban Construction Group and other consortiums won the bid for the Gwadar New International Airport project, with a winning bid of RMB 142.416 million. On July 23, 2019, the Sukkur-Multan section of the Peshawar-Karachi Expressway in Pakistan was completed ahead of schedule. The project is the largest transportation infrastructure project of CPEC. After completion, it will also introduce China's road monitoring, signal management, automated equipment etc., making it the most intelligent highway in Pakistan.

Trade is smooth.

On April 28, 2019, Chinese President Xi Jinping met with Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan in Beijing. Premier Li Keqiang also met with Imran Khan on the same day. Under the joint witness of the two prime ministers, Yu Jianhua, deputy minister of commerce and deputy of international trade negotiations, and Masood Khalid, Pakistan's ambassador to China, signed the Protocol of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on Amending the Free Trade Agreement. The core content of the Protocol is to further increase the level of liberalization of trade in goods between the two

countries on the basis of the original FTA. After the Agreement takes effect, the proportion of tax items for the implementation of zerotariff products between China and Pakistan will gradually increase from the previous 35% to 75%.⁴ In 2019, Gwadar held several largescale trade fairs to attract international merchandise to participate in sales. Commercial routes from Gwadar to the Middle East have been opened, and the throughput of Gwadar Port will be greatly improved.

In short, China and Pakistan are good brothers, good friends and good partners. The relationship between the two countries has undergone a historical test and is not affected by any political parties, organizations or individuals. The future China-Pakistan Economic Corridor project will remain the main cooperation between China and Pakistan. On the platform, China also hopes to cooperate in the areas of Pakistan's interest under the framework of CPEC.

2. Sino-Indian relations: On October 11-12, 2019, Chinese President Xi Jinping and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi held a second informal meeting in Chennai, India. They exchanged overall in-depth views on international and regional issues, and long-term and strategic issues. The meeting strengthened the closer development of partnership between the two countries and avoided letting differences affect the overall situation of China-India relations and regional stability under the international situation.

⁴ Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China, *China and Pakistan finishes the Second Phase of the Free Trade Agreement Negotiations and Sign the Protocol*, http://www.mofcom.gov.cn/article/ae/ai/201904/20190402858360.shtml, Last login: November 7, 2019.

Looking ahead to China-India relations, we need to grasp the following points:

- First; Politics enhances mutual trust. During the meeting in Chennai, President Xi Jinping gave opinion on six points, with emphasis on the importance of mutual strategic trust, in particular. Around this issue, President Xi Jinping and Prime Minister Narendra Modi discussed one-on-one and face-to-face, following the momentum of the last year meeting in Wuhan East Lake, to carry out in-depth strategic communication and discussion of relationship between the two countries to develop a win-win situation. The two sides agreed to continue to look at each other with a positive, pragmatic and open-minded perspective, to enhance mutual understanding of each other's policies and behaviours, and to adhere to the general direction of friendly cooperation.
- Second, China and India have complementary advantages in the economy and can work together in the relevant fields to achieve a win-win goal.
- The Indian economy has experienced a serious decline. According to the Indian statistics, GDP growth in the second quarter was only 5%, which is the lowest growth rate since Modi became the prime minister in 2014. The stall of economic development will become the most serious challenge facing the Modi government, which also requires the Indian side to deepen its cooperation with China and attract FDI.
- Economic development is still the center of China's socialist construction, and this topic cannot be avoided. China's

economic goal of adjusting its foreign policy is to expand overseas markets and promote regional economic integration, thereby promoting China's economic development.

For China-India Cooperation. It has the potential for • cooperation not only in the industrial innovation and upgrading of the manufacturing industry and the service industry, but also has great opportunity for cooperation in the high-tech field. China is a world leader in the Artificial Intelligence and Quantum Communications, while India has a comparative advantage in software development and information technology consultation. At present, the cooperation between the Chinese and the Indian companies, especially private enterprises, have achieved remarkable results. In the first guarter of 2019, China's smartphone brands such as Xiaomi, OPPO and VIVO accounted for more than 60% of the market in India. The Chinese Internet companies have also entered into many well-known Internet companies in India. India's consumer market has great potential and is dominated by young people. If China and India can gather more consensus in the RCEP negotiations, and the free trade agreement reaches as soon as possible; it will greatly facilitate the development of the two countries and accelerate the integration of the Asian integration process.

II. Dynamics and Outlook of China and Middle East Countries

The Middle Eastern countries are an important part of China's global partnership network and overall cooperation with the developing countries.

China and the Middle Eastern countries have actively carried out various cooperation projects under the principle of mutual benefit, and have achieved great results in politics, economy and culture. The political mutual trust between the two sides has continuously deepened and economic and trade cooperation has developed rapidly, and humanities exchanges have gradually expanded. From the earliest development of good-neighbourly relations to all-round cooperation under the framework of the UN, all signs have shown the shared goal between China and the Middle East countries. Over the years, the two sides have formed an unprecedented friendly relationship.

1. The Goal of China's Middle East Foreign Policy

The relationship between China and the Middle East has undergone an in-depth expansion of exchanges and cooperation from purely political sphere to economic, trade, energy, security, culture, and social spheres. In January 2016, President Xi Jinping delivered an important speech titled: "To jointly create a bright future for China-Arab relations" at the Arab League headquarters in Cairo. For the first time in history, he declared the socialism with the Chinese characteristics and profoundly illustrated China's view on the Middle East. The core point is that China does not fill the power vacuum in the Middle East, does not seek agents, does not engage in spheres of influence, but be the builder of peace in the Middle East, the promoter of development in the Middle East, the helper for the Middle East in the process of building the BRI. The promoter of industrialization, a supporter of stability in the Middle East, and a partner of the Middle East.

Several characteristics of China-Middle East countries' relations:

• China pursues a non-aligned policy in the Middle East and maintains friendly relations with all parties. China's diplomacy and "partnership but non-alignment" for the Middle Eastern

countries have helped the Middle East to ease their security dilemmas. China advocates that in the era of globalization and the same international system, the countries of the Middle East should abandon the Cold War mentality and reduce the zerosum game.

- China and the Middle Eastern partners pursue "promoting peace through development" and safeguarding domestic peace and stability by promoting economic and social progress of the target countries. China's diplomacy in the Middle East serves China's overall situation of reform, its' opening up and modernization, rather than geopolitical or ideological competition with other big powers. China has no intention to expand its sphere of influence when conducting partner diplomacy in the Middle East. It also has no intention of crowding out the geopolitical and geoeconomic influences of other big powers, and it has no intention to alter the Middle East order.
- The relationship between China and the Middle Eastern countries, and the relationship between the West and the Middle Eastern countries, are completely different. The exchanges between China and the Middle East began on the Silk Road, and the two sides have no historical grievances, no religious conflicts, and no colonial relations.
- The Middle Eastern countries have abundant natural resources, especially oil and natural gas. It is the largest oil storage area in the world. In addition, the Middle Eastern countries also have a large number of non-ferrous metals and minerals. The Middle Eastern countries can help China maintain its energy security by providing new sources of energy and channels. The Middle East

countries are categorized into energy exporting countries, and energy-passing countries. The two constitute a complete complementary system of energy production. The stability and efficiency of this complete and adjacent oil distribution system in China is closely related to China's oil security.

2. Outlook for China-Central Asia Diplomatic Relations

China's bilateral and multilateral partner diplomacy in the Middle East is an important part of China's construction of a global partnership network in the 21st century. As far as bilateral partner diplomacy is concerned, the economic strength, regional influence, and political stability of the Middle Eastern countries determine their ability to conduct strategic cooperation with China; economic dependence and political friendliness determine their willingness to engage in a strategic cooperation with China.

Many Middle Eastern countries in a security predicament hope that China can play a greater role in security, but China's partner diplomacy in the Middle East remains at the economic and political level to avoid involvement in the regional disputes. There is still no perfect match between the demand of the security public product of partner countries and the supply of economic public goods of China.

China's uncertainty in its Middle East diplomacy is the extraterritorial powers. Sino-US relations are bilateral relations with overall influence in China's foreign relations. Although the US's alliance diplomacy in the Middle East and China's diplomacy in the Middle East are cooperation, but there is inevitable friction.

It is needed to deep energy cooperation. Previously, China and the Middle Eastern countries had a good foundation and experience in the energy field and achieved good results. Central Asia has become an important source of oil and gas supply outside China, a strategic target area for exploration and developing cooperation, and a key area for the construction of the Silk Road Economic Belt. Under the background of the joint construction of the "Silk Road Economic Belt", energy cooperation with Middle East remains an important part of China's Middle East foreign policy.

It is needed to strengthen humanities exchanges. Strengthening humanities exchanges and cooperation are the cornerstone for China and the Middle Eastern countries together with the people of all nationalities to coordinate their positions, consolidate and deepen mutual relations, mutual benefit and mutual trust, and carry out pragmatic cooperation. Since the "Silk Road Economic Belt" was put forward, China has attached more importance to humanities exchanges with the Middle Eastern countries, and has carried out substantive exchanges with the Middle Eastern countries in higher education, exchange of international students, cultural and artistic activities, tourism projects and media reports.

III. Dynamics and Outlook of China and Central Asian Countries

On December 27, 1991, the day after (former Soviet Union President) Gorbachev announced his resignation, the Chinese government made separate calls to the five foreign ministers of Central Asia and announced the recognition of the independence of the five Central Asian countries. It can be said that around the globe, China was the first to recognize the independence of the five Central Asian countries, and China as a permanent member of the United Nations has undoubtedly made tremendous contribution to the establishment and consolidation of the five Central Asian countries. Prior to 2013, China and Central Asian countries shared common interests in the regional security issues, including the fight against the "three forces." They have conducted fruitful cooperation through the SCO platform. They have also achieved geographical development through economic and trade exchanges. The "Silk Road Economic Belt" initiative proposed by China in 2013 is a rare opportunity for China and the Central Asian countries to further improve the friendly cooperation and economic exchanges between the two sides. In this context, China's foreign policy towards Central Asia has also been adjusted in terms of politics, economy, security, and culture. At the symposium on surrounding diplomatic work in October of the same year, Xi Jinping emphasized that the diplomatic work in the surrounding neighbourhood should be placed in a higher position, and priority of the neighbouring diplomacy in China's diplomatic strategy was established. The BRI puts forward a bridge of friendship between China and the political, economic and cultural exchanges with the countries along the line. It also coincides with the new foreign diplomacy proposed by President Xi Jinping's "pro, sincerity, favour and tolerance" idea.

As a close neighbour of China and an important strategic partner, the five Central Asian countries are located in the hinterland of Asia and Europe. They are rich in resources and prominent in strategic position. They are the first stop for China to open to the West. Whether it is an indispensable part of the BRI or in the surrounding diplomatic work, it plays an irreplaceable role. In this context, further deepening the mutually beneficial cooperation relationship with the Central Asian countries is not only the current need for diplomatic work in China, but also a key to the smooth realization of the BRI.

1. The Importance of Central Asian Countries to Chinese Diplomacy

The special geographical location of Central Asia has determined the important position and significance of Central Asia in the construction of the BRI. Central Asia is the core area of the BRI and plays an important role in demonstration. Similarly, the BRI has brought unprecedented opportunities for the development of Central Asia.

First of all, the unique geographical location marks important geostrategic significance. Central Asia is located in the hinterland of Eurasia and is an important geopolitical hub of Eurasia. It has always been a major battleground for major international political forces. The British geopolitical scientist H.J. Mackinder once named it as "the heart zone", and regarded Central Asia as the "heart region" of the world. In this way, having a certain dominance and voice in the heart of Asia can be seen as an important geostrategic deployment of China as a rising power.

Secondly, because of the 3,000-kilometer shared border, Central Asia is closely related to the stability of the Western China, and stability in the west is related to the stability of all of China. Therefore, the stability of Central Asia has direct impact on the security of China's western frontier. If Central Asia is unstable, the western part of China will be difficult to stabilize.

2. The goal of China's Central Asian foreign policy

(1) Security and Political Goals

The northwestern frontier and national security should have unquestionable significance in China's foreign policy in Central Asia.

At the same time, given that Central Asia is the world's third largest oil and gas resources enrichment area and the center of energy transportation pipelines, China's Central Asian policy cannot be ignored so as to protect its own energy supply and transportation security.

At the same time, due to the close cooperation between the countries along the line, the formation of a higher level of political cooperation between China and the Central Asian government has become an important goal of China's diplomacy towards Central Asia in the new era. Earlier, political cooperation between China and the Central Asian countries developed smoothly and achieved fruitful results. By 2014, China had established strategic partnerships with the five Central Asian countries, and the relationship reached a higher level after the "Silk Road Economic Belt" was proposed in order to forward a higher level of demand for the relations between China and the Central Asian countries. The two sides should continue to strengthen cooperation in the political arena, enhance political mutual trust, and ensure that the Central Asian countries have a stable strategy for China and prevent this region from acting against China, or forming political and military groups targeting China.

In summary, China's security objectives for adjusting its foreign policy include: continuing to consolidate the northwest border defence, combating the terrorists and ensuring the security of energy supply and transportation. Its political goal is mainly to enhance political mutual trust with the Central Asian countries and to ensure stability, thus creating a stable environment for China in the northwest.

(2) Economic Development Goals

China's Central Asian policy objectives at the level of economic development mainly include: utilizing the geo-economic advantages of Central Asia to achieve the linkage of economic development in Europe and Asia and improving the level of economic integration in Central Asia.

The two most active economic circles in the world today are the European Union and the East Asian economic circle. China's Central Asian foreign policy is committed to opening up the land transport channels of these two economies, in the hope that the Chinese capital and products can reach the Mediterranean Sea and the Baltic Sea. The core area is of great significance to China's favourable position in the new round of global economic competition. At present, the overall economy of Central Asia is still underdeveloped. The transportation development of the five countries is still relatively lagging. The road transport conditions in these countries are poor and the transit capacity is limited. The cross-border transportation infrastructure network cannot meet the need of cross-regional transportation. This not only hinders the development of the domestic economy of the Central Asian countries, but also brings difficulties to international transit trade. With the "Silk Road Economic Belt" proposed, trade between China and Europe will inevitably increase, and the role of transport corridors in Central Asia will be further enhanced. In this context, one of the goals of China's Central Asian foreign policy is to open up transport routes connecting the Eurasian economy and expand its overseas markets.

In addition, the goal of China's Central Asian foreign policy also includes promoting the level of economic integration in Central Asia. So far, there have been many regional economic integration organizations in Central Asia, such as the Eurasian Economic Community, the Russian White Harbin Customs, and the Eurasian Economic Union. However, the degree of regional economic integration is still not high. Therefore, one of the major goals of China's Central Asian foreign policy is to promote the level of economic integration in Central Asia. For China, the process of economic integration in Central Asia can rely on its own big market to generate economies for the Central Asian countries, whereas China's economy can benefit from the same process.

3. Outlook for China-Central Asia Diplomatic Relations

In this new era of the construction of the BRI, in order to achieve the macroeconomic goals of the new foreign policy, China has also made some adjustments to the diplomacy of Central Asia. The scope of the adjustment involves various areas of cooperation and security in the "five links".

(1) Accelerate Infrastructure Construction

The interconnection of infrastructure is an important starting point for the BRI and the main content of China's Central Asian foreign policy. After the BRI was put forward, a distinctive feature of China's diplomacy toward Central Asia is that it attaches more importance to infrastructure cooperation with the Central Asian countries and integrates infrastructure construction projects into the BRI.

(2) Strengthening Security Cooperation

Since 2013, China and the Central Asian countries have carried out fruitful exploration and innovation in dealing with non-traditional security issues, enriching the content of security cooperation between China and Central Asia, and raising the level of cooperation. In addition to the summit, other frontier defence departments have also met in succession, reached a series of agreements, and implemented a number of specific arrangements for the technical cooperation among relevant state-level departments in dealing with non-traditional security issues. The "peace mission" joint anti-terrorism exercise within the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) has also gradually become normalized and institutionalized. At the same time, the SCO's counter-terrorism cooperation has gradually extended to cyberspace. In 2016, Afghanistan, China, Pakistan and Tajikistan formed the "Anti-Terrorism Cooperation and Coordination Mechanism of the Four Armies." At the same time, China and Central Asian countries have deepened their consensus in the security field and jointly advocated a new security concept on the Asia Info Conference platform.⁵

(3) Coping with Risk Challenges

The implementation of China's Central Asian foreign policy is not only facing the regional security situation, the multiple differences in the economic development level of Central Asian countries, and the multi-balanced foreign policy generally implemented by the Central Asian countries, it will also be affected by Russia and the

⁵ Pan Zhiping, *Research on the Relations between China and Central Asia Countries*, Economic Science Press, Jan. 2018, p10.

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United States, and the influence of the extraterritorial powers cannot be ignored.

IV. Conclusion

In the coming years, the trend of Sino-US relations will have an important impact on China's relations with SAMECA countries.

First, as its own strength continues to rise, China's adherence to and strengthening of its foreign policy of cooperation with the SAMECA countries and efforts to maintain regional order stability will become the most important safeguard force for peace and stability in the SAMECA region. Under the slogan of "US priority," the United States has undergone an important shift in its attitude towards the international order, which has also made it the most uncertain factor affecting order stability in the SAMECA region.

Secondly, due to the complexity of the hot issues in the SAMECA region, it will be difficult to obtain a fundamental solution in the next few years and these issues will exist for a long time. From the bilateral and regional perspectives, China, Russia, and SAMECA countries generally have strong political will to control the surrounding hot issues, and have made substantive efforts in their policy-making and implementation. This kind of policy effort will not be abandoned by the US's instigation, but will show strong resilience.

Finally, China will continue to establish its image as a trusted partner in the SAMECA region through its own continuous efforts. At the same time, China and SAMECA countries should work together to explore new ideas and new models that are conducive to bilateral and multilateral cooperation -- and in this process promote

the transformation and development of the international order in the SAMECA region. ■



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Introduction

The centuries-old history of Central Asia gives us numerous cases of competition for influence between extra regional and global powers like Russia, China, Turkey, Iran, the United States, and the European countries. Blessed with tremendous hydrocarbons reserves, the Central Asian republics became the focus of concerted attention from the close and distant geopolitical players. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the region found itself in the unique political status, characterized by a combination of specific features.

Firstly, the Central Asian states were at the crossroad searching for a clear vision of further development. They have to redefine national political priorities taking into account undergoing dramatic geopolitical changes. Secondly, the region has to determine new economic strategy focused on gaining trust of foreign investors. It was vital that global economic powers perceive Central Asia as a reliable partner, which is ready to open a new chapter of cooperation with the rest of the world. Finally, energy rich states were focused on the diversification of energy routes, and the construction of the multidirectional pipeline infrastructure. As a result, there was a

strong necessity to develop core strategies in working with major powers for a long-term perspective.

On the other hand, current global powers determined the geostrategic importance of the region differently. In fact, western involvement in the region's development differed from the eastern approach. The region's sizable energy reserves have caused a race by a number of countries to secure energy flows towards international markets. Moreover, there is also a trend to consider Central Asia as a transport hub where west meets east. A great deal of significance in the construction of the transcontinental roads is attached to Central Asia and the Caucasus operating as a pair.

The geographical location of Central Asia devotes attention towards the security agenda. In fact, the regional security issues are determined by a certain traditional set of military, terrorist and extremist challenges, both as of economic and societal problems. It is obvious that the Central Asian countries do not regard each other as potential enemies. Therefore, there is no security dilemma in the region in its classical understanding. Indeed, local conflicts such as, the civil war in Tajikistan (1992-1997) or the conflict in the Southern regions of Kyrgyzstan (2010) had limited influence on the interstate interaction. Furthermore, the confrontation between Taliban and the Northern Alliance (1994-2001) has not expanded beyond state borders. Since there was no regional coverage of the conflicts, the Central Asian countries tend to identify security threats as of originating from outside the region and strongly connected with the situation in Afghanistan (Burnashev, 2015).

According to the Global Peace Index 2019 (GPI), the Central Asian states showed significant improvement of its level of peacefulness. The largest regional improvement was recorded in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, namely by 13 and 12 points, respectively. Kazakhstan was

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ranked 64 out of 163 countries, classifying as a high peace country, while Kyrgyzstan (95), Uzbekistan (102), Tajikistan (105), and Turkmenistan (115) represent medium peace country group.

Moreover, noticeable improvements were made in terms of countering terrorism. According to the Global Terrorism Index 2019, Turkmenistan was ranked 138 out of 163 countries, indicating that there was no impact of terrorism in the country. Uzbekistan (135), Kyrgyzstan (87), and Kazakhstan (85) managed to improve its positions, namely, by 3, 7 and 10 points. Tajikistan remained the only country, which failed to improve its ranking, but still Dushanbe enters the group of countries with low impact of terrorism.

Figure 1 Global Peace Index 2019



Figure 2 Global Terrorism Index 2019



Country		Global P Index 20		Global Terrorism Index 2019
Kazakhstan	64	15	85	↓10
Kyrgyzstan	95	13	87	\downarrow 7
Uzbekistan	102	↑2	135	↓3
Tajikistan	105	12	50	124
Turkmenista	115	14	138	\leftrightarrow
n				

Source: Vision of Humanity

Therefore, in order to understand the current political realities of Central Asia, which are defined by a few different vectors, there must be a clear recognition of the key strategic interests of the major powers operating in the region.

It is well recognized that the Great Game in Central Asia flows in a timeless fashion. However, in the modern conditions it is becoming increasingly difficult to delineate spheres of influence in the region. (Bin & Feffer, 2006) As a result, uncertainty and periodic rebalancing of power between the major players has become a new normal.

The United States

Before September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Washington's agenda in Central Asia included a wide range of issues with the special focus on liberalization and strengthening democracy. Moreover, lack of capital and technology to exploit crude oil and natural gas motivated the Central Asian countries to establish mutually beneficial cooperation with the American energy companies. In fact, being surrounded by energy hungry markets of Europe and Asia, the Central Asian states paired with the Gulf countries. They were considered as the Great Middle East.

However, the geographical remoteness and the resulting high transport costs became the key constraints to launch a strong trade linkage with the US. Although trade volume with the region gradually increased during the decade, Washington has relatively low trade intensity with Central Asia. According to the United Nations Comtrade Database, the US-Central Asian trade turnover Great Power Politics in Central Asia: Competing Visions or Complementary...

reached \$2.6 billion in 2018, compared to \$1.9 billion in 2017 and \$2.5 billion in 2016, respectively.



Figure 3 U.S.-Central Asia Trade Dynamics in 2016-2018 (\$ million)

Source: UN Comtrade Database

Nevertheless, at its peak the US presence in the region reformatted the security agenda, paying greater attention to the Afghanistan factor. The US-led military campaign strongly affected the interests of other powers searching for closer military, economic, and political relations with the Central Asian states. The US military rapidly expanded their Central Asian supply routes to provide troops with fuel and equipment. As a result, the focus of the US strategy in the region was shifted from oil and gas reserves to security issues. To be more specific, the US policy was focused on Central Asia in parts, as a response to the challenges of transiting supplies through Pakistan for the Afghan war. (United States Senate, 201)

Since 2009, Central Asia has become an integral part of the Northern Distribution Network (NDN) that carried non-lethal supplies from

Europe to the US and International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) troops in Afghanistan via a series of commercial air and ground routes. In fact, Manas Air Base in Kyrgyzstan, which was later transformed into the Manas Transit Center, was especially important for US and ISAF efforts in Afghanistan. The Manas had acquired a greater degree of significance when the United States was obliged to close its other base in Karshi-Khanabad Air Base in southern Uzbekistan in 2005.

After the decision to withdraw the military contingent from Afghanistan, the United States had to modify its broader regional strategy. It was understandable that the nature of Washington's involvement in the region would definitely change. As a result, in 2014 the United States entered a new phase of its engagement in Central Asia. The region continued to play a serious role in stabilization efforts and movement of non-lethal supplies to Afghanistan. However, there was a need to adopt a new concept towards the region, which could justify long-term interests of the US.

The Barak Obama administration launched New Silk Road (NSR) initiative -- a vision of regional economic integration -- aimed to connect South and Central Asia via Afghanistan. The NSR was designed to reassure the US partners in the region that Washington still has a political strategy to end the war and bring lasting peace in Afghanistan, (United States Senate, 2011). According to the concept, in order to promote regional stability, the focus should have been made on the cross-border projects.

The key condition for creating a broader region beyond Afghanistan was the existence of intensive regional cooperation. Due to objective Great Power Politics in Central Asia: Competing Visions or Complementary...

circumstances, there was a lack of an enabling environment for international initiatives, especially until 2016. In order to overcome existing difficulties, the US initiated new multilateral dialogue platform, namely, C5+1 Initiative¹, which is focused on developing stronger trade and investment ties among the Central Asian states and improving border procedures and infrastructure.

The very first C5+1 meeting that took place in 2015 in Samarkand, Uzbekistan, which allowed Washington to deliver the specific political messages. The White House is strongly intendant to sustain a major supporting presence in Central Asia, despite the US military withdrawal from the region and the declining economic and security assistance programs. (Parkhomchik, 2016)

Last meeting of Central Asian Ministers of Foreign Affairs in New York within the frameworks of the C5+1 in September 2019 clearly showed that the US-Central Asia relationship is unlikely to be a subject of a significant change. The large-scale strategic return of Washington to Central Asia after September 11 was replaced by a period better described as a downturn. The United States is not in a hurry to launch an ambitious initiative like China's Belt and Road project. However, it is evident that Washington would promote the idea of active involvement of Afghanistan in the regional economic processes.

For instance, during the Council Meeting of the US-Central Asia Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) held in

¹ The decision of principle to launch a new dialogue format between the U.S. and Central Asian countries was made during the UN General Assembly in New York on September 26, 2015. After On the sidelines of the UN General Assembly the U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry met with Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

October 2019, the United States continued to advocate for Afghanistan's inclusion as a full TIFA participant.² It could be emphasized that Washington is looking forward to change the format from C5+1 to C6+1 someday. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the C5+1 format could contribute to strengthening regional-oriented vision of the economic and political perspectives of the Central Asian states.

Therefore, the US wanted to develop a new consultation mechanism, which would be able to oppose Russian-led and Chinese-led initiatives in the region. The American presence in Central Asia can be considered as an attempt to observe on-ground political developments also, especially in South Asia, influencing the Indian-Pakistani relations. (Yom, 2002)

Russia

It is obvious that Russia is a more seasoned player of power games in Central Asia. Over time, Western powers have come and gone, but Russia is a neighbour whose influence in the region is there to stay. Nowadays we are witnessing the period when Russia is regaining its dominant position over Central Asia. The closure of the Manas Transit Center combined with the withdrawal of most US troops from Afghanistan has brought the Central Asian states closer to Moscow, especially in security matters.

Although the Russian presence in the region is clearly predictable, Moscow's policy towards Central Asia has crisis with response-based characteristics. In fact, Russia defines its interest in the region via the concept of "near abroad." Therefore, Russia's focus on the Central Asian states' stability is directly related to concern for the safety of its own borders. Meanwhile, the US strategy in Central Asia

² Afghanistan and Pakistan attended as observers.

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includes attempts to move the democratization process forward; Russia feels comfortable to cooperate with the governmental structures that currently exist in the Central Asian states. (Liedy, 2011) Ensuring that the status quo in the region remains unchanged has been among the core policy objectives of the Kremlin.

As a neighbouring country of great geographical size, Russia accumulates majority of energy export routes from Central Asia. Until recent times, there was no other option to transport oil and gas resources from the region to international markets except via the Russian territory. Central Asia-China gas pipeline and Kazakhstan-China oil pipeline has diversified the energy route system in the region creating a competitive energy market. However, the lion's share of hydrocarbons is still transported via the Russia-oriented routes.





Source: KazMunaiGas

Since Vladimir Putin returned to the presidency in 2012, Russia is engaged in a broad and surprisingly effective campaign to expand its global reach. Moscow has relied on a wide array of diplomatic, military, trade, and energy tools to influence decision-makers in both Central Asia and all over the globe. (Stronski & Sokolsky, 2017) Russia's intention to focus on the Eurasian integration project showed that it was essential for Moscow to keep neighbouring countries in the Russian geopolitical orbit. Prior to the establishment of the Customs Union between Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, the Kremlin started to think of the creation of wellplanned strategy of defending its privileged interests around the CIS area.

Russia was in a search for a reliable tool of resetting relations with the countries of the so-called periphery. Moscow wanted to change the situation when the economic cooperation with Central Asia was built on the principle -- goods in exchange for labour. In fact, the Russian market is still the desirable destination point for the Central Asian goods, while Russian economy needs Central Asian workforce. However, after entering the sanctions period in 2014, which actually paved the way for economic recession, it was essential for Moscow both to lose the loyalty of its Central Asian partners, as well as to strengthen political partnership despite the Crimea case.

Since the geopolitical status quo has dramatically changed, further maintaining allied relations with the Central Asian countries comes at a price. Russia has to intensify its subsidies, preferences, and investments, as well as the admission of migrants (Uzbekistan) and trade-offs in hydrocarbon transit (Turkmenistan). Such an activity, definitely, imposed an added burden on the Russian budget. Great Power Politics in Central Asia: Competing Visions or Complementary...

However, the government had to take such risks in order to retain a dominant position in the region.

To some extent it helps. Over the year, Moscow welcomes Tashkent's statements over the possibility to join the Eurasian Economic Union. It does not exactly mean that Uzbekistan officially confirmed its intention to enter the Union. However, the very fact of thinking about such an opportunity shows those relations between Moscow and the new Uzbek leadership has improved.

It is undeniable that Russia has established itself as a major military power in Central Asia. Under the Collective Security Treaty Organization, there are still a great variety of options to influence the situations, including via the military-technical cooperation.

Therefore, Russia's geopolitical interests in the region reflect the country's unique position in the regional international relations.

China

China is relatively a newcomer to political and economic engagement in Central Asia. (Romanowski, 2017) Shaping its strategy towards the region, Beijing concentrated on tools to preserve stability in its western Xinjiang Province. Since the Chinese interests in Central Asia concentrate on security, Beijing focused on the proliferation of radical and extremist movements in the region, especially, those who have anti-China nature.³

³ In August 2016, a suicide car bomber tried to attack the Chinese embassy in Kyrgyzstan wounding three Kyrgyz employees of the mission.



Figure 5 China's infrastructure project under BRI

It is necessary to keep in mind that China's interests in Central Asia are not narrowed by security component. From the Central Asian countries view, China is quite predictable and a safe partner. It tries to cope with a volatile region paying special attention to bilateral ties. Since business investments are at the center of Beijing's interests in the region, the countries of Central Asia face no pressure to remake the local politics. In fact, over the last two decades, China has dramatically increased trade and direct investments in the region that made Beijing one of the top Central Asian trade partners. The region is becoming a crucial element of China's strategy of expanding economic power over Eurasia. The Silk Road Economic Belt along with its maritime equivalent, the 21st century Maritime Silk Road,⁴ became an ambitious project of infrastructure

Source: Word Bank Group

⁴ President Xi Jinping announced the creation of new geopolitical strategy currently known as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) during his visit to Kazakhstan in 2013.
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development with an aim of improving connectivity of the Eurasian states.

Moreover, China managed to break Russia's historic energy monopoly in the region. Today, we can see an emerging system of oil and gas pipelines, which deliver hydrocarbons in an eastward direction for the needs of energy intensive economy of China. Therefore, Beijing is strongly interested in ensuring favourable trade conditions for energy resources, which is one of the pillars of its strategy in Central Asia. According to the BP report, China imported 73.5 billion cubic meters of gas in 2018, 45 billion cubic meters of which were delivered from Central Asia.

Figure 6 China's gas import from Central Asia (billion cubic meters)



Source: BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2019

It is understandable that, over time, an economic power that China accumulates today could be converted into political and security influence. Bilateral military drills conducted in the region as well as

the 2016 China-Tajikistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan security agreement,⁵ naturally fit together with the existing formats of cooperation.

However, Beijing is still puzzling its attitude towards security issues and further format of economic interaction. On the one hand, China wants to limit the penetration of foreign powers in its geopolitical backyard. On the other hand, it is hard to imagine that Beijing would be seeking absolute dominance in the region competing with its strategic partner – Russia. Indeed, China's approach to Central Asia also depends on its ability and readiness to correlate its interests with Moscow.

⁵ In August 2016 China, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan established the Quadrilateral Cooperation and Coordination Mechanism (QCCM) aimed to improve counterterrorism and intelligence efforts of its members.

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Conclusion

It is evident that the global power order is shifting. In fact, the recent global leadership rating based on the Gallup World Poll, clearly showed that there is a trend towards the decrease of the US influence abroad, while China and Russia are on the way to strengthen their influence. In fact, Germany has replaced the US as the top global power in the world rated by the surveys in more than 130 countries. (Gallup World Poll, 2019)



Figure 6 Approval of global leadership 2010-2018 (%)

Source: Rating World Leaders 2019 Report

However, all three contemporary great powers are essentially interested in the same thing, namely, to preserve Central Asia from instability. It is understandable that Washington is more focused on the global context, while Moscow and Beijing are concentrated on the regional issues. (Bordachev, Qingsong, & Small, 2016) Indeed, Russia and China want to prevent Central Asia from spreading the terrorist threat looking for ways to cooperate rather than compete.

Russia retains key cultural, political, economic, and military power in Central Asia. China's economic interferences into traditionally Russian-dominated space have its roots in energy policy. As a world leading energy consumer, Beijing is strongly interested in establishing safe oil transportation routes.

To conclude, on the one hand, Central Asia remains the strategic playground for major regional powers. In their trial to get some economic and political preferences, players involved would continue to use diverse tools at their disposal. As a result, complex interaction between great powers in the region is still very much open-ended. On the other hand, the ongoing competition does not displace the possibility for compromise and even cooperation.■

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Pakistan's Quest for Cooperation and Strategic Stability in Changing Geopolitical Environment in SAMECA Region



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Background

The 21st century is experiencing a paradigm shift from strategic alliances to regional integration and economic cooperation among states around the world.¹ Contemporary times have witnessed a rediscovery of regions, as an important source of competitive advantage in a globalizing political economy. Two elements stand out: spatial clustering and specialization.

Connectivity is built upon regional integration and cooperation. The paradigm shift in Pakistan's foreign policy from geopolitics to geoeconomics is now entrenched. Dr. Maleeha Lodhi, Pakistan's former representative in the United Nations till 2019, categorically stated that "promoting regional integration and connectivity is one of Pakistan's top priorities."² It is also now established that wealth

¹ Abid, M. and A. Ashfaq (2015), CPEC: Challenges and opportunities for Pakistan. Journal of Pakistan Vision, Volume 16, No. 2, pp. 142-169

² Pakistan Mission to United Nations, (2016). *Poverty, inequalities overarching challenges for Asia says Ambassador Lodhi*

creation in the 21st century is linked to maritime infrastructure goals, improved connectivity and capacity creation.

The 21st century is driven by multiple sets of political economic forces where the spatial cluster and specialization thrust initiated by China is far-reaching. It is being adopted by Eurasia and Africa, and has both intra and inter-regional dimensions. The conceptual model is replicated in initiatives like International North South Transport Corridor, which connects India, Iran, Afghanistan, Russia, Central Asia and Europe. Alternatives are almost always a positive development. However, for now it seems coalitions are emerging, based on the old adage that 'your enemy's enemy is your friend'.

Changing Geopolitical Environment in SAMECA

The world is experiencing a crisscross of geopolitics and geoeconomics with their core ingredients of *space, territory, territoriality, and power*; and *resources, capital, technology, information and services,* respectively. Geo-economics along with the geopolitics has resulted in the reshaping of wealth and power poles, creating a new Cold War scenario, where old enemies have become new economic allies and hard power alone is becoming futile.

What China is doing today to win friends and influence people is within the range of what other countries do to exert "soft power," but the efforts at persuasion and cooperation such as cultural exchanges, conferences, speeches, and paid advertisements, are all benefitting the nations of the world, and the United States acknowledges it. Six economic corridors and a Maritime Silk Road under the BRI will play a pivotal role in the world's peace and prosperity; win-win cooperation with China is pre-eminent.

The emerging Russia-China nexus is a 21st century reality. However, the ground reality is that Russia is also facilitating the growing Indian influence in SAMECA and Eurasia to balance China. Russia's "Return to South Asia" involves strengthening India's military capabilities through the export of air and naval defense system. In return, Russia has opened doors for India in Central Asia. India's larger interest in Central Asia is 1400-kilometers energy highway that would run from Russia through Central Asia. Russia is also a part of the Indian-controlled port of Iran's Chabahar, which connects the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf with the Caspian Sea and then onwards to Russia and northern Europe. This is also a continuity of crisscross of geopolitics and geo-economics, and not necessarily competitive and confrontational in nature.

The Eastward Shift

According to figures collated by Yves Tiberghien, Professor at the University of British Columbia, in 1990, China was just 6 per cent of what the American economy was. By 2000, the percentage rose to 12 per cent, by 2008 to 30 and by 2011 to a surprising 50 per cent. This trend will continue growing in favour of Asia and by 2020, it was projected to overtake the combined economic power of Europe and North America. By 2025, two-thirds of the world's population will live in Asia. The United States and the European Union account for five and seven per cent, respectively. The demographic and economic axis of the Earth has shifted measurably to the opposite end of Eurasia, where the spaces between major population centers are overwhelmingly Maritime in essence.

Three major factors:

• China's rise as the second largest economy in the world.

- United States' desire to rebalance Asia specifically SAMECA.
- Pakistan remains a pivot state.

The Indian Ocean

The Indian Ocean is an important commercial artery and a global security arena. Half of the world's containerized freight and twothird of oil shipments travel through the Indian Ocean region. The vast amount of oil produced in Arabia has its market access to East Asia, Europe and the Americas via the Indian Ocean. Eighty per cent of the world's maritime oil trade flows through three narrow passages of water, known as choke points, in the Indian Ocean. This includes the Strait of Hormuz—located between the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman—which provides the only sea passage from the Persian Gulf to the open ocean. Politically, the Indian Ocean is becoming a pivotal zone of strategic competition. China is investing hundreds of billions of dollars in infrastructure projects across the region, as part of its One-Belt One-Road initiative. For Pakistan also, it is both a challenge and opportunity.

The Rising China

Mid to late 1990s and early 2000s, China's multi-trillion-dollar Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), both land-based routes and maritime silk route, connecting China with the world economies on a transcontinental scale could well become the biggest projects of the 21st century. China is engaged in economic projects with some 65 other countries that account collectively for over 30 per cent of global

GDP, 62 per cent of population, and 75 per cent of known energy reserves.³

In 2015, China and Pakistan launched the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor under BRI, with the signing of 49 agreements to finance a variety of projects with a total expected value of \$46 billion. China is India's largest trading partner, with bilateral trade totalling around \$84.4 billion in 2018. The two countries have signed 24 agreements and nearly \$30 billion worth of business deals.

China has become a major investor in Afghanistan, through projects like the Mes Aynak copper mine, a \$3.5 billion project in Logar province and the largest direct foreign investor in Afghanistan's history. China is Bangladesh's top trading partner in 2015; imports from China (including Hong Kong) were 27 per cent of Bangladesh's total imports. The investments have reached up to \$35 billion. Sri Lanka has also been the leading beneficiary of the Chinese infrastructure investment in South Asia, with nearly \$15 billion worth of projects between 2009 and 2014. China is also bolstering trade with Nepal, pursuing road building and hydropower projects. Nepal has also signed several agreements with China, including a permanent arrangement for energy supplies and a transit treaty granting Nepal access to the Chinese ports. In Maldives, Chinese investment has now enabled more than 20 projects and the largest three of the 20 projects alone will be worth 40 per cent of the Maldivian GDP.⁴

³ The World Bank (2018). *The Belt and Road Initiative*. [online]. Available at: https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/regional-integration/brief/belt-and-road-initiative [Accessed 5 Apr. 2019]

⁴ Khan, R. (2018). China's growing influence in South Asia. *The Nation*, [online] Available at: https://nation.com.pk/05-Aug-2018/china-s-growing-influence-in-southasia [Accessed 5 Apr. 2019]

For Gulf Cooperation Council countries, Chinese investment comes at a time when these states are seeking to reduce their hydrocarbon dependency and to diversify their economies. Port facilities have been important targets of investment. For example, China has partnered with Oman on a major facility in Duqm, a town on the Arabian Sea. China's other ventures are in countries that are less wealthy and, as a result, struggle to find investors with the political will to back costly developmental endeavours. China has even shown an interest in investing in Syria. China and Syria have engaged in discussions regarding the Chinese investments in the Syrian energy sector, among other fields.⁵ The total value of China's investments and construction contracts in the Middle East and North Africa is \$28.11 billion (2018), according to data analysed from the American Enterprise Institute's China Global Investment Tracker.⁶

China invested \$304.9 billion worth of contracts with its partners in Central Asia (2017), in sectors including transport, communication, energy infrastructure, financial linkages, and technology transfer and trade facilitation. However, there is growing anti-China sentiment with debates claiming poor and inefficient allocation of resources, corruption, delayed contracts, poor mechanism of transparency and coordination.⁷

⁵ Kuo, M., China and the Middle East: Influence and Investment, *The Diplomat*, [online]. Available at: https://thediplomat.com/2019/09/china-in-the-middle-east-influence-andinvestment/ [Accessed 22 Oct. 2019]

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China-Europe Equation

China has firmly established its economic presence in Europe. It has invested around \$ 84.2 billion in Europe in 2017, compared to its \$ 2.2 billion worth investments in 2010. These Investments have led China to now control 10 per cent of the European port capacity. On the contrary, Chinese investment on CPEC is \$64 billion. With the blurring of ideological battle lines and establishment of new trade links, a new geographic entity has started to emerge: Eurasia European Union released a new strategy on "Connecting Europe with Asia" as its principal guidelines toward connectivity between the two continents.

Core aspects:

- Sustainable connectivity,
- Comprehensive connectivity, and
- International rules-based connectivity
- Rule-based use of strategic space

The greatest challenge for China in response to the EU strategy is that of a commonly agreed, rule-based cooperation. In 2018, the most significant change in EU-China relations was the demand by Europe of a safety net to regulate foreign acquisition of assets that could undermine the European security or public order. The year 2018 ended with three significant developments in Europe-China relations, which are indicative of differences.

• The publication of a new policy paper setting out the priorities of China's EU policy.

- The deep interrogation across Europe regarding whether Huawei should be allowed to build the continent's 5G infrastructure.
- The widespread suspicion that the Chinese military was behind the large-scale cyber operation that hacked an EU communications network.

China is committed to significantly ease off market access and hoped EU will keep its investment market open, reduce and eliminate investment hurdles and discriminatory barriers, and provide the Chinese companies investing in Europe a fair, transparent and predictable policy environment and protect their legitimate rights and interests.

The emerging equation between Europe and China -- where issues of investment, connectivity, market access, and use and control of strategic spaces -- have a mutually developed rule-based construct. This can immensely help South Asia also structure its relationship with the emerging economic giant.

Competition in the SAMECA

The competition in the regions have created diverse security challenges, including energy security, piracy, and military posturing, as well as diverse opportunities.

- Commercialization connected with geopolitics is making geo-economics take precedence in the regions
- Chinese investments under Belt and Road Initiative have heightened the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf's strategic value.
- United States' "rebalance to Asia" (shifting from a foreign policy dominated by the Middle East to one more centered

on Asia) has also been a contributing factor elevating concern over the Indian Ocean security.

- US with the Indian support is trying to curtail the Chinese influence in the regions.
- South Asia has the potential to become a hub of innovation with its young population well connected to new global technological developments, opportunities created by extra-regional entities, and a huge enterprising middle class.
- Central Asia is not very pro-China region; it is also not anti-Pakistan.
- Central Asia has huge potential for Pakistan, which is largely unexplored.
- Pakistan possesses golden chair in SAMECA as a zipper state between the regions -- and a conflict resolution and connectivity bridge.

Pakistan's Role in Strategic Stability and Cooperation

Andrew Korybko, a Moscow-based American political analyst states in *Eurasia Future*, that "Pakistan's promising economic potential, international connectivity capabilities, and unparalleled geostrategic location combine with its world-class military and proven diplomatic finesse over the decades to turn the South Asian country into the global pivot state of the 21st century."

Pakistan is a junction of South Asia, West Asia and Central Asia; a way from resource efficient countries to resource deficient countries, which makes it important for not only its neighbouring countries, but also for major powers, including China, Russia and the United States. It is a pivot state upon which the region's future plans depend. It is a major player in the New Cold War with its geo-

economic and geo-political position. Pakistan is also a pivot state in its own right, one that is capable of zipping together the various forces of Eurasia.

Andrew Korybko believes that "Pakistan under BRI can transform itself from being a passive object of international relations to a leading subject of the rapidly changing global order, if it creatively expands this central corridor throughout the rest of the supercontinent in order to become the Zipper of Eurasia." He also states that Pakistan is uniquely positioned at the crossroads of China's future trade route with the rest of the "Global South." With this in mind, Prime Minister Imran Khan recently told the world at the UAE's World Government Summit not to "miss the boat" and lose out on their chance to capitalize on his country's expected growth.

The emerging Eurasian supercontinent offers immense opportunities for Pakistan, particularly in terms of connectivity, trade, energy and social sector cooperation. Several big economies such as China, Russia and Turkey fall in Pakistan's immediate and extended neighbourhood, and unprecedented developments are taking place in and among these economies.

Building off of its CPEC-pus-civilizational-geostrategic connectivity prospects, Pakistan can institutionalize its role as the Zipper of Eurasia by bringing together the two incipient multilateral strategic partnerships that it's a part of:

- 1) Iran and Turkey
- 2) China and Russia

According to Anatol Lieven, author of the book "Pakistan: A Hard Country," "Pakistan is not a failed state but a struggling one. It will continue to exist unless there is outside intervention by the USA and India." Furthermore, he acknowledged the Pakistan armed forces' role as the "saviour to its long-standing stability."

In a report published by the Royal United Services Institute, it has been argued that Pakistan's army, emboldened by Operations Zarbe-Azb and Raddul Fasaad, has taken concrete steps of reforms and relationship, which demonstrate that Pakistan doesn't see Russia as a threat anymore and closer defence relationship between the former hostile powers is visible.

Pakistan's army is frantically mending its historically weak ties with the Russian army, and making progress through defence diplomacy at a dizzying pace by making a pivot to Russia, instead of its traditionally close military ties with the US. There are multiple military deals, intelligence cooperation and joint training exercises that are redefining the region.

Options for Pakistan: A Way Forward

A 360-degree Foreign Policy

Pakistan's foreign policy response should include the crisscross of geopolitics and geo-economics, especially with its relationships with Beijing; which remains a major future ally. However, Washington, Moscow, Kabul, Tehran, Riyadh and New Delhi are important capitals. Pakistan's Look East policy, which involved a convergence with both Russia and China, may work to Pakistan's advantage because of Pakistan's geographical location. Heavy engagement with the US will also remain on the table. However, Pakistan can have a

working relationship that has less constraints and compulsions because of the emerging options and its role in SAMECA and Eurasia.

Relations with Russia

Russia is looking for more options and a much larger global role. It may not partner with the US, but it is definitely cultivating India; has a growing role in Syria and is in partnership with Turkey. The role of Russia in global politics is increasing, and it wants it to be seen independent of the Chinese influence, if not in confrontation with China. This is the new face of geopolitics and geo-economic crisscross, where Pakistan continues to be a pivot state.

More Focus on Central Asia

Tajikistan is Pakistan's nearest Central Asian neighbour and hence Pakistan's gateway to Central Asia. It also highlights the vital importance of Gilgit-Baltistan in ensuring Pakistan's linkages with China and Central Asia, which is essential for the geo-economic future of Pakistan.

A very significant initiative that binds Pakistan and Central Asia together is the CASA-1000 project (Central Asia-South Asia Electricity Transmission and Trade Program), one of the direct linkages between South Asia and Central Asia. Also, Central Asia experiences surplus electricity during the hot summers, which cannot be stored longer. There is a potential for Pakistan to focus on Central Asia.⁸

⁸ Mishra, A., Tajikistan: Pakistan's Gateway to Central Asia, *The Diplomat*, [online]. Available at: https://thediplomat.com/2017/08/tajikistan-pakistans-gateway-to-centralasia/ [Accessed 22 Oct. 2019]

The Emerging Role of Pakistan in Conflict Resolution and Mediation

Islamabad has a long experience of dealing with conflict resolution in Afghanistan and managing a very hostile and powerful neighbour like India. Already Pakistan was playing a very critical role on Afghanistan to boost reconciliation efforts and push for a respectful drawdown of the US troops out of the country. Pakistan has done some active diplomatic footwork to bring peace to the Persian Gulf. Pakistan's contribution to the conflict resolution in the Middle East is recognized, and praised by the nations of the world.

Relations with India

Pakistan and India have had seven rounds of fruitless dialogue; observers even call it the "dialogue of the deaf" where meetings happen, photo opportunities take place and the glamour and drama of high profile diplomacy is in full display. However, nothing beyond tepid Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) is achieved.⁹ This is also now at a standstill. The post-August 2019 situation in Kashmir has disrupted the relationship like never before.

The notion of uninterruptible dialogue is an Indian submission, sabotaged by India. Mr Mani Shankar proposed it in mid-2014, saying "uninterrupted and uninterruptible dialogue, which is continued irrespective of what is occurring" is the way forward. More recently, Prime Minister Imran Khan and Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi have both re-emphasized the need of uninterruptable dialogue. However, India continues to stonewall all such initiatives. The dialogue between Pakistan and India have taken

⁹ Baqai, H. (2014). New Trends and Paradigm Shifts in Pakistan. In: Bhatia, R., Singh, S. and Marwah, R. ed., *Transforming South Asia: Imperatives for Action*, New Delhi: Knowledge World, pp. 177-197.

place in 2015, 2012, 2003, 2001, 1999, 1972 and 1966, under the titles of Comprehensive Dialogue; twice as Composite Dialogue; the Agra Summit; Lahore declaration; Simla Agreement and the Tashkent Agreement. None of them have served to improve the relationship between the two protagonists. If anything, there is a complete breakdown of talks since 2015. Pakistan continues to offer talks as a way forward and the latest pro-people initiative of Kartarpur is an attempt to once again offer the olive branch to India.¹⁰ However, now dialogue from Pakistan's side is conditional to lifting of the depleting militarized curfew in Kashmir.

Multiple Trade Blocs

The lack of intra-regional and inter-regional trade is a huge constraint for Pakistan's economic growth. According to World Bank's report "A Glass Half Full", intraregional trade in South Asia is one-third of its potential and yet countries in South Asia have erected trade barriers against each other, denying people the benefits of proximity. Also going against the geo-economic premise of the 21st century, built on spatial clustering and specialization.

¹⁰ Also mentioned in the paper on "Investing in Peace: Economic Interdependence in South Asia", presented at a conference held by Islamabad Policy Research Institute in December 2018.



PLENARY SESSION III

Prospects of Economic Integration in SAMECA: Exploring New Vistas of Cooperation

Keynote Address Dr Abdul Hafeez Shaikh

Regional Connectivity: Key to Economic Growth and Prosperity Mr Makhdoom Khusro Bakhtiar

Potential of Pakistan as a Trade and Energy Hub in SAMECA Region Mr Yaseen Anwar

China's BRI: Reviving Connectivity and Crafting Growing Transregional Linkages in SAMECA Region Dr Wang ZhengXu

Energy Connectivity: Role for Central Asia Mr Leonid Savin

Iranian Perspective on Regional Trade and Transportation Initiatives Ambassador Javad Kachoueian

China's Vision of Shared Prosperity Ambassador Yao Jing



Keynote Address

Dr Abdul Hafeez Shaikh

Advisor to the Prime Minister of Pakistan on Finance, Revenue and Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan

Distinguished participants, guests, colleagues from other brotherly countries, Assalam-o-Alaikum

et me start by saying that, at one time I was fortunate to work at the Harvard University and then later with the World Bank and advised maybe 20 plus countries on developmental projects, especially when they were coming out of a situation of losing many decades with bad policies. So I think of myself as a student of development economics. The question one always poses in places like these, where a lot of very important people get together, are very fundamental, such as, why did some countries do better than others? Why is it that some regions have done better than others, because at the end of the Second World War, most of the world was devastated! The countries were picking up the pieces, and everyone was more or less on the same plane. Then you find --maybe 25-30 years later -- that Singapore's per capita income is \$50,000, while somebody may still have \$2,000 dollars. Singapore has nothing except the harbour.

Of course, that is an exaggeration because Singapore has the Singaporean people. So what are the big lessons? I would say that I find there are, at least, three big lessons that if we want to have a meaningful discussion -- and not just repeat numbers of our own country's roads and about electricity grids. That is good information

also, but if we are trying to say how do we go together as a group -or if not as a group, individually, then the first thing is that you cannot have development or you cannot have developed countries with under-developed people.

So the big lesson of history and big lesson of development is: if you want to really develop, you have to focus on your people. And if you see countries like Japan, Singapore, Scandinavia, they mainly developed by focusing the skill enhancement, the technical capabilities and the discipline of their own people.

So that is number one. Whatever we do, people should be epiccentre, and developing their skills set. Their capabilities should be at the centre; otherwise, it is not going to work. Number two; no country has done it alone. The only way to really develop and bring prosperity to our people is to find a way to sell our products to others, and to ensure that others also partner with us. This is a big lesson of development. Nobody in the history of the world has actually brought prosperity to their people by not partnering with the rest of the world.

Most importantly, with their neighbours and I think if Premier Deng Xiaoping is considered the greatest leader of the 20th century, it is because he understood this lesson and as a result he brought out 700 million people out of poverty. He could do it only because he realized that the model has got to change.

So this is very important because in a way we are assembled here, and I think we have an opportunity to try and find ways: How to actually do businesses. Corollary of this is the third lesson. The only way to develop and bring prosperity is: if you allow your private sector to perform. Many countries thought that the government

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bureaucrats could make policies, could regulate the economies, could finance the projects, could manage the projects and do everything and they all lost about seven decades ago.

So government ministers are not that important. They are only important if they make good policies, but you have to allow the players to perform. Coaches cannot play on the ground. The managers and the coaches have a role, but for the match to proceed, for the players to show up. For the evening to be exciting, you have to get the players. I think a missing ingredient in many of the conversations is that these managers and the coaches -- in their fancy suits and ties -- read the speeches written by their subordinates. They only talk and then they disappear. Nothing happens.

So now we have to begin to figure out that if we are going to have a model or a dialogue, if we are going to have a kind of a sensible, practical, and not just polite conversation but practical conversation, then I think we have to try and check some of these lessons of development in our own dialogue.

Coming back now to this region, which is the real focus, we have real problems that have been already articulated! So I do not want to mention those who have poor connectivity and have low trade.

I guess our trade between Central Asia and South Asia is less than five per cent. Apparently, in East Asia it is 35 per cent and in the EU it is close to 60 per cent. We hardly have any real connections, our border crossings are pretty pathetic; we have excessive visa restrictions, our infrastructure links are very poor, we have unharmonized customs, we have poor access to insurances and finance;

we have archaic foreign exchange rules, we have lousy and restrictive visa regimes. All that is true!

So I think we can keep talking about connectivity and quoting other country's figures, but the agenda remains staring us at the face. The question is not to get very fancy -- and repeat them over and over. The question is to be okay with what do we want to do about it? And I think if we zero in on that, in my humble opinion, the time will be best spent. Now, we can have a Schengen type visa, why not? Why are we not doing that? Maybe that is the starting point? If our people do not know each other, I am sure that there are many country representatives whose people do not know each other at all.

About 15 years back, I was minister for investment of this country. I used to question: who are some of the great friends of Pakistan? I thought maybe people think China is, or Turkey or Saudi Arabia -- and then I realized that our people hardly interact with anybody from these countries. About 15 years back, I did not even know anybody who would go to Turkey or Saudi Arabia -- other than for religious reasons. Similarly, I did not know anybody who would go to China, and the same was true of the other sides. Only our leaders used to meet. They would have big flags in front of them, and would make great speeches and then disappear. Of course, several MOUs were also signed. We have to ensure that apart from business, there is a real human contact, which is much needed. And I would also encourage you to not just spend your time in the hotel. You need to explore more of Pakistan by getting out of the hotel and trade with the people to know the country better.

Now as I said, number one learning from relevant international experience is stay focused on the things that matter. Number two;

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do not spend too much time repeating by talking about the problems and not knowing the solutions. Money is available, that is the third point I want to make. There is enough money but a few projects. Asia Infrastructure Bank alone has about \$100 billion dollars.

The World Bank, the Asian Development Bank. Islamic Development Bank, they are very very tiny compared to the hundreds of billions of dollars that the private sector has. We spend a lot of time running around after the World Bank, the Islamic Development Bank for \$2 billion or \$4 billion.

Unfortunately, when there are hundreds of billions of dollars waiting for good projects, but due to very bad policies, we do not get to translate those hundreds of billions of dollars -- and create lots of obstacles on the way to let that money come to our countries. At one time, I was the World Bank head in Saudi Arabia, and there was always this discussion of how to bring Saudi money to Saudi Arabia? They always said: "Oh, we have so much money outside of Saudi Arabia; we just have to get it back." That is true for many other countries, as well.

However, very regrettably, you never get the money back because rich people do not make decisions themselves. Their bankers make the decisions for them and the bankers are the same. The only way a rich Saudi will bring his money into Saudi Arabia -- or a Brazilian will bring his money into Brazil is when you make it easy for everyone else to bring their money into your country.

When the Germans and the Dutch, and the Chinese are going to bring money into Saudi Arabia that is when the Saudi Arabia's rich

banker will say: "Sir, take your money there also." I do not think such approach will work in this country. We have always been asking for money from overseas Pakistanis, who will bring their money only if they would find attractions in Pakistan -- regardless of their destination of remittance. We would welcome the money coming from New Zealand or Mauritius, as much as we would welcome from Thailand. It really does not matter.

Hence the most important aspect is to set a policy regime in such a way that it becomes attractive for everyone looking for an opportunity. Honestly, looking at so many countries around the table here in Pakistan, and when I see these countries around the table and some of the other, I see opportunities everywhere. However, I know about the sectors of investment as a minister, as much as anyone would know depending upon the priority of the investor.

Since the countries with highest world produce in gold, oil or telephone services are outside Pakistan; my advice to them is irrelevant. For me, all sectors offer opportunities for investment particularly, ever since we have been able to stabilise our security environment. In fact, there is a stampede of investors. For instance, we find it difficult to even deal with the number of people who want to visit the North of Pakistan, and enjoy its beauty.

People have to benefit particularly from every regime, which is not obstructive. Though difficult for the governments, they should still remain more accommodating without being extra cautious.

So until and unless we value people who are legitimately making money, we will not be able to have a mind-set in which people can flourish and generate jobs. Government cannot over populate their

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departments. It, however, can create jobs in the rest of the economy with a right set of incentives.

Pakistan is living with a tough neighbourhood, though it is trying to make it better. We want Afghanistan situation to get normalized. Our Prime Minister is also trying to do his best. He is in contact with President (Ashraf) Ghani and I think everybody realizes that this has to go a certain direction, for the region, as a whole to thrive.

We do not want problems with Iran and Saudi Arabia. When we were in the US, we met President (Donald) Trump and told him not to make our neighbourhood worse than it is. That was our message to the leadership of Saudi Arabia, as well. I also accompanied the Prime Minister in his meetings with the leadership of Iran, and advised them not to get trapped into a conflict, in order to keep the region in peace.

We must realize that the stakes are high. Innocent people die and regions suffer -- and ultimately not much is gained. So we have to try and remain focused on peace-building. At the same time, we are also trying. The current regime has inherited a difficult economic situation; we are taking tough decisions, and we brought down current account deficit by over 40 per cent. We have got a positive primary balance for the first time. Our fiscal debt is less than half in the first four months of this year, compared to last year. The World Bank has acknowledged Pakistan as one of the top 10 reformers, and easing out its policies for doing business.

This year, our portfolio investment from the rest of the world has risen. We have achieved energy sufficiency. We are having a value open visa policy, and you know countries that are represented here

will get visas on arrival. We have the Torkham border working 24 hours. We are having currency's swaps with countries like China. We are trying to have the CASA-1000 with Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan.

We are having \$7.5 billion TAPI project in the pipeline. So our goal is to have a very liberal foreign investment regime, with no restrictions. You can participate by as much equity as you want. You can have as much share as you want -- in any industry you want.

You do not have the requirement of having a local partner. With liberal foreign investment regime, we are giving a lot of incentives for exporters -- subsidizing their guests, their electricity and their loans. There are no taxes on exports. So if you wish to come here and generate exports for other countries, you are most welcome.

To conclude, let me admit that I have seen a lot of change. When I was in Harvard, I was asked to give a talk to the cabinet in Vietnam in 1991. When I went to Hanoi, there was not a single car in the entire capital of Vietnam. There was not a single hotel. The metro port just got painted and renovated. Now there is a noticeable change from ashes to the economic glory.

The Greek Philosopher Thucydides said a long time back that, "the dangerous time in the world is when one superpower is perhaps declining -- and another emerging power is beginning to challenge it." And that is the period fraught with tension -- and with threat. It is very important that both the current superpower and the emerging superpower keep their emotions in check. Keep a check on the partisanship because the world does not need a conflict of such a scale.

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So wisdom has to be balanced. The world has to be seen as a whole. It is critical to have a place for shared economy. As far as Pakistan is concerned, CPEC is an opportunity that Pakistan should not miss. Pakistanis sometimes say: "Never miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity." This time they must not do it, but CPEC and the promise of CPEC can only be fulfilled, if it is not confined only to China and Pakistan.

The CPEC can either be a transaction or it can be a transformation. For it to be a transformation, it must be China-plus. Other countries must be welcomed to participate in this great transaction. We need to stay wise while recognizing the strength of our relationship with China. Others also need to be welcomed to participate. The promise will be fulfilled.

I just want to make two or three suggestions. I think it is a great event; a lot of relevant people have been brought in to talk about the subject that is both critical and timely. What is needed is that we should inject relevance, apart from excellence. It is very important that we focus on real things that matter. Having distinguished people with us who are, of course, very important in their countries, we may have a dialogue instead of long speeches; whereas the role of moderator could be dispensed to save the time.

Secondly, I would like to say how success of the dialogue could be judged. I mean what exactly we are aiming at. Information about some countries on their operational aspects is required -- to be added into it, as well. My own ambition would be to go a bit further, as let us say add some operational steps and to have a system to come back three months later, or six months later to know what exactly about those aspirations, those operational semi-decisions.

So these are my humble thoughts, and once again I am grateful for the opportunity and feel honoured to get an opportunity to speak to you. I want to, of course, congratulate Islamabad Policy Research Institute, Ambassador Hasham and all his colleagues.

Thank you very much.

Regional Connectivity: Key to Economic Growth and Prosperity



Mr Makhdoom Khusro Bakhtiar

Federal Minister of Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan

fter the keynote speech by Dr Hafeez Sheikh, which was very frank, pragmatic and to some extent futuristic, it leaves me with a very little to add on to it.

Let's talk about the interconnectivity between South Asia, Central Asia and the Middle East. I think the focal issue here is whether we are talking about infrastructure connectivity by road or by rail for transit trade. I think that the elephant in the room is the political instability in Afghanistan.

However, I am still very hopeful that after almost 18 years of armed conflicts in Afghanistan, finally a dialogue process has started. It might take 7 or 8 rounds, but let's be hopeful about it. In that very hopeful spirit, Pakistan has recently committed around \$400 million with the help of the World Bank to create a corridor -- a transit corridor from Torkham to Dushanbe via Afghanistan. We are looking at a very ambitious \$5 billion project sponsored by Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhistan. The World Bank is favourably inclined to this railway connectivity from Jalalabad to Peshawar; and then recently in CPEC, we have made a lot of headway in terms of upgrading our railway structures for cargo and passengers traffic from Peshawar all the way to Karachi.

Why I focused on railway because in this very audience, Mr Durrani is sitting here. He and I went to Almaty in 2004. I was in the Foreign Office, and as a Minister of State in the CICA Conference, we operationalized the quadrilateral transit agreement. There is apparently a truck which sets off somewhere and takes like 6 to 7 days to get to our coastal areas. Mr. Haroon Sharif had been very pragmatic in his interjections.

We have to analyze the transportation cost, the expenditure incurred on the upgradation of the road infrastructure. Somehow, this whole inter-regional connectivity, and even the CPEC is based on the narrative -- before this government came -- that it is basically a vehicle for infrastructure development.

In fact, to an extent it is a substitute to Pakistan's Development Programme. So we are reshaping that thinking. Today, as we said, I think when we look for connectivity, when we look at the potential of South Asia, Middle East and Central Asia, we should think of creating platforms which are just not road and brick mortar. Today, while having the pleasure of addressing this platform, I would like to congratulate the Chairman for organizing this Margalla Dialogue. For it to be sustainable and meaningful, I think we need to get it synergized with the government institutions so the policy thinking transpires through these dialogues and is transmitted into government ownership of such initiatives. For that, I would talk today to our foreign minister and the foreign secretary to find a way of partnering with this very important Margalla Dialogue.

There are a lot of associations that already exist in Central Asia. I would not say much on South Asia because of the current political

environment. I do not see it with a bit of nationalist fervour, which they called the Saffron Fascism on the uptake. It is fairly reflective of the global shift from central politics, central political platforms to left and right. It is happening globally, but it is happening in our neighbourhood also. Brexit is one of the examples of what is shaking the foundation of the structures, which were built on the Maastricht Treaty in 1992.

So there is a global shift in every twenty years. In politics, the centre loses space to left and right, and then after twenty years, the right is centralist again. So this a long drawn process; so we should not get so disillusioned by these shifts. If you are a student of politics and history, we should know that these cycles continue.

Regional trade: No country has ever grown economically if it does not have a regional trade. Pakistan and South Asia's regional trade is only 1% of the GDP. It is a real indicator as to why we have not been able to harness the true potential of the country of 220 million people. The consumption level, the market it offers and the geostrategic location it offers, all suffered.

Some of the projects in terms of intra-regional connectivity, especially in the energy corridor, are on-going. CASA-1000 is a good project but when we do the numbers, it has a serious challenge of emerging alternative and renewable energy tariffs. One has to be very realistic as to with what price it grows because the whole model of CASA-1000 is financed by the World Bank. At that point, it made fairly a good project. It still is.

Afghanistan, which badly needs alternative sectors in its economy to grow, the government budget, is mostly financed through

multilateral donors. Half of its GDP, in fact, 60% of its GDP is coming from transit trade. We agreed on CASA -1000 in the same spirit because Afghanistan gets to make money on the transit of dealing with electricity. Today that tariff ends up giving 9 ½ %. That is the consumption of 220 million consumers in Pakistan, which will actually finance the transmission cost of this project and a dam being built in Rogun area in Tajikistan.

So this is a good model but it has a challenge of reduced green and clean energy initiatives. Similarly, TAPI is another energy corridor which has gas potential. Pakistan is in the final stages of having a meaningful dialogue with its division of tariffs -- so that it makes market sense for us. It is a huge project financed again. It has the financing support. All these infrastructures, corridors and energy corridors need to be backed by the development banks institutions. Commercial banks rarely come into infrastructure development. The reason is ECO, which is another organization that has not been able to gain that kind of momentum because the ECO Bank's footprint is very limited.

There has been a good injection of financing of almost 30 plus billion dollars and it has changed the landscape of Central Asia, Middle East and South Asia to a large extent. So when we talk of financing these intra-regional connectivity corridors, whether it is energy or transport, we need to come up with a policy. Let's say if you were to build a train, it will transit cargo. That cargo income can be securitized to finance the loan, but it cannot finance the complete loan so the governments of this region will have to come up with the viability gap for financing. As a policy to lift the infrastructure, put it in the requisite infrastructure and trade and commerce will follow.
Pakistan's Quest for Cooperation and Strategic Stability in Changing...

That is the traditional model so far adopted in terms of regionalinfrastructure development. As we gear towards the 4th industrial revolution, it is again going to change the landscape of the global economy the way it functions. Your retail markets are being taken over by e-commerce; your digital economies are taking a larger share and the governments that can see the horizon of developed economies are heavily investing in their R&D. China's R&D budget for this year is around \$350 billion. The leaders and R&D technology has been led by the US. The US still has a huge advantage in terms of the gap with the rest of the comparative economies when it comes to higher technology. The world is now gearing up for the new 4th industrial revolution.

Lastly, if we really want to harness the crew, get the requisite momentum for South Asia, Central Asia and the Middle East; it would need the scales. The economic scales of East Asia are also required to be in a partnership with it. I would strongly urge the dialogue partners today to reflect on this suggestion. Furthermore, while we talk of long-term energy and transport corridors, we should also look at the potential of the private sectors for joint ventures, for tapping each other's competitive advantages.

For that very reason, under China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, the future course of that in terms of our policy is that most of the initiatives will be under the private sector. For that very purpose, we have structured Pakistan-China Business Forum led by the capital of industries from both sides.

So while we wait for the political stability in Afghanistan, and while we wait for the long-term infrastructure corridors to be developed, we continue our thrust on the creation of economic synergies to

develop private partnerships under a guided umbrella of both the governments.

Lastly, BRI is truly a transformational vision of the Chinese leadership, President Xi. As my very honourable colleague said, "For it to be transformational, it needs to be all inclusive." That is why, the moment this government came in, we decided. We along with our counterparts from China, under the CPEC framework, have a third country participation joint working group as well. It is led by both the foreign ministries to identify projects, where we can welcome participation from other countries.

So that is another focus area where we are working under this CPEC structure. I hope it has financial muscle to finance the study. Any initiative, mostly in the private sector will only take off once there is harmonization of policies in the region.

So I think the study need to be conducted on two fronts; as to what are the competitive sectors in which partnerships can be built? What are the strengths of each country? And let me say, Pakistan today has one of the second largest reserves of copper. China imports 70% of its copper requirements, globally. So we need to find such diagnostics studies of these specific strings, and demands of each economy -- plus the gaps of policy. The gaps in policies in terms of tax policies, cuts tariff policies, visa regimes and so on and so forth for each sector.

A general policy and diagnostic policy: If you can put in a study, I think it can contribute way more to the governments, especially I can say for the government of Pakistan. Unfortunately, Human Resource Development and our human investment, our human

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capital has been eluding us despite our good intentions. And that has had a huge impact on the governance structure of Pakistan.

The government departments, which are supposed to make these policies, such as the Ministry of Industries and Production, they should have a diagnostic study of all the sectors. But as the human resource development and the human capital investment didn't take that much place, so our bureaucratic and governance structures are suffering.

How do we measure the successes of this dialogue? What should be the next step for the third Margalla Dialogue? One of my very humble suggestions would be a study among these countries of the region in terms of the harmonization of their policies; and second would be finding a win-win partnership in different sectors.

And on that note, I think the finance ministry has a lot of pendency and I am trying to redress that at best.

Thank you very much. It has been a pleasure, indeed.■

Potential of Pakistan as a Trade and Energy Hub in SAMECA Region



Mr Yaseen Anwar

Senior Advisor ICBC, Singapore; and former Governor, State Bank of Pakistan

The world today faces global uncertainty as we all know. The volatility on a daily basis on a scale not witnessed in recent history -- due to political tensions and upheavals – is a daily phenomenon, particularly in the face of a possible upcoming recession that will impact us all. Such uncertainties do not bode well for financial markets and economic development.

Let me cite a few facts to make us all feel a little better than tonguein-cheek. Over the past fifty years, 70% of the global wealth has been concentrated in the United States, with only 10% of the world's population. Britain at the cusp of its empire in the 19th century, ruled over 24% of the world's population and 26% of the world landmass.

Today, UK is facing difficulty in governing itself. 65% total reserves, which are mentioned yesterday briefly, are held in the US dollars. 45% of the global payments, according to SWIFT, are in US dollars. It seems its sanctions and tariffs are now being used as economic weapon where over \$16 trillion of negative yearling of the European debt, will no doubt put pressure on the US economy.

Last but not least, the looming trade war between the two largest economies will result in a losing result for both. These facts along

with the challenges to the independence of the federal reserves, and other central banks, are but a few of the dire issues facing the policymakers -- and provide a compelling backdraft to a possible global economic recession. Just day before yesterday, (President) Donald Trump again attacked the Federal Reserve's chairman. However, several measures could be adopted to protect countries in SAMECA from these vulnerabilities, and accumulate necessary resources to stimulate sustainable growth.

Last week, the ASEAN countries met to take serious steps towards establishing RCEP (The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership) comprising 16 countries by the first quarter of 2020. RCEP countries together account for 1/3rd of the global economic domestic GDP and nearly half of the world's population. Within RCEP, 10 countries comprise the ASEAN region. To bring economic trade in perspective, trade within the ASEAN countries comprises approximately 25% of their total trade. On the other hand, the European Coordination Community (ECC) and NAFTA (North America Free Trade Agreement) comprises 63%. Corrective steps obviously need to be taken by ASEAN to achieve optimal intraregional benefit.

Pakistan's largest trading partner in one time was the United States. Due to distance from the region, it did not make any economic sense. Let me now move to SAMECA and point out that it is the least integrated, as was mentioned yesterday by the advisor. The least integrated region in the world is exposed to hexagonal shocks experienced globally from 2008 global financial crisis. Global and regional integration requires uniformity, equality and common attributes on the financial markets, which we do not have. We all know that innovation is the hallmark for success in any field as a way forward. Look at Silicon Valley, and so forth.

The famous US financier graduate of my university, worked in school called Michael Milken, created the Junk bond market in the 1980's to enable smaller non-rated companies to access the capital. Besides triggering novel capital market opportunities for investors, this stimulated overall economic growth through new jobs and increased consumer rise in risked award ratio, and added another dimension to the asset allocations strategies.

As improved availability of data, it gave added comfort to investors when increasing their risk appetite in the search for higher returns. Analogists to Milken's strategy, China's BRI initiative gives access to the capital for those connecting emerging market economies that have not, I repeat, not had been necessarily invested in the grade ratings to tap international bond markets.

These economies have never had the opportunity to attract offshore investors who require ratings dictated by their corporate policies. Nowadays, the investors have high enough risk appetite to venture into unchartered emerging markets. Infrastructure, the core of BRI funding is and has been the engine of growth for most economies.

The 19th century industrial revolution transformed grain-based economies into technological and manufactured-based ones. In the case of the United States, this shift accelerated again in the 1930's by President Roosevelt's New Deal, and the expansion of domestic transport network made the countries a leading global economy in the 20th century. Lack of quality infrastructure has hampered the economic development than many BRI countries solely need. For

example, the shortages of power in Pakistan has impaired GDP growth rate up to 3%.

The absence of a developed transportation network for the refrigerated trucks; and for the distribution of the agricultural products, perishes 50 per cent of products. Someone talked yesterday about agriculture being an important segment. This is an area that needs attention. The BRI initiative can play at least a key role in lifting the economy's substantial financing gap. Haroon (Sharif) also mentioned about the financing gap earlier. The collective resources of the multilateral financial institutions can also be a leverage to fill the financing gaps and alleviate the concerns of risks-averse private sector participants.

Numerous countries are already filled with the benefits with new employment opportunities and improved productivity, thanks to BRI projects. In 2017, the Greek corporate companies handled more than 4 million containers for the onward distribution to Europe. Germany's Duisburg harbour has become the world's largest inland port, and more than 10,000 companies are now operating across Africa through an expanded transportation network of rail and roads. More than \$60 billion of new businesses have been generated across a range of operations, including increased investment in tourism into Africa, new housing in Indonesia, power projects in Bangladesh, roads in Pakistan and Kazakhstan, and rising global intra-regional trade in the ASEAN region.

Let me highlight a few BRI's attributes in successes. It is a \$2 trillion plus effort, connecting more than 70 countries, 65% of the world's population, 1/3rd of the world's GDP and 40% of global trade. From 1980 to 2016, the world's annual growth was 3.5%, but with China. If

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you strip China out of the equation, it was only 2.7%. Even China's slowing down -- if you do simple math -- of \$14 trillion economy growing at 6% rose faster than a 10% growth rate for \$ 2trillion economy.

So slowing down to 6% is still very attractive, given what is happening in the global market if you look at yesterday's announcement of Japan with surprised recessionary numbers. India witnessed the same thing, growth rate been downsized to 5%, so there has been a trend and I can go on and on about other countries.

The four largest BRI recipient countries are Pakistan (63 billion), Bangladesh (38 billion), Malaysia (34 billion) and Philippine 31 (billion). ASEAN's trade has been increased by over 12% and increasing this year also. Two one-billion power projects in Pakistan have already been completed, as well as two smaller 50-mega-volt solar wind power plants. Malaysia's 1.4 billion investments in Alliance Steel to build an industrial park resulted in 2,500 local jobs when completed.

France and China jointly started the construction last year on the 3,200 megawatt Hinkley Nuclear Power Plant in UK. There will be a second one that will follow thereafter. In 2017, Dubai increased its non-oil bilateral trade with China to \$48 billion. 3,400 companies are now registered in Dubai and over 500 in Pakistan.

As of July 2018, over 100 countries international organizations have signed corporation agreements with China. Today, China represents the number one export partner for more than 75 countries compared to only 2 countries 20 years back. However, BRI is not without its challenges with the looming trade war that impacts the global economy. I should add respectable economists like Larry Summers -with whom I am in the same camp, along with the state that trade war should be a win-win situation not a lose-lose situation.

An example of this is 'protectionism' which is being followed today, of which I am not a believer. In my school courses, we were taught about the Smoot-Hawley Tariff, which lived to a 64% reduction in world trade according to WTO in the 1930's. So these shifting trade patterns are already being filled globally and SAMECA should take advantage of the opportunities available. That is a key. Supply chains are in shifting to ASEAN or in ASEAN with Vietnam and Philippine as the main beneficiaries.

ASEAN is working on connectivity across South East Asia and China, etc., and this will empower and accelerate shifts in supply chains from China to ASEAN. Concurrently, it will hasten BRI as these countries infrastructure will be enhanced with increased business activities and better investment opportunities. Leading logistics firms in Singapore, like YCH and others are rapidly shifting gears to adapt and adjust to clearer reserves clients' needs in a cost-effective manner.

Now why do I site Singapore in the ASEAN region all the time? Well, there is a very important reason because of Singapore and the region's success. Singapore is a dramatic success story if you have not been there to see the kind of infrastructure it has developed.

It is in this context and spirit, Pakistan can be a pivot to SAMECA, with its large population which has already been mentioned in a recognized strong and stable banking system. Not one bank failed during the global financial crisis, and I was there from 2007 to 2014.

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We were very lucky and today, it is one of the leading digital payment markets that provide 90% of those who do not have bank accounts access to financial payment services with mobile technology.

More is being developed as we speak. So as I mentioned, Pakistan can be a commercial gateway to SAMECA. In fact, even Christine Lagarde in 2013, in a meeting, had recognized that Pakistan was one of the leading countries at that time in the payments business, and it was recognized by the Economic Intelligence Unit. We were regarded as one of the three blooming countries at that time.

The importance of Central Asia under BRI centers is the most amongst the two of the six economic corridors under construction that run through the region; one that China Central Asia West Asia Economic Corridor and to the New Eurasian Land Bridge. These two Central Asian BRI economic corridors could merge and connect with the northern route of CPEC and Central China. These landlocked countries would have access to the favourite port of Gwadar, opening a wider corner to the Middle East and vice-versa.

The current CPEC projects in Pakistan emphasize the projects that will benefit these economic corridors in connectivity, information network, infrastructure, energy industry and industrial parts, and agricultural development projects. Trade currently with the Central Asian Republic is limited and far from its optimal potential.

The following areas have a potential to increase exponentially. Hydrocarbons, crude oil, natural gas and metals are the leading items exported by the Central Asian States. Setting up oil pipelines will allow more proportionate movement out of these products. Pakistan's SEZ's, when fully functional for the industrial sector, will

enhance the country's productivity capacity to provide a major impetus for economic and social development through new supply chains. Agriculture sector needs to be mechanized also.

Finally, cultural integration will open new tourism opportunities. By giving this backdrop, I outlined the terms the global economic uncertainty with BRI provides for these resources in order to maintain positive growth trajectories. Policy-makers will need to initiate measures to cushion fragile economies from hexagonal shocks that I have mentioned.

This past April, I was invited for the second time to speak and moderate panel of 2nd Bankers Roundtable on the side-lines of President Xi Jinping's campaign on BRI in Beijing, where I highlighted the following three areas that could navigate us in the coming year to ensure positive growth rates, particularly in the Asian regions.

These are the three of the four I was going to mention. The first is the development of the corporate-debt market; given the process of intermediation in some countries is focused through banks. Countries in SAMECA need to develop an alternative avenue for intermediation. Here's a throwback to Finance 101, for those who have taken finance course when firms required financing. There are four basic options to borrow; one is from retained earnings, one is from their debt market, equity market and, of course, the bank borrowings, which are the last one I mentioned.

In many emerging markets, the economies that largely shared a proper financing are in the form of bank borrowings, which is the case of Pakistan as well. So why is there a need of corporate-debt market? In addition to provide competition to the banking system, a

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private-debt market acts as a spare tyre – I quote as 'spare tyre; in the words of Alan Greenspan. The lack of developed bond market is often cited as a reason for this severity of the Asian financial crisis. As a spare tyre, the bond market may have been able to pick up the slack from the banking sector acting as a financial intermediary between savers and investors.

The global financial crisis highlighted the role of private-debt market. To ensure the flow of credit in the real sector is one of the reasons in the recovery of the United Sates, which was better than EU. It was due to the better developed private bond markets.

The second area of increasing importance was tied to the climate change. This changes the BRI emphasis and priority on the development issuance, and usage of the BRI regular interbank corporation bonds called BRI Bonds. It is a process, which are applied by the issuers for the finance ecological green assets along with BRI countries and regions.

Their assets being financed, comprised ecological green assets, categorized and codified under the Center for International Research (CICERO) and established by the UN. As I mentioned, ICBC Singapore, launched \$2.2 billion multicurrency, green bond with a listing in the Singapore's stock exchange, the first forever for the Asian issuer. The BRI mechanism purpose is to develop the role of debt-capital market, to better allocate resources to support the BRI.

As of 2019, the BRI mechanism has 85% membrane tuitions from 45 countries. By the end of 2018, ICBC member countries have jointly financed over 50 BRI projects with total exceeding 44 billion. BRI bonds -- enabled both lenders and investors to participate in BRI

infrastructure projects, but these are very important areas for all the countries, including Pakistan.

Third and finally, the global financial crisis in 2008, took a quick withdrawal or overhaul of the central bank regulations to restore the trust in the international monetary system. However, in some cases, the regulators overreacted in implementing counter-cyclical macropedestrian regulations; and I have said this openly at other forums that I have been with other governors.

Central banks have tightened macro-prudential and unwilling constraints, which discouraged the long-term risk assets. They led to stricter BIS basic standards and the risk awareness set in that decimated in some other projects in finance lending to the multinationals. This may raise a few eyebrows to my comments, which I have said before on other forums of ASEAN.

Multinationals should depoliticize learning programmes operating under or about under-grown IMF programme. In other words, they should delink decisions that are conditioned by IMF programme. I say this from experience -- having signed a previous \$6.7 billion dollars IMF programme for Pakistan in August 2015. The RMB now with almost 7% weight can and should be used with feasible trade under the proper agreements for BRI by many countries. As you can see, these three years developing proper debt market raising -- using Green Bonds -- can have positive material impact on SAMECA.

So as I have mentioned those three areas that developing a corporate-debt market using Green Bonds and enabling a regular tyre regime, can have a positive material impact on SAMECA as a regional economy to protect it from vulnerabilities from hexagonal

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shocks, which I have mentioned earlier. Finally, that takeaway is in terms of having this implemented to have this success forward. You need to come up with something concrete as a way forward for the countries to get together.

I have a proposal for SAMECA that should be seriously considered in light of the economic issues I have highlighted. Multilateral institutions, such as the World Bank, ADB, AIIB and others, have been set up to finance long-term projects.

These institutions have global coverage and are currently stretched to support the actual needs of regional integration in a timely manner. Some regions have already developed complementary regional development banks, to support intra-regional development. Such institutions include The Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development (KFAED) in 61, the African development bank in 64, EBRD in Europe and others that are focused on accelerating the regional development.

I propose that such a regional development bank be established for SAMECA at an acceptable location with an appropriate capital structure commensurate with the needs of the region.

Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation is a place with 11 countries to promote regional corporation in transport, trade -- and at the end trade policies, but that is not enough to implement the programme due to lack of long-term funding. It is a key aspect of the gap, given the global uncertainties, I have highlighted in this paper. It is all the more important to establish such an institution to cushion the region from hexagonal shocks.

In conclusion, the BRI makes available ample resources and opportunities to stimulate production and inclusive growth, as well as to preserve regional economic stability, payments settlements risks -- and also to reduce by using RMB as an alternative currency.

Hexagonal shocks remains a risk and the regional economies must involve policies and systems to mitigate such stress, as I have highlighted. A well-known Chinese proprietor said: "He who wants success must enable to succeed." The BRI offers a necessary ingredient to restore confidence and stand some stability in to the international monetary system, while simultaneously generating new jobs and reducing poverty in many emerging market economies, such as SAMECA.

Thank you very much.■

China's BRI: Reviving Connectivity and Crafting Growing Transregional Linkages in SAMECA Region



Wang ZhengXu

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Thank you Chair and I would like to thank all my Pakistani friends, colleagues for having me here.

T is a very exciting experience to be here and I really get excited about the idea of SAMECA. So I would like to comment on this but I am not an expert, specialist on BRI. I am more academic. I am not even Track 2 and Track 3 expert! So my discussion will be much broader than some of our practitioner's observations, which are very wonderful. I have learnt a great deal from the conversations so far.

I would talk about three points. One, most of my comments will be on China's overall approach to international affairs -- because we are very practical today. I would like to give you a broader picture -- not representing China or the Chinese Government -- but from an academic point of view on how China is trying to engage the world, our neighbours and BRI is one element of that.

Second; I would talk about BRIs, CPEC and SAMECA and then lastly, I will finish with some prospects of Pakistan and SAMECA.

For China's international views, China's approach to global affairs, there is an official document and I think we can summarize China's approach into five points.

One; the normative aspect in this overall idea over the architecture of China's foreign affairs is the value of peace and development, and cooperation and win-win situation. Then, building worldwide powered partnerships, China used to be a very inward-looking, domestically focused country. Now it has so much impact externally, so she tries to build partnerships worldwide.

And then the third point is: China's regional and global reach, especially with major powers. I think the governments attach more importance to the so-called major power relations. They probably should not talk too much about this. Every country is an equal member of the global society. China knows that the major powers in the region are no more important, or have special importance. Good neighbours by policy, and by CPEC, are part of this too.

The last point is that when we talk about constructivist China, not talking about a world of shared destiny, of human kind, of shared future -- this kind of conceptual international society is there.

This is how I myself understand China's international approach. One; of course, is not to seek hegemony. By Chinese history, we know that hegemony is eventually bad; hegemony will always end up being a disaster. That is what China will try to reject. Multilateralism should be an active motto. We often forget that the United Nations is the most important multilateral institution. China is a very strong supporter of the UN, G20, IMF, ASEAN and BRICS. China's BRI: Reviving Connectivity and Crafting Growing Transregional...

BRICS relate to India, ASEAN-plus-one and ASEAN-plus-three. I see that for the last 20 years, China has been very active in this multilateral or pluralist approach. The G-20 or ASEAN-plus-three include every country in the world. There is a group of BRIC countries and China's methods are very liberalist. Theoretically, liberals try to promote trade and economic cooperation in order to promote contacts and cooperation. In that, there are generally common interests, which will reduce tension consequently, and reduce conflicts.

So that is the liberal's side and their approach in China. I don't think the Chinese leaders or policy-makers study liberalism. They just think this is the right way to go forward. And then constructivism, what do we think about each other? What do we think other people can be changed? So we can build common ideas. We can create new identities. We can increase shared beliefs if we work together, if we engage in cooperation.

China has to keep a relationship with the United States and that is the key. China and the US have to keep a contact and continue with exchanges. Economic transactions are still going on despite the trade war. The US and China need to have an intensive contact in the security sense.

I think in a non-traditional security, it is easier to do. Recently, they were just having a joint exercise in Hawaii, which was about saving in disaster or something (like that). I think China and the US should move to joint military exercises and joint military training. That sounds very less demanding for the US to think about, but I think that's the right thing that they should do.

Then at the governance and development level, they are not in active contact or exchange between the two countries. I think that will be very effective in creating common understanding between the Chinese and the US officials. I have a very good idea and for our American colleagues, if you can take to the American government, try arranging American officials to work in China. Working with the Chinese officials in several department, a city government and a village government for two months, or so; you will know how China works and that will reduce tension.

I think the key is that the US has not recognized China as a partner in the traditional security sense. You can recognize China as a partner in fighting climate change and in dealing with other issues. But security! No, that is not thinkable. Can we challenge the US to think this way? Can China be a security partner?

The US doesn't recognize China as a partner. Since it is recognized somehow as an enemy or a potential enemy; then China has to partner with Russia. This is seen as a defensive reaction by partnering with Russia in security sense. The Chinese officials and the policy-makers didn't realize about working as 'normative' liberal to this day. They don't think this way. The values of China's beliefs are based in what is good for the international society.

Here are two fundamental values; peace and development, and I am very glad that this dialogue actually uses these two concepts, because for China, conflict and poverty is much related. China believes that peace has to come from development. Every other good thing comes from development, and good government comes from development.

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You have to have an economic growth before you can build government capacity. You need technology; you need institutions, and resources, which come from development. We have learnt this from the Chinese experience. That is what has happened. You promote economic vibrancy and then you can do other things. Human rights depict government quality. So peace is a condition for the development. But for peace to endure, you need development.

I said this is from China's own domestic experience. And then, you know, there are scholars who study East Asian development. I compliment (Haroon) Sharif for mentioning this in the East Asian China, Korea, Japan and Singapore. They are thinking of the development, which is about economic prosperity, about improving living standards and the ways our industrialization is investing in building infrastructure, and so on.

The key actor is the government. Government is the solution and not a problem. Look at the bright side, donor society particularly the Western donor society that emphasizes on poverty alleviation. China does poverty alleviation in other ways, such as, health, education and governance. So the belief is that we should empower the grassroots. The two are not in conflict, but probably they have some priorities.

About BRI, I will just quickly say that China is investing in the infrastructure. The idea has first come from Justin Lin and then picked up by Xi Jinping. The government adopted this policy of utilizing China's saving and capital. China's industrial capacity poses questions on matching with our friends, or partners, from the developing countries at a time when the advanced economies are unable to generate growth and investment.

This is similar to the history of the Silk Road in South Asia. Indus Valley was a part of this global network. This also dominated the global trade for centuries until the discovery of the Americas. These are goods that are now found in various sites along with the different routes of the ancient Silk Road for the Chinese. China's BRI project is not about the strategic goals but economic integration, integrated market and then generating growth in the locality, in the local, in the recipient countries, partner countries.

With this, you have co-development and co-prosperity, which is very liberalist. We are not thinking about influence really. We really think about goodwill, mutual trust, good relationship and that is the end. Good relationship is still the end goal. We are not thinking of making Pakistan an enemy of America.

I like your map with a big circle in the middle, with the six economic corridors first envisioned along with CPEC. China and Pakistan are the only two countries talking about corridors in a different way. You have to mention people. I think so far a very strong base for further development; further growth, in the private business has been set. Other businesses should be able to take over the advantage of these two to build upon this bargain. They will have a spill-over effect domestically. You have economic growth that can take place.

Internationally, China-Pakistan partnership can be taken to the third party or third country. Pakistani workers and the technicians are trained here. They can go to other countries, and then third countries can come into CPEC; then SAMECA. It is about doing what is already here and, as I said, your map with a circle in the China's BRI: Reviving Connectivity and Crafting Growing Transregional...

middle, we already have China-Central Asia corridor. Similarly, investment banking is the right direction is yet another option.

The BRI is in Bangladesh, in China, in India, and in Myanmar. Economic corridor over there is moving slightly slowly and the reason, of course, is obvious. China, Pakistan and then Nepal can be linked this way by making Pakistan a multi-point 'melting pot', which could also be called a centre of gravity. Pakistan has this potential, and CPEC is now helping to make Pakistan a centre of gravity for the prosperity of this region and SAMECA.

Thank you very much.

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he statement that politics is the art of the possible is well known. Then geopolitics is the embodiment of this art, taking into account geographical determinism --factors of natural landscape, natural borders and barriers, fossil resources, trade routes and communication lines.

A special connecting link between geographic space is manpower. On the one hand, it is a strong-collective actor capable of translating various strategic scenarios into reality by own will, and on the other, it is the bearer of folk psychology, ethnic traditions and beliefs, which include a special attitude to the environment and sacralization of space that is a part of national identity.

Patterns of Central Asia

When considering Central Asia in this context and regarding the topic of the conference, we must take into account the interweaving of the following factors:

1) Political realism; which gives priority to national interests, including questions of the functionality of governments, role of

the leaders of states and the diplomatic apparatus, as well as historical ties;

- the role of external actors who have always sought to control this region - starting with the Great Game of Great Britain against the Russian Empire and ending with the current US foreign policy;
- 3) the availability of energy resources and a spectrum of competitive advantages.

However, the term "Central Asia" itself is also flexible, since Central Asia is defined differently. According to some scientific schools, Iran is a part of it, while others point exclusively to states that do not have access to the oceans. There are definitions where only parts of some states fall into this zone.

At the same time, Central Asia, in any definition has organic connections with the neighbouring regions -- the Middle East, South Asia and Northern Eurasia. And in a sense, it is a central element of Southern Eurasia, if we consider it from the perspective of continental logic and deep historical relationships.

It should be mentioned that Central Asia was one of the centers of the Enlightenment as far back as the Middle Ages, and the routes of the Steppe Way, and then the Silk Road, in many respects anticipated the modern idea of transcontinental highways.

Mobility, thanks to the activity of nomadic people, diplomatic ethics, the exchange of goods and ideas -- all this contributed to the growth

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of the welfare of states that were in this zone or in close proximity. And now, the dreams of reviving the Silk Road are the basis of various initiatives, and projects with a budget of millions and billions of dollars.

At the same time, scientific and technological achievements of the 20th century make it possible to approach the issue of the revival of the ancient transcontinental highway from the perspective of exploiting natural energy resources in their rich diversity. Because of a number of key factors, energy has become one of the most important objects of geopolitics.

These factors include:

- increased energy demand;
- uneven distribution of geological reserves of oil and gas on the planet;
- the increasing irregularity of providing countries with their own energy resources;
- dependence of the economy of the most countries on the cost of oil and gas resources;
- dependence on external supplies of energy resources and their transformation into an object of state security, combined with the strengthening of the relevant political motivations of the leading countries of the world;

• Transformation of energy in the 20th century into the most technologically advanced sphere of human activity.

Pepe Escobar also noted that it is now necessary to pay special attention to the viability of energy resources in the modern global politics. This researcher believes that the geopolitical wars of the 21st century will be mainly related to oil and gas. He coined the term "Pipelinistan," in which Afghanistan is the fundamental core.

Of course, oil and gas are the driving force of the global economy. Oil is still the world's largest energy resource, but as the International Energy Agency (IEA) predicts, gas will displace oil due to its growing demand and rapid relative growth of 2.3% per year, then oil by 1.6% and carbon by 1.5% or nuclear power by 0.4 %.¹

Energy industry in Central Asia

Unlike the owners of world hydrocarbon reserves, the Persian Gulf countries and the Caspian littoral states, Central Asia has complex characteristics.

This region is rich with hydrocarbons and other minerals. Its resources include 3 billion tons of oil, 7 trillion cu.m. of gas, 40 billion tons of coal, 685 thousand tons of uranium. Countries of the

¹ About the National Renewable Energy Program, May 2019 https://ksaclimate.com/making-a-difference/nrep/.

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region have a branched system of pipelines, a network of motor roads and railroads.²

Kazakhstan belongs to the countries that extract and export oil abroad. Turkmenistan is known for producing and selling natural gas. Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan are developing water resource optimization. If we take an expanded understanding of Central Asia, it is necessary to note the uranium deposits in Mongolia (as well as Kazakhstan), and the nuclear energy factor — China, Pakistan, and India — has nuclear power generation capacities.

Electric power grids transfusing the post-Soviet countries of Central Asia, and connect them with other states.

Energy industry of Kazakhstan: Production of electric energy in Kazakhstan is carried out by 155 electric power stations of various forms of ownership. As of January 1, 2020, the total installed capacity of Kazakhstan's power plants is 22936.6 MW, and the available capacity is 19329.7 MW.

Electric power stations are divided into power plants of national significance, power plants for industrial purposes and power plants for regional purposes.³

² Central Asia: Problems and Outlooks (a Look From Russia and China). M.: Russian Institute for Strategic Studies, 2013.

^{3 «}Электроэнергетика Казахстана: ключевые факты» Казахстанская компания по управлению электрическими сетями https://www.kegoc.kz/ru/elektroenergetika-kazahstana-klyuchevye-fakty

The largest state-owned multi-profile energy holding in Kazakhstan, Samruk-Energo JSC, has approved several projects aimed at improving the reliability of electricity supply to consumers and strengthening the export potential of the state.

There are a number of export gas pipeline projects: "construction of the Beineu-Bozoi-Shymkent gas pipeline" to limit the need for imported gas 2011-2021; already completed projects: "construction of a booster compressor station on the TIP-02 bridge between the BGRthe Kazakhstan-China MG" TBA MG and 2015-2019; and "construction of four compressor stations on the Beineu-Bozoi-Shymkent MG" 2018-2020.⁴ The following gas transportation projects are implemented by the Asian Gas Pipeline LLP (AGP). It was created with the aim of creating a transit route for Turkmen and Uzbek gas towards China; Beineu - Shymkent Gas Pipeline LLP is another section of the Kazakhstan — China gas pipeline. The gas pipeline connects the western oil and natural gas fields with the southern regions of the country, as well as with the main gas pipelines, Bukhara gas-bearing region-Tashkent-Bishkek-Almaty, Gazli-Shymkent and the line "C" of Central Asia — China gas pipeline; JSC "Intergas Central Asia" (ICA) implements the internal transportation and transit of natural gas through Kazakhstan via main gas pipelines; the project for the reconstruction of the underground gas storage facility "Bozoi," in order to balance seasonal gas consumption and to ensure

⁴ Материалы КазГасТранс https://kaztransgas.kz/index.php/ru/okompanii/proekty/proekty-eksportnykh-gazoprovodov

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stable gas supplies to the domestic market and export JSC "Intergas Central Asia" is reconstructing the underground gas storage facility "Bozoi." To improve the quality of gas, clean it from mechanical impurities and moisture, and equip it with a modern gas drying unit.⁵ Oil transportation is particularly an important area of cooperation between Kazakhstan and China. In Kazakhstan, there are two main oil pipelines "Atasu-Alashankou" and "Kenkiyak-Kumkol", which belongs to "Kazakhstan-China Pipeline" LLP (KKT). Also "Kenkiyak-Atyrau" with the owner of MunaiTas in 2018, the company began implementation of the reverse of the pipeline to ensure the supply of the West Kazakhstan oil refineries of the Republic of Kazakhstan and to neutralize the effect of the reduction of oil production in Aktobe and Kyzylorda regions, and exports to China to the tune of up to 6 million tons per year.⁶ In addition, Russia and Kazakhstan are working to prepare for the development of the Central Imashevskoye field with gas reserves.

Nuclear energy is another promising development sector. In the field of uranium production, Kazakhstan ranks second in the world, with reserves of more than 800 thousand tons.

Energy industry in Uzbekistan: Implementation of Gazprom's projects in Uzbekistan began in December 2002, when the

^{5 «}Проекты по транспортировке газа» Национальная компания «КазМунайГаз» https://www.kmg.kz/rus/deyatelnost/project/ptg/

^{6 «}Проекты по транспортировке нефти» Национальная компания «КазМунайГаз» https://www.kmg.kz/rus/deyatelnost/project/ptn/

"Agreement on strategic cooperation in the gas industry" was signed with NHK Uzbekneftegaz. In April 2004, a Production Sharing Agreement (PSA) was signed for further development of the field. The project was invested by a consortium consisting of Zarubezhneftegaz CJSC (now Gazprom Zarubezhneftegaz CJSC) and Gas Project Development Central Asia AG (Switzerland). The PSA is valid for 15 years from the date of entry into force (from 30th July, 2004). In accordance with the terms of the PSA, the investor received licenses for the right to use the subsoil and for the right to extract and sell gas. In 2018, Additional Agreement No. 2 to the Production Sharing Agreement for the Further Development of the Shakhpakhty field was signed. The document provides for the continuation of gas production until 2024.⁷

The project of the modernization of the Bukhara oil refinery is in cooperation with the Korean "SK Engineering and Construction", and the American "Honeywell UOP." The transaction amount -- \$553 million -- is the largest in the history of BNPZ, which has been operating since 1997.⁸

There has been a long discussion about the beginning of the construction of several nuclear power plants on the territory of Uzbekistan. It follows that Uzbekistan will become the first state in

^{7 «}Зарубежные проекты. Узбекистан» материалы «Газпрома» https://www.gazprom.ru/projects/uzbekistan/

^{8 «}Инвестиционные нефтегазовые проекты Узбекистана» проект Топливноэнергетический комплекс https://www.tek-all.ru/news/id6506/

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Central Asia with a nuclear power plant. Its opening is scheduled for 2028. The agreement was signed with the Russian state corporation Rosatom.⁹

Outlook and survey data

The position of countries in the Middle East and Central Asia as the epicenter of the global energy market leads to new challenges. For example, the International Energy Agency estimates that China and India will account for more than 50% of the total global energy demand, 60% of global oil demand, 20% of natural gas demand, and 85% of the global coal demand.¹⁰

The actual survey shows that the Middle East has more oil and natural gas reserves than Central Asia, but the latter's natural energy reserves are more accessible to China, India and Pakistan. They are increasing their influence on the regional and global political arena. From a quantitative point of view, it is impossible to compare the oil and natural gas reserves of the Middle East and Central Asia, but the reserves of the latter are of strategic importance. At the same time, the Middle East meets the growing demand for oil in the world (together, all countries account for 56% of the world's oil reserves),ⁿ and Middle East oil will remain the main source of global oil demand.

⁹ Официальный веб-сайт Президента Республики Узбекистан «Атомная энергетика будет развиваться в мирных целях» https://president.uz/ru/lists/view/1894

¹⁰ World Proved Reserves of Oil and Natural Gas, US Energy Information Administration URL: http://www.eia.gov/emeu/international/reserves.html

¹¹ International Energy Agency, Paris URL: www.iea.org

In this scenario, the search for alternative oil and natural gas reserves is indispensable to meet future energy needs. It is worth highlighting several factors:

- Control over strategically important points of the world by the dominant states;
- Exploration of oil and gas reserves in Central Asia;
- Instability in oil development and production in the Middle East; and
- China's economic boom.

It is obvious that Central Asia has significant reserves of oil and natural gas.¹² However, the demographic level of the countries in this region is not too commensurate with its resources. The rapidly growing energy demand can be met through energy corridors from Central Asia and the Middle East. India is considered the most affected state from this point of view, as India's population growth rate is 1.34%.¹³ Accordingly, India's population is expected to reach 1.57 billion by 2030. Therefore, this state needs to maintain a balance between supply and demand for energy. In this context, if India aspires to become a regional power, then this goal can only be achieved if a stable flow of energy resources is ensured. South Asia is home to an estimated 55 trillion cubic meters of natural

¹² World Proved Reserves of Oil and Natural Gas", US Energy Information Administration (March 3, 2009) URL: http://www.eia.gov /emeu/international/reserves.html

¹³ Angera Sen Sharma, India and Central Asia: Redefining Energy and Trade Links (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2010).

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gas, about one per cent of the world's total. Every year, this region consumes about 1.8 trillion cubic meters of gas. About 44% of them are in India, 39% in Pakistan, and the remaining 17% in Bangladesh. In this context, the states of the region will need to increase imports. As for oil, South Asia contains 5.1 billion barrels of oil, which is about 0.5% of the world's reserves. Most of the crude oil imports come from the Middle East, and this trend is likely to continue in the coming years. South Asia's oil imports are expected to rise sharply as production remains flat and demand rises. It can be argued that the oil and gas reserves in South Asia are not sufficient to meet energy needs and the three most populous states (Bangladesh, India and Pakistan) are facing an energy crisis. Most of their energy needs are met by the oil of the Persian Gulf region.

Currently, the Indian commercial energy pool consists of coal 51%, oil 36%, gas 9%, nuclear power 2% and hydroelectric power 2%. India imports 75% of its oil from the international market. Pakistan is the second most populous country in South Asia (in the world ranking, Pakistan ranks 6th), and is also experiencing an energy crisis. Pakistan's commercial energy pool is covered by natural gas at 51%, oil at 29%, coal at 8%, and hydroelectric power at 11% and nuclear power at 1%. Bangladesh's commercial energy pool consists of 68% natural gas, 30% oil, and 2% hydroelectric power. From this point of view, the oil and gas reserves of Central Asia are the solution to the energy crisis in South Asia. In addition, the excessive use of hydroelectric power in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan is also a source of

special attraction for this southern region. Being geographically close, Central Asia is the closest and most economically attractive source of energy supply, especially for the developing economies and industrial planning of Pakistan and India. From a geographical point of view, Pakistan has a greater advantage, because it is also the communication center of the entire region. In 2000, President Pervaiz Musharraf and Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar visited Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan. During their visit, they expressed Islamabad's inclination to develop projects for the creation of interregional energy pipelines. The Pakistani side also expressed interest in becoming a part of the agreements on the supply of gas from Turkmenistan and oil from Kazakhstan.

Thus, South Asia is directly dependent on natural gas reserves. The region borders Iran, Qatar and Turkmenistan, which are among the five largest natural gas storage countries; and Pakistan serves as an energy corridor in the context of ensuring supply. However, the question arises, which type of energy resource is the most pragmatic and cost-effective.

Security issues:

Security is directly related to energy geopolitics. Pipelines, terminals, processing complexes, power plants need a special regime, which depends on the political situation within the country. As the incident with the Aramco complex in Saudi Arabia shows, a local conflict or
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the activities of a paramilitary group can lead to disproportionate damage.

In this sense, Afghanistan remains a weak link in the regional energy geopolitics. The oil pipeline project from Azerbaijan and Central Asia through Afghanistan to Pakistan and India, which was lobbied by the American Unocal Corporation, was never completed due to lack of stability in this country. There were unprecedented incidents of Taliban bombing of power grid towers in Afghanistan, which jeopardized the CASA-1000 project -- a high-voltage power transmission line from Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan to Pakistan through the territory of Afghanistan. Given the current chronic instability, which may persist for years, if not decades, it is difficult to say what place Afghanistan will occupy in the energy map of Central Asia.

It raises the question that how global control on oil and gas is organized. For example, the US hegemony in the Gulf, a combination of monetary control (crude is traded exclusively in US dollars, predominantly via the New York-based NYMEX and London-based IPE) and physical control (the US Navy controls all transoceanic oil transports), is the essential confirmation, as well as the crucial spring of the overall US global posture.¹⁴

There were similar attempts to establish control on Central Asian energy market. In a way, the united western front for promoting its

¹⁴ Anis H. Bajrektarevic. Energy Geopolitics: Arab McFB 'Spring'. BeiJing Time, September 30, 2011.

own interest dealing with oil and gas in the Caspian area pushed China and Russia for more close cooperation and partnership that is much larger than geo-economic issues. Both Eurasian giants are rejecting deep incursion of external actors, especially the US into affairs of the region. Anyway technical cooperation is possible, as we see activity of the British Petroleum in Russia; and Shevron, ExxonMobil, ConocoPhillips in Kazakhstan.

For security reasons Russia and China, as well as Russia and Iran, started energy trade deals under national currency to avoid any negative impact of dollar influence and sanctions. However, more flexible mechanism that secures interests of all actors should be developed for the region itself.

Infrastructure projects as catalysts for development

This year in 2021, construction of the TAPI gas pipeline in Afghanistan will begin. Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas trunk pipeline (MGP) will be constructed by Turkmenistan. Last year, Turkmenistan completed construction on its territory.¹⁵ Project to build a gas pipeline in Central Asia originally began in 2002 under the auspices of the Asian Development Bank (ADB).

^{15 «}Строительство газопровода ТАПИ на территории Афганистана начнется в 2021 г.» материалы Neftegaz.RU https://neftegaz.ru/news/transport-and-storage/651439-stroitelstvo-gazoprovoda-tapi-na-territorii-afganistana-nachnetsya-v-2021-g/

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The pipeline will supply the participating states with 3.2 billion cubic meters of natural gas per day. The TAPI project, a quadrilateral pipeline project, has the potential to start a new round of cooperation and economic interdependence between Central Asia and South Asia. Equally important, the cooperation of the TAPI participants can help resolve the conflict situation between India and Pakistan, and ensure political stability in the region.

Infrastructural project of regional trade in electric energy between the Central and Southern Asia countries is also very important. CASA-1000 will help transform this region and will mark an important step towards the formation of the Regional Electricity Market in Central and South Asia (CASAREM).

However, the very situation of Afghanistan indicates its important role as a communication hub, which can significantly reduce the cost of pipelines bypassing this country.

It should be noted that states that themselves do not have energy resources can advantageously use their geostrategic position to provide not only themselves, but also be a transit country, receiving certain dividends. A good example is Turkey. In the early 2000s, the Baku-Tbilissi-Ceyhan pipeline was considered a project of the century there. In 2003, the Blue Stream pipeline was launched, through which natural gas was supplied from Russia to Turkey. The Baku-Tbilissi-Erzurum gas pipeline known as the South Caucasus pipeline was built in 2006.

The Turkish Stream gas pipeline, which began to be built in 2017 and connected the Black Sea coasts of Russia and Turkey, is an occasional project -- it was built due to Bulgaria's refusal to provide its territory for gas transit from Russia to the Balkan Peninsula. Although Bulgaria, subsequently, admitted its mistake. The Balkan Stream should become a continuation of the Turkish stream.

In June 2018, the Trans-Anatolian gas pipeline was launched in Turkey, which made it possible to talk about the possible revival of the Nabucco project. There was a lot of noise around the Nabucco project -- the interests of many participants and large investments were declared, but in the end it was frozen. In addition, the Trans-Adriatic Pipeline cannot function without proper Turkish infrastructure.

These successes of Turkey in balancing between Russia, the EU and the Caspian littoral countries -- suppliers of resources -- Azerbaijan and Iran allowed Ankara to increase not only its own importance as a transit country, but also provide potential and flexibility for possible future negotiations on energy diplomacy.

Back to Central Asia, we should note that in post-Soviet Central Asia, there is not a single rule-setting authority but a multiplicity of decision-making centers corresponding to the number of sovereign states in the region; their interests and preferences do not necessarily converge.

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Second, mapping of pipelines tends to be strongly influenced by outside powers, predominantly the quadrilateral poles formed by the US, the European Union, Russia and China, as well as the enterprises originating therefrom, respectively.¹⁶

Now the situation has changed for Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, which are members of the Eurasian Economic Union. Eurasian integration implies standardization and a clear set of identical rules for all members.

Some aspects of energy are interconnected with other industries, which are also needed to be taken into account.

Integration of the hydropower complex of Siberia, Tien Shan and Pamir could allow Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan not to develop their own hydroelectric power stations, infringing upon water management interests of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan.

The Central Asian rivers could be more oriented to the irrigation needs of all the regions, and electrical energy could be supplied from Siberian hydroelectric power stations with subsequent continuation of high-voltage power transmission lines through Central Asia to the regions of Pakistan, India and southeast China, closing thereby the southern branch of the Eurasian energy system.

¹⁶ Vladislav Savin, Cherng-Shin Ouyang. Analysis of Post-Soviet Central Asia's Oil & Gas Pipeline Issues, 25.12.2013 https://www.geopolitica.ru/en/article/analysis- postsoviet-central-asias-oil-gas-pipeline-issues

Therefore, the integrated connectivity of all participants in the energy market is very important for a flexible response and the possibility of redistributing resource flows.

In general, the main criterion in considering the energy component of Central Asia should be the goal-setting of key actors.

Who are the multi-stakeholders in the extraction and distribution of energy? What are the profit margins of companies? Is there a social policy in these projects? What is the medium and long term strategy?

Starting from classical geo-economics, we need to jump on the next level and to draw public attention to energy resources as a necessary condition of existence of human civilization, on the need of their responsible and rational use. In particular, the point is about solutions and methods of sustainable energy sources management. These solutions and methods are aimed at:

- Stimulating the use of alternative energy sources, including renewable ones (RES);
- Ensuring quality and reliability of energy supply;
- Monitoring energy production, storage and use; and
- Providing general access to sustainable energy sources.

There are two clear trends to reorganize Eurasian geopolitics. Russia promotes Eurasian integration from one side with the purpose of the Integration of integrations for the continent. China promotes

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connectivity via Belt and Road Initiative. Both are very useful and need to be released in conjunction with such elements:

- Digitalization of energy;
- Innovations in electricity;
- Advanced technologies; and
- Strategic hedging.

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Key Words: energy, geopolitics, Central Asia, resources, gas, oil, electricity, pipeline, integration, Eurasia.

Iranian Perspective on Regional Trade and Transportation Initiatives



Ambassador Javad Kachoueian

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First of all, I would like to thank the officials of the Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) for holding this important conference on Peace and Development in South Asia, Middle East and Central Asia (Margalla Dialogue). I also sincerely appreciate their warm hospitality.

Security, peace and development are intertwined, and to achieve it you need to have comprehensive interactive and productive cooperation with each other. Peace, security and development in these geographical regions, impact the world and is extremely important.

The Islamic Republic of Iran's strategy on developing and strengthening cooperation in different areas, in particular regional trade and expanding transport routes has been solid.

We have always considered security, peace and stability and the development of our peripheral countries, equal to our own security and development. We have also always been an active and effective contributor to peace, security and development in the regions of west of Asia, Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent.

Over the past 40 years, the Islamic Republic of Iran has sought to play an appropriate role. It has contributed in expanding economic cooperation in areas, such as trade, energy, investment, banking and financial cooperation, as well as the implementation of several development projects. Iran has also provided its land, sea and rail transport infrastructure and transit capacity to achieve this goal.

Iran's strategic, geopolitical and geostrategic position and its convenient rail and roads as well as access to Persian Gulf, Oman Sea, and the Caspian Sea have always been the focus of major economic producers in the world.

The North-South International Transport Corridor (NOSTRAC) is one of the most important trade routes between Asia and Europe, up to 40% shorter and 30% cheaper in terms of distance and time than traditional routes. This corridor is one of the most important transit routes in Central Asia. This corridor establishes transit link between the countries of the North Europe and Russia through Iran and Caspian Sea to the countries of the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf and South Asia.

The interconnection between the Gulf of Oman and the Chahbahar port on the east coast of the Makran Sea, or the Arabian Sea, plays an important role in the exchange of goods to the east of the country and our neighbours in Central and Eastern Asia. This important international corridor currently has 10 members, including Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkey, Ukraine, Belarus, Oman and Syria. Bulgaria is an observer. It is one of the 10 rail and hybrid rail corridors defined at the European and Asian Transport Conference.

Iranian Perspective on Regional Trade and Transportation Initiatives

The Islamic Republic of Iran plays an important role in the economic and security stability of the region by establishing 10 north-south and east-west corridors with a total of 21,000 kilometres.

- 1. The first corridor, 1920 km long, from southeastern Iran to Khorramshahr and Abadan ports.
- 2. The second corridor, 825 km long, from Tehran to Khosravi border, western Iran.
- 3. The third corridor, 1940 km long, from Bazargan in northwest Iran to East Iran and Afghanistan.
- 4. The fourth Corridor, 2952 km long, from East Azerbaijan province to East of Iran and Afghanistan.
- 5. The fifth corridor, 2130 km long, from Mashhad in the East of Iran to Central Asia.
- 6. The sixth corridor, 2581 km long, from Kerman city to Iranshahr city.
- 7. The seventh corridor, 2893 km long, from Tehran to Bandar Abbas port.
- 8. The eighth corridor, 1483 km long, from Qom city to Sirjan.
- 9. The ninth corridor, 3000 km long, from Zanjan city to Bushehr port.
- 10. The tenth corridor, 1152 km long, from Salmas city to Imam Khomeini port.

Iran is at the crossroads of the world corridors because of its strategic location. The North-South; East-West; South Asia and TRACECA -- four important communication corridors in the world pass through Iran.

From the Islamic Republic of Iran's point of view, the three pillars of ensuring stability, security and prosperity in our region are:

- 1. Common understanding of the concept of neighbourhood as a factor of solidarity and coalition.
- 2. Development structures for broad and comprehensive economic and commercial cooperation such as road, sea and air transport and pipelines.
- 3. Expanding cooperation with the aim of enhancing trade and economic relations.

The goal of Iran's foreign policy is to foster regional convergence, which means more confidence, more trade, and greater engagement between the countries in the region.

Finally, I would like to emphasize once again that the policy of active and comprehensive engagement with the countries of these regions is a top priority for the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. We believe that the common challenges of development provide an opportunity to collaborate and achieve common goals.

The Islamic Republic of Iran has always been at the forefront in establishing friendly, fraternal and balanced relations, based on the principles of mutual respect and common interest with all the countries in these regions.

Once again, I thank the Islamabad Policy Research Institute for planning and organizing this important event and for the warm hospitality. We hope that with the expansion and consolidation of interaction, and cooperation between our countries. We will see comprehensive development, as well as peace, stability and security.

China's Vision of Shared Prosperity



Mr Yao Jing

Ambassador of People's Republic of China to Pakistan

Honourable Ministers, distinguished guests, I feel very honoured to be invited to this very distinguished platform.

The dialogue has gained more and more relevance to discuss regional cooperation not only in peace, but also in development arenas. I just have a little thought about this topic. I think this Margalla Dialogue is showcasing Pakistan. So when I was reading this agenda, South Asia, Middle East and Central Asia, I think because of Pakistan, East Asia also should have been an integral part in the regional development and prosperity.

Pakistan is located at a very critical and strategic location. This part of the world with East Asia and the largest population, and also a largest market is also in this East Asia. So when we are discussing about the connectivity, about prosperity and cooperation, Pakistan matters -- and it matters a lot.

Second, in this part of the world, I mean the areas under the discussion, is for China; we have established quite a lot of cooperation and investment. As far as China is concerned, this is a first emerging market -- and a lot of demand for regional cooperation and connectivity exists in the region.

The awareness has been created that one of the depending priority for the nations of this region is a need for a peaceful neighbourhood. The inspirations have been created by the governments and the countries of the region for us to conduct more and more cooperation, and more and more mechanisms to promote regional developmental integrities.

However, these regions also faced quite a lot of challenges. There are still some kinds of challenges regarding comforts, regardless of mutual understanding, and also there are some kinds of state-tostate problems. I think that when we are talking about development and connectivity, the physical connectivity of infrastructure is important. However, more important is our coordination and also the connectivity of the policies.

When the decision-makers of the countries in this region would put their attention to economic development, like the leaders of Pakistan doing right now; they are trying to improve the environment for investment. They have proved that they have regional facilitation role for a peaceful and stable environment by bringing policies like ease-of-doing business in Pakistan.

I think these kinds of policies are welcome; if all the regions, all the countries could adopt a similar direction for development and for prosperity. This will form the fundamental baseline for other nations of this region to consolidate cooperation.

Second, China will like to further contribute to this kind of connectivity not only in the field of infrastructure but also in the fields of trade, of confidence-building, and mechanism-building like it is between China and Pakistan. We have started this cooperation of CPEC and it could be a platform for the regional cooperation, too.

And finally, I think that Pakistan is gaining or occupying more and more important role in connecting these areas. The connecting of these areas is by no means only for physical infrastructure connectivity. Pakistan could also play a promotional role for regional development and also for peace.

Thank you.■



TECHNOLOGY SESSION

Cyberspace in 2025: Cyber Security Challenges in SAMECA and Prospects for Multilateral Cooperation

Future of Science and Technological Innovation in Pakistan Mr Fawad Ahmed Chaudhry

Role of Dialogue and Mediation in Promoting Trust and Stability in Cyberspace: Implications for the SAMECA Region Dr Richard Wilcox



Cyber Security Challenges in SAMECA



Mr Fawad Ahmed Chaudhry

Federal Minister for Science & Technology, Government of Pakistan

Thank you very much for having me here.

would like to start with cyber security. I was in the Ministry of Information earlier. Wherever I go, I raise the issue of cyber security in the perspective of social media. I tried to bring legislation on Pakistan Media Regulatory Authority (PMRA), under which, I said, we can regulate all the media, including social media. Unfortunately, my Ministry was changed. Now Ministry of Science and Technology has been given to me. That legislation was not carried through.

However, in real terms, I would use the term 'Cyber Utopia.' It is a very good and an appropriate term. I think without technological superiority, cyber security is a utopia. You will not be able to secure your cyber space if you do not have technology. The rapid changes in technology have made our cyber space vulnerable and there is no doubt about that. Actually in security perspective, we have seen it since the Iraq War in 1993. We have seen how technology has played a huge role in the wars. And then the modern wars in Afghanistan. Elsewhere, you can see the use of technology, especially in the air space.

It has in our missiles systems, as well. In fact, everywhere, technology plays a huge role. In recent elections of President (Donald) Trump's victory, the Russians used hackers and social media activists to actually influence the Facebook. And most of you

must have heard Mark Zuckerburg in Congress Committee talking about social media security. For social media, security is now a big issue with top companies like Google and Facebook. It is one of the major issues that the world is facing now.

In Pakistan, I must say the Cyber Security Policy is ready. It is with the Information Technology Ministry now. In March 2019, they had completed it. They had not announced it yet, but it is almost in final stages, and if you have any input, you can give it to me. I can take that to them and would also send it to Cyber Security for review. In my view, it will remain a utopia unless we have that kind of technology to enforce that policy.

For example, what is the biggest challenge we have? We don't have our own clout, so Pakistan must have its own clout. We don't have our own database centre, and this is despite that Pakistan actually did well as far as the data management is concerned. With the establishment of NADRA in 2001, Pakistan was the first country in the world that issued and prepared the technology of machine readable passports.

We were the first country in the world that collected the data of 220 million people, and issued Identity Cards, but we didn't utilise it later. That data is a very precious document lying with NADRA. Recently, the Cabinet has approved the Data Collection Center at NITB, so the NADRA and NITB would become two hubs of data, as far as Pakistan is concerned. As a next step, we certainly need to create our own clout to work with.

Our cooperation with China is obviously there, but we would like to have more cooperation from Malaysia on cyber security and other

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areas. In Malaysia, companies are more into these things and it is a privatized economy. So we would like to work with the Malaysian companies to achieve cyber security. The biggest challenge is that the world is changing and the technology has made us to think of a decade or less while making policies, because one development can change the whole world's scenario.

So all the policies have to be focused on seven to ten years, and not more than that because the technology will revolutionize things further, and you will have new areas to focus on. In Pakistan, we have data centre, and whereas we need our own clout but we also need very dynamic function from SUPARCO. For example, the Occupied Kashmir is without Internet for about 100 days now. Why SUPARCO hasn't initiated any project to enable the people of Occupied Kashmir to use Internet? Why our institutions and people in private universities haven't worked on that? So we have to look into the issues that how we can enable people to use in this respect, and secondly; how can we enable ourselves to stop the misuse of Internet in our own cyber space. Obviously, these are the two areas we need to work upon.

If you see the history of Pakistan, we started as a very robust country as far as science and technology is concerned. In 1952, when we established Pakistan Council for Scientific & Industrial Research (PSCIR), there was no parallel to that institution in the whole Third World. During 1960's Industrial revolution, we owe thanks to PSCIR. In 1962, when we started our space programme, we were the only second country after USSR in 1963, when we launched our rocket in space. In 1963, we were just inches away from USSR and India. Even China was not close to us. In 1964, when we started Pakistan Council for Research on Water Resources (PCRWR), water was not really considered precious enough even in the developed world to really have an institution to research on that. So this is the kind of background we have. Similarly, in 1990s, we were the first country in South Asia that introduced mobile phones. We were the first country in Asia that laid down the fibre optic cable. (Former Prime Minister) Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Shaheed started that in 1975, and to be fair with (former Prime Minister) Benazir Bhutto Shaheed, she launched the fibre optic project and we inaugurated that in 1993.

In mid-1990s, the cooperation between the defence forces and the civil research, and development departments broke down. In one way we have done rather well. For example, in USA, 51% of R&D budget actually goes into the defence-related research. In Pakistan, the budget that goes into defence R&D should have a spill-over effect on the civil side too. That is lacking, and there is no interface between the Pakistan civil R&D departments and the military's R&D department.

Therefore, I am trying to create this interface. I had a meeting with the Army Chief. I had a meeting with all the concerned. We want to create an interface between the defence forces and the civil forces to work together on research and development. For example, drone is the future as far as agriculture is concerned. SPD and Air Force both have a remarkable technology of drones, but that has not been shared with the Agriculture Department. We need to work on that.

The mechanism that I proposed is an interface between civil institutions, civil R&D and military R&D, and then the private sector should lead the civil research. In Pakistan, the major problem is that

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the government is trying to do everything. And obviously, the government, like all the governments in the world, are not good in execution or business or money-making. It should be the private sector. Government should be an enabler, as far as businesses are concerned. And that is also true in technology. So as I said, in 80s and 90s, our focus from civil R&D was totally shifted to defence R&D. So we did well actually in defence.

There is no parallel to Pakistan's missile system -- even in the Third World, what to talk about the Muslim world. We are an atomic power and this is itself an evidence of our technological superiority. This needs to be linked as Pakistan now is among the six or seven countries that have technology to manufacture its own fighter planes. So we are actually not as backward in technology as many would perceive. When I say in 2022, we will send our manned mission in space, many in Pakistan were taken aback that what I am talking about!

When I reminded them that in 1963, we were the second country in Asia that launched its rocket, it was really surprising for many people. So in my view, for the future -- and from the future, I mean next five years, we are establishing a civil-military interface to lead this R&D.

Secondly, I have brought back our civil focus on science and technology. This year, we have got a 600% raise in science and technology ministry. Next year, I am looking for a 1500% raise in my budget in science and technology.

With this kind of budget, we can create an eco-system where the technology will be used for the betterment of economy -- and for the

betterment of our security, and everything. Needless, there is a part of external security and internal security. In internal security, safe cities and smart cities are playing a major role in the developed world. Thus, we need to focus on that -- and *Insha' Allah*, with the kind of students that are now coming up from Pakistani universities, I hope the way we lost some years back, we will be able to find that back.

And *Insha' Allah*, we will have technology-based, tech-based and knowledge-based Pakistan that would focus on the future. Insha'Allah.

Thank you very much.■

Role of Dialogue and Mediation in Promoting Trust and Stability in Cyberspace: Implications for the SAMECA Region



Dr Richard Wilcox

Senior Advisor, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, Switzerland

am loaned from the United Nations to a Geneva-based foundation called Center for Humanitarian Dialogue, which is a private diplomacy organization. It has been around 20 years now in the field of conflict mediation. Some notable work was the disarmament and dissolution of a terrorist group, ETA, in Spain last year. It was a work of HD. Similarly, it was also a forum for incident management in the South China Sea, where the naval forces from all the areas were managed to put together. We worked in Europe, Middle East, Asia and Africa.

While in Uruguay, I sat down with the head of organizations and while discussing strategic directions and conflict mediation, the question of cyber conflict came out and what we are doing in this new field. Or maybe, it is just a new kind of weapon that we can treat like anything else. It doesn't deserve any particular or specific attention. So I started examining this. In the end, we -- in fact -decided that it is a very different field of conflict. It has several dynamics that require specific types of engagement by mediators to make a difference.

What I would try to do this morning is: I will try to explain what makes cyber conflict different? What are the strategic dynamics of cyber conflict? Why active mediation is necessary in that space and what it could help to achieve? Why is it relevant to this SAMECA region, in particular? What I am looking at when I say that cyber conflict is the use of code to destroy the digital systems.

We are not talking about cyber-crimes undertaken by private actors for profit. We are not talking about information warfare undertaken by state actors for political influence. I would rather focus on cyber conflict as the use of cyber warfare in an interstate conflict. Where war is a continuation of politics by other means and in this case, its continuation of politics by violent cyber means. So why would a mediator focus on this particular tool rather than focusing on the political causes of the underlined conflict.

In fact, when I was doing my graduation work at MIT in Nuclear Strategy in mid 90s, cyber word has just appeared on the horizon. We just had an email for a couple of years essentially. It was seen as the new form of non-lethal options that expands the tool kits available to policy-makers just to put it in the box first with other non-lethal force -- just as rubber bullets and sticky foams and that sort of things.

It is, in fact, true as this can be used as a non-lethal alternative to kinetic weapons. We have recently President (Donald) Trump, in a grand moment of artic-ul-ism, explicitly explained why he chose to use cyber weapons in-a-charge to attack Iran rather than using kinetic weapons that had been suggested to him. He said, "I didn't want to kill that many people, we are not looking to go to war with Iran, so I chose cyber weapons."

It can be a non-lethal alternative for policy-makers and so far, so good and then why even I engage on it. So the particular pretentious

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of strategic dynamics in cyber weapons arises from the nature of these tools. That is what makes it so important to have communication channels in mediation in this space.

So cyber weapons hits it technically savvy audience. So profoundity is a key aspect here. They can be used remotely. They are easily obfuscated in any number of false flags. The options are available to disguise your finger prints when it comes to the use of cyber weapons. We have recently seen that attacks have been attributed to Iran by UK, where they were found by UK itself. This is actually not by Iran. It is a false flag operation by someone else.

In fact, a big fear in this field is the Fire-Eye, which was founded by Ashar Aziz. There it could be verily obfuscated and attribution is feasible, but there are always certain doubts attached to it. They can be very finely calibrated and targeted, anything from targeting a large attack on an overwhelmingly large systems to very fine penetrations and disruptions.

They can also spread inadvertently. NotPetya is the famous example of this where an attempted attack on Ukrainian electricity grid spread throughout shipping companies than no other source of spaces throughout the world. Some of the impacts can be reversed, which is very unusual. Some can also be just used against others by the target but perhaps the most pernicious aspect of the cyber weapons is that in order to use effectively, you already have to have a presence in your opponent's systems before you ever decide that you want to engage in to use this weaponry.

The US strategic policy-making has one grade advantage as it comes up with formulas. Their doctrines are also articulated. The articulation has a persistent presence, which means the US will

always try to be in any potential opponent's system in order to have that option available to use cyber weapons.

That requirement itself has an escalatory nature because once you discover that your opponent is in your system that alone is a challenge to your government. All of these aspects have least of their ability to be used remotely, and finally calibrate upon and target upon. Essentially, we see the cyber weapons as the weapons of the first resolve for the policy-makers.

We are seeing it now and we will see it more in the future that when the conflict begins to escalate, the continuation of politics takes the violent means. Cyber weapons will be the weapons of first resolve and that gives it an escalatory potential.

That escalatory potential largely arises from the decision in strategic relationship that the other side has to make. So how can you deal with cyber weapons in strategic perspective? Yes, three choices are available to you. The first is defence. Perhaps, as it is the most obvious, you build protective systems and put yourself behind the wall. And in this case, you also don't have to discuss with your opponents thinking they won't and you are safely protected. In cyber space, I think all of you readily agree that it just doesn't work.

The systems at work that are put in place in the last 30 years are so vulnerable that they are not designed by security in mind at first place, and now in strategic terms. Attack surface is expanding so rapidly with the advent of 5G technology. There is almost infinite space for attack and any particular attack requires a defence. So in strategic terms, we call it offence dominance.

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It is much easier to use a cyber-weapon offensively than to defend against them. And historically, at times when there is offence dominance, land itself turns into instability. So defence doesn't work because in defence, you need to be on top for a needful mediation. What is your next option?

The next option is deterrence where you draw a very clear line. If you cross that line with the use of certain cyber weapons, we will massively retaliate against you and thereby keep you even considering making such a move. Everybody takes all their cyber deterrence. It is called right from the issuance of a threat. Just by being strong, you don't have to do anything terrible. That's great.

Unfortunately, that doesn't work in cyber. And it doesn't work because the weapons first can be obfuscated, finally calibratable and very precisely targetable. What are the limits? If you attack an electricity grid, we will retaliate. Well, if you attack it for example two days in a part of the country, does that make it an accurate redline? You add redline only if it has some massive economic impact? One calls it redline only if it damages the facility and causes a cost impact? It has miracle systems that are off-limit.

It is very difficult to draw precise redline. So credibility only requires commitment, otherwise there could only be a massive retaliation to any act. It still is too fluid in the area of strategic interaction forum.

> In terms of deterrence, there isn't much room for mediation. The reason is that there is nothing after issuing a threat. There can't be any more talking with your adversary. In cyber too, it doesn't work.

The remaining approach that one can use is 'tit for tat' retaliation. 'You hit me, I hit you', so roughly you retaliate in proportion to what has been done and either you can bring the end or you can escalate. For not to escalate, you need to have a sense of your opponent's action and where it stands.

Retaliating proportionally against their attack will be something to pen to settle again. That requires a lot of understanding and a lot of communication between the adversaries to work. For that kind of communication, you need trusted channels, you need to be familiar, and you need to have someone to talk to you on other side. What we particularly miss in cyber is the kind of confidence-building measures, we are familiar with. For instance, on nuclear assets i.e. hotlines, counterparts, regular consultations are so important, and some of these measures are also put in place in other regions as well.

In OIC, I attended a review conference in May. On papers, all the measures were emplaced. When their counterparts were tested half of the phone numbers didn't answer and didn't work. That approach is critical when it comes to cyber conflict because you are left with only one strategic choice that is 'tit for tat' retaliation. And in order to not let that result into a wild escalation, you need to communicate that you are retaliating, but you are willing to address that.

At that point, this is also our work related to international norms that Mr Jaffery was discussing earlier. In order to understand what is considered as an appropriate response, there must be an understanding of proper behaviour in cyber space also. So these are the norms that are discussed in the committee of experts at UN, now at an open-ended working group. We also observed that the norm

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such as, not attacking the structures of the Internet or the critical infrastructure, it would be defined by the behaviour. It also helps competing sides. The adversarial sides would help understand an appropriate response to a particular attack. This observation would help in avoiding an escalation.

I tend to explain when I teach for example, Cold War. It is called Moscow Rules, and I think in Moscow Republic, it is called Washington Rules. It essentially means that when Americans would discover some Soviet spies, they would expel a couple of diplomats and vice-versa. If you expel a couple of diplomats and others expel twenty, then it is an escalation. So this understanding of what these Moscow Rules are in cyber space is really critical for any attempt of stabilizing the effort. I think rather than country scientists cut themselves off from the global digital community from the Internet, I think we are heading towards an era where you could define mutually tolerable vulnerabilities.

In order to be a part of global Internet and to take advantages of the digital economy, you will have to accept certain vulnerabilities and be able to deal with situations when such vulnerabilities cross certain thresholds. Again, it is easily understood in a way and we understand our diplomatic engagements. It is an open secret that not everybody at the embassy is a diplomat; rather some people are doing funny stuff on the side.

Your cyber relationships are like that too. Not every dab that crosses or flow into your border is going to be a proper engagement. However, if you cut it off, you can't have that kind of engagement in this digital economy. So mutually accept some vulnerability and then you can rely on some 'tit for tat' retaliation. This requires communication and understanding in order to stabilize this relationship and things could settle down again.

The cyber conflict has also been a real issue in SAMECA as well. There have been some cyber players in this region too. Iran is a big actor, and so is China. When it comes to Pakistan and India, both have enormous potential for cyber conflict although we haven't seen it yet. In India, they are very concerned about the cyber conflict. The two groups they associate with are from North Korea. It used to be involved in the financial attacks on the national institutions resulting in payments. Some could be recovered and others not.

Similarly, Bangladesh faced the largest robbery in the banking history when it was hacked for trillion dollars returns from the account of its New York reserve bank. At the end, about 100 million dollars were actually stolen.

And recently, the same group that India associates with its financial sector, has been seen attacking the facility of nuclear power plant at Karalla, which is a new development. They looked into it well and found fingerprints of the North Korean group. Hence, even if China is not involved in that and only North Korea is associated with it, the situation of escalation may arise even if the countries concerned are not engaged in the act of cyber conflict. It could convert into a simple situation of false flag operations, and the difficulty of attribution may cause more difficulty.

And in that sort of situation, having confidence-building measures in place, you know who is the contact on the other side. It is technically competent to discuss this issue in a situation of preestablished trust. That is going to be of critical importance. And we Role of Dialogue and Mediation in Promoting Trust and Stability in...

hope through our engagement in this region, and other regions also, we can lay some helpful foundation for those confidence-building measures to help stabilize.

What makes it an unavoidable form of conflict is that you might not like a cyber-conflict but cyber-conflict likes you. So it is going to be a part of your future, and it is really important to get organized for that now.

Thank you.■



PLENARY SESSION IV

Ecological Imbalance, Climate Change and Water Scarcity: Approaches for Regional Cooperation

Transboundary Water Management: Pakistan-India and Pakistan-Afghanistan Dr Pervaiz Amir

Mitigation of Ecological Degradation in South Asia: Towards Inclusive Regional Approach Dr Rehana Siddiqui

Climate Change Hotspots in South Asia: Glacier Loss and Way Forward Dr Netra P. Timsina


Transboundary Water Management: Pakistan-India and Pakistan-Afghanistan



Dr Pervaiz Amir

Head, Global Water Partnership (GWP), Pakistan

hen I accepted this invitation from Mr Hasham, I saw a list of seven Indians who were part of this programme, and one of the attractions for me was to hopefully listen to Arundhati Roy, for whom I have a lot of regard. Later, when I received a second invite, I saw most of the names scrapped out and I know the very reasons why it happens. That intellectual capital across the border should be here. I think that is the real format for the dialogues, especially when that country is one which is most concerned and major partner to that and we need to sought this out sooner or later.

I will share some of the views which I shared two weeks back with a very senior Indian diplomat in Bhutan. Let me come to this topic. It is fairly dry. I am not going to go out and give the whole lecture on the Indus Basin Treaty or the relationships from 1960's -- that is a lot of history. There are at least 35 academic papers on the Indus Basin Treaty and Pakistan's transboundary relationships with India. So I will just quickly take a look on that.

That is history and the one which is more interesting is the emerging challenges and opportunities with the Afghan situation. I think that is going to be more interesting and challenging. I will talk a little bit

about that and finally look at which is the way forward and try to give few ideas over there.

So the first 10-12 slides will go a little faster as I think the more important part is the real opportunities. Hopefully, this situation in which we are already in is where people, who need to be talking together, are not sitting over here. That is the same when I go to India where now there are a lot of restrictions – some even put in by our government. The first thing you get is intelligence agencies. So let us take it from there.

There are basically transboundary issues between Pakistan and India, and Pakistan and Afghanistan is also taking a turn. In the first instance, I think the turn is for the worse and in the second instance, relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan are expected to be in tune with more favourable environment.

India and Pakistan are bound by the 1960 Treaty. Runde in his opening remarks said that the US aid here is now only \$20 million. I also recognized that you have put in one trillion dollars next door. We have been the path way to that funding of one trillion dollars into Afghanistan, so I do not think the relationship is less important. Just remember, history has a lot to teach about this particular relationship. It is not probably at the crossroads right now. We do hope that recognition is very much there. So it is not about money whether there is aid or no aid, but the relationship is from 1960's, which is the Indus Basin Treaty. It is fostered by the United States and this is a very fundamental contribution to this particular region.

The only changing perspective is due to BJP and the RSS agenda. I think it is totally new dynamics and this situation has dramatically changed. We heard some arguments put on for Kashmir and other

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areas. I believe the water agenda gets affected by these two institutions, which are very strong in the neighbouring country.

Climate is also challenging the cost of water arrangement development which is a conflict multiplier. I think climate change is here. It starts off from the Himalayas, Karakoram, and it goes all the way down to the Arabian Sea. We are going to see a lot of dynamics because of the climate change in this particular area. Shafqat (Kakakhel) said that fifty per cent of the poverty lies here.

We talk about opportunities, we talk about corporate investments but we do not talk about equity; we do not talk about sustainability, we do not talk about human beings and I am glad that the Chinese colleague, over there, at least pointed it out and brought in the human dimension. They were very illusive about keeping away from the hegemonic dimension.

I think in this particular case, I am going to discuss the hegemonic dimension, which is creating most of the ripples. Then, there is the Pakistan and Afghanistan interest. Transboundary matters on the Kabul River. Though it is a small engagement, it still is an important engagement.

Two schools of evolving thoughts have been discussed here. I belong to one and Shafqat belongs to other, and some of the older generations are with him. They say that the Indus Basin Treaty is sacrosanct. It is a holy cow, do not touch it. Whatever was supposed to be done is already done. Then there is another school which says that 'no', it is bit old, it lost some of its vigour and we need to come back to the negotiating table to set up new positions for it in terms of climate change, environmental flows and ground water.

It is a surface water treaty so we need to rethink matters; we need to develop positions for that. I think for the last 90 days, I have been thinking about this thing and I think there is a third dimension, which I will explore later in the presentation.

Climate change will force the re-evaluation of relationships and commitments that may lead to conflict-based solution. When Ayub Khan signed this Indus Basin Treaty, Eugene Black was there. He gave him the option. He said if you are strong enough, you have power and if I was in your shoes, I would not accept this treaty; rather I would go and fight the Indians.

If you cannot do that, this is the second best solution. Ayub Khan with his wisdom and his interest in peace took that second option as the grain of salt, so we live with the pros and cons of the treaty negotiated during the 1960s. I think as a way forward, the main word, which I want you to remember, is 'reciprocity'. The whole game of water, on transboundary water revolves around reciprocity. If you can do some reciprocity, we can talk about it and if not, it is just some wishful thinking, which will go on there.

We can now move fast on this. These are the relationships Pakistan faces related to precipitation. A lot of the induced climate changes are on the precipitation side. Floods are now a regular feature. We blame a lot of floods on our rivers, as well as on the rivers coming from India. Then we have climate changes due to too little water; that is drought.

This region is plagued with droughts and this is the other climate dimension. Glacier melts and grafts, who gets the water? Our main Transboundary Water Management: Pakistan-India and Pakistan...

concern is not about losing those glaciers but our real concern is who is going to get the extra water. If most of the water is coming out of Kashmir or the water is coming from the Indian Punjab; who would get that extra water? So that is the main concern when it comes to the melting of the glaciers.

I think wrong and low predictions are now a norm. If you look at the worldwide predictions on climate change, these are on the lower side. The events that are taking place are on the higher side. Pakistan is no exception to that particular area. So we are not questioning only the conservative science, we need to take quantum leap and try to figure out what this climate change is doing to the world, particularly to this part, which is most vulnerable to it.

The temperature rises beyond the limit which we projected. I and Shafqat have been with these COPs for the last maybe fifteen years. We were saying from the day one that these predictions are on the lower side. You cannot do two plus two model in terms of making predictions. God doesn't work that way, you know nature has its own ways.

Try to create problems for nature, it will ensure that it comes back with greatest revenge -- and that is exactly what is happening. These predictions need to be looked on very carefully, and particularly on the temperature side. Climate challenge to agriculture causes biodiversity having its constraints and opportunities.

Also this is just the Indus Basin. These maps sometimes can be even redrawn. They will be sometimes redrawn by religion, by sovereignty and I gave another perspective that I think maps are redrawn by resources.

To me, the most important factor to change the map is going to be the water resource. It is not going to be religion, it is not going to be people, it is not going to be land, it is not going to be beauty but it is going to be water. I have seen that in 9/11 conflict also when the Saudis got back; the first question was how do we feed ourselves? Somebody said we have a lot of oil. This is okay if you have so much of oil, why do not you go and drink oil!

We do not drink oil. Water is the most vital human resource besides air, which is very important. Whether it is war or no war, it is mostly going to revolve around water. It is basically Pakistan and India, whereas China and Afghanistan are the smaller players when it comes to the Indus basin as important players.

Transboundary arrangements: The IBT is largely implemented and it is one of the good treaties that still stand. We have had three wars. Pakistan has gone through three wars, and we still have maintained that sanctity of these treaties. We implemented this. There were a lot of hiccups. There are a lot of issues with the infrastructure part of it, but still those treaties are made.

This treaty is out-dated because it is only the treaty of surface water and our main issues now are ground water. Pollution is yet another issue and our main issue is coming on e-flows (environmental flows). There is not enough water to sustain life on those three rivers we handed out to India as part of that treaty.

I think there is a new paradigm change, which is the third phase. It is going to be on the conventional wisdom of promises, treaties and commitments. What we see with the COP 25 and Paris Agreement; the United States walking out. What we see is very close people getting together, making commitments in a trade agreement and Transboundary Water Management: Pakistan-India and Pakistan...

then walking out. So this whole question of long-term treaties, longterm conventions are like they are the saviours of humanity. I don't think that is going to hold.

This is a new generation. It is a new era which is coming up. India had made Pakistan that promise. Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel made clear commitment. They were the originator of 370. Nothing happened. The whole world has been screaming. We have been doing everything. So this question: you have been in a treaty, to an agreement, you are into a promise, this new World Order is challenging that particular dimension of morality, and I am sorry but that is the way it is.

The main issue is of furnishing the prior information. The whole desire of Pakistan is that India should tell us beforehand, provide us information, but they do not do it. The other one is to share data but neither India will share data or Pakistan. We are very clear in the practitioners' community. We do not share data. We only share public domain data; we do not share data which both the parties request. They will never tell us what is required by the treaty.

I asked my colleagues over there and they said it is very simple. If you do not have the capacity and metrology to figure out that our dam is full, what the hell we are going to do with this particular dam? We are going to release the water but not going to do anything else. And if you do not have the capacity, that is your problem not our problem. So this whole argument that data sharing and more research are in terms of good academics. It is not from the pragmatism side. Let us start looking at positions pragmatically. Being the lower riparian, there is so much you can request from the upper riparian.

This is what happens when problems start coming in and on our three rivers. We have dead rivers. The new thing that is emerging is air-water relationship. We never had it earlier. This was the minor thing. If Zartaj would have been here, the first thing in our mind is how do you lower the numbers in Lahore and the surrounding areas, how do you lower the numbers in Peshawar? This air-water relationship is going to be the emerging challenge, which was not addressed in that particular treaty.

Time space dependence: We do not talk about time space dependence; when, where, how, why; these are all the questions that are emerging. Sometimes when we have heat wave in India, we are doing fine in Pakistan, and sometimes when we have heat wave in Pakistan, they are doing fine in India. Where the water requirements are higher in the stress part for droughts, we are not attempting to solve that; we are not willing to help the Indians and Indians are not willing to help us.

This is where the theme of reciprocity starts again. In one of the Track 2 meetings, Ambassador Shafqat was there with us and the Indians enquired if it keeps one million acre feet of water in Srinagar what would be Pakistan's offer. My response to this one was that can you be kind enough to provide 1.5 million water into the Sutlej because that was also dying.

They said we cannot commit to that so I said how can our government commit to your demand? So, this whole situation of give and take is going to bring win-win situation. If you do not want to give and just want to be the receiver, nobody is going to buy your argument in particular to this treaty.

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I think these are the type of discussions, which are going to be fruitful and I am not going into all of this because it is for academics to start looking into that. Opening up the dimensions of the Indus Basin Treaty and putting up some negotiating positions for maybe 20 years later, whenever it takes place.

On the Afghanistan side, we do not have a treaty but we have the desire for the treaty. For the last 10 years, we have been working hard at it. We have done the homework. I think Afghan side is also doing the homework, but as Runde pointed this out and tried to scare us that we might be getting 10 million of refugees, and I started wondering if that can happen?

Somebody in the morning said that we have those eight rounds and this might not end up and the United States might want to stay there for 20 more years. These are the hiccups; the one sufficient hiccup over there is the Durand line itself. With that hiccup, we would like to work jointly; we would like to be there to help the Afghans. We are not going to benefit. It is only 16 per cent of our flows. We do not want to be there to sort of barge on it, but we want to be there to help them.

I think a benefit sharing framework by which both sides share the benefit; whether hydropower or the others, is an important framework. And yes, Mr. Runde, as you said that the hydropower is a game changer for Pakistan. Fifty million acres of water is available for the exploitation of seven sites and three dams. I can give you the portfolio of 40 billion, if you have money to come up and participate. The Chinese want to do it. The Chinese have their problem with the bordering situation. They do not want to touch anything that might create problems for us.

When we want to do something below Attock, which is our main theme for this hydropower potential that is the project we can get you in five years. We can start repaying your money in five years. After the fifth year, you can start getting the payback right there. So, Pakistan provides this opportunity under this water situation. I think that is the one you might want to look at. World is moving to the greater cooperation on the transboundary.

South Asia should follow suit. During the last meeting we had in Bhutan, we started talking on as there was some money available to do transboundary discussion, to do a programme there; <u>GWP</u> wanted to put that in. The Indians totally walked out and the Pakistanis walked out too! They said we do not want to discuss it; we do not want to get in problems back home. That is the situation which you are facing as far as transboundary water goes.

Pakistan and India demonstrated that IPD 60 has worked and will continue to do. But I do not think so as my personal opinion is that with the present government of Prime Minister (Narendra) Modi, this is simply not going to happen. The first step has been taken, the next step is on line, and it is for you to decide.

Afghanistan has developed no major storages on River Kabul and will not do so. This is yet another assumption that if Afghanistan for the last 50 years had done nothing, so it will not do so. No, there are six projects in the pipeline; two, India has already announced that it will finance. We are supportive to that and we would like to see Afghanistan secure, we would like to be the participant and want a partnership over there.

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If not, Pakistan always has the opportunity of diverting those flows. I can divert my 11 per cent flows just to two small bands and two tunnels. I can divert my flows and leave only six per cent for the Afghans to worry about. But since it is a historical right, we would like to maintain that historical right and try to find a win-win situation there.

We have been talking about blood and water passing through the same river. Mr Modi is very clear: divert, shift, and capture each and every inch of the water. War is on water, war is not on Kashmir; that only has a ceremonial documentation of changes. The real crux of the matter will be the water. If Pakistan is willing to give up its water, Kashmir will be subservient, it is a non-issue. We will fight till the core and will fight till the very end when it comes to water. To demonstrate that, I think two or three months back when we were in a conflict with India, we did a round of their military installation.

We did two passes with Thunder Jets and we could have killed 2000 people that day. We decided not to strike just for the very reason so that peace may prevail and waters keep flowing. That is a very important lesson that the international audience should take. Our commitment to peace is demonstrated practically. It is not only a commitment in words.

The other question comes on that is whether water is good or bad for Pakistan, which comes from India? This is a BBC question, and we tried to answer to that a few weeks back. I said: it is good for Pakistan. Let us say that there is no water. You will start screaming that India is holding our water and when it starts releasing water after the floods, one starts screaming that it is letting down too much water. The Indians argue that Pakistan is not committing 25 million acre of its water. We are at liberty to construct dams since Pakistan does not commit to that water. And I think that position is very sensible, and a very difficult position for Pakistan to defend.

If it wants to talk about transboundary water, it has to make sure that it starts to get its act together and construct all the storages that are required for that. Adding to this, there is much more room for diplomacy. My feeling is that somebody is preparing for that. I do not think this World Bank and multi stakeholders are of any match.

The new entrants are coming. The World Bank once was very important; we were always doing whatever the Bank said but no more. That independence Pakistan is showing; and the Indians are showing even more. So I think the Track 3 part is going to be the most important part, within the corridors which are opening at the Kartarpur, within Mr. Modi's statement that Pakistan has done well, within what is changing in Kashmir; we need to come up with a third phase for looking at water, which is beyond Track 1, Track 2 and look at the third phase in the Indus Basin Treaty, as well as for Afghanistan.

The Indian ambassador to China says that they have invested in eight areas. The message which I got out of him was; maybe we do not talk in open doors and talk slightly in closed doors. But this is an important topic to start talking. We do not want the name calling; we do not want humiliating each other but provide a neutral platform; do not provide it in Pakistan and India but provide it somewhere else -- where people can sit and at least can raise voice there and can air their concerns.

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Conclusion: Trouble times are for water flow from Kashmir and Punjab. I think we should take a note of that story which I would like to state. If fast track based on stimulations and ground realities, talk, talk and it would not get us anywhere. Look at the ground realities, do the mathematical stimulates, what scenarios are emerging and I think that Track 3 should move to that particular dimension; analytical, solid and with data, and positions very clearly identified as opposed to name-calling and opposed to making generic statement.

A prior commitment to water or lose rights; simply fuelling dissent is high payoff. The more dissent you create in India, the more are the payoffs and there are more votes. When Mr. Modi says I will divert water tomorrow, it creates more votes. If he says I will let water go to Pakistan, it does not ring bells within the RSS and others.

The Indians are exhibiting hegemony. I think they should learn something from the Chinese. It simply does not work with Pakistan. The Nepalese have put up with it, the Sri Lankans have put up with it. Pakistan is simply the country who would not do it. War is not a solution in Kashmir, but is inevitable when water rights are disturbed. Some people question that how India is vulnerable? India has five thousand structures; five thousand dams at the moment and Pakistan only has two structures.

If there is a strike out, we will ensure that not one of those five thousand structures are left in peace because when our peace is destroyed, we will make sure that their peace is also destroyed. So when you say Pakistan is vulnerable, 'no'; Pakistan is not vulnerable

but the most vulnerable country will be India in that particular game.

Lastly, challenging time for competence, intellect and diplomacy. I think that is where the investment should come up and diplomacy has much of a role, which comes out very quickly. It is the intellect and also the capacity. You do not have a grey hound, go out and fight a bulldog. You simply do not do that. This is exactly what Pakistan does, we send our weakest teams and low-level engineers from the universities; and what the Indians are doing: they are putting their best diplomats and best intellects to counter this situation, which they feel is going to be the most important determinant of peace and conflict in South Asia.

Thank You.■

Mitigation of Ecological Degradation in South Asia: Towards Inclusive Regional Approach



Dr Rehana Siddiqui

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hile listening to Dr Pervaiz, I was thinking why I was here, because I am in academics; professor of economics and environmental economics. I think before going into politics, we need some basic information that what a country has to negotiate. Otherwise that will happen again and again; and we will keep sending teams that would not know anything. I hope it will get improved.

I will highlight what threats individual countries are facing. We know all of them. This is not some new information which is coming in, but the focus is if all of the five countries: Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Maldives and now Afghanistan, as well, to know where we can have some cooperation. As Pervaiz Amir has very rightly pointed out that in case of Pakistan and India, the cooperation has a regional plan for mitigating those challenges or having environmental development is very difficult, particularly for water.

Water, of course, is the starting point. There is no resource sharing at all, no technology sharing; so all of these things we have to take into account where the possibility is and what is it that we can give

and what is that we can receive. Unless we have this game of politics where we can identify the gains and losses for both the parties, we will not be able to do anything.

So first what we have to look at it is where we are heading to. From academic point of view, I will just highlight the environmental indicators for all of these countries. I would not be focusing on climate change, although its impacts are quite aggravating due to the situation of environmental indicators.

The critical environmental problems, which are being faced by the countries, are water pollution and water scarcity. It is not only the quality of water we have, but quality and the quantity both. They are the issues. And definitely our River Ravi is dead because of this trans-boundary pollution, but it is not that we are blameless for that and that we did not do anything about polluting River Ravi. Our water systems are dying because of this untreated emission of industrial waste disposal, and also the housing waste into the water bodies.

Recently we did two studies; one was on the sugar industry of Bhalwal, which is discharging untreated water into a water body -and what kind of health hazard that is creating. It is not only about how much water we are getting in, what kind of water we have and also about how we are using it and how we are treating it. These are causing all the problems and that is where we have to study the ultimate impact because those people are facing jaundice, skin diseases, diarrhoea and all kinds of diseases, which is increasing their vulnerability at the local and regional level. So we have to look into this issue also.

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Secondly, it is not only the water vulnerability; it is how efficiently we are using the water? We have to look into our own selves also. Recently, a research study done by one of the PhD, says that "if you just change the irrigation practices and use the water efficiently, it will reduce the scarcity by one-third." It has happened in some of the countries. Just changing the systems of irrigation can reduce the water needs. Agricultural sector is consuming about 80 to 90 per cent of water.

And then definitely, if the water is coming from India, we are just throwing the water; what are we doing? Are we building reservoirs to store that water? Or we are just letting it go through the plains of Punjab, then Sindh and then just let in into the Indus water, and then it goes into the Arabian Sea. Nothing happens except the damages because of floods. So what do we have to do is not only to look at what can we achieve by global cooperation at the local, national and at the regional levels.

At the local level, first we have to focus on what can we do at home. At national level also that is one important issue.

Second, is to go for global negotiations. One of the important things is waste management at the local level, what we are doing about it?

Deforestation: A lot of policy measures have been taken i.e. Green Pakistan initiative and the Billion Trees Tsunami. As I belong to the academic community, what we try to do is to evaluate how effective or what are the achievements of Billion Trees Tsunami? What can we achieve from the Green Pakistan initiative? To do that, from an academic point of view, we need to have the composition of trees that we are planting; which tree species would be helpful in solving

the problem of carbon, but unfortunately we could not get information on that.

Composition of trees is very important. If you all are having Eucalyptus, then we all know what the problem would be. It will not solve the water problem definitely and what I have heard, maybe the scientists can tell me that the almond tree is the best tree to absorb carbon so that is why we wanted to know what is the composition of trees that we are planting is.

Secondly, there are a lot of researches who are globally available. There are some plant species that are coming and we can put them in our rooms, inside the house to reduce the indoor air pollution, which is becoming a critical problem in Pakistan. So we can benefit from it and need to focus on. But other countries can also support us in terms of technology and research, and development focus that we need. There are a lot of other options as well.

I would suggest that do not focus that much on what India will say and how much cooperation we will get from India. Definitely, India is a big regional player. What ideas can suit us, and how can we control is the most critical one? We are not going to do any regional cooperation for a long time; we know that!

The second thing is from where most of the pollution is coming? The source of pollution is energy. Now what are we doing with our energy? Our share on total energy is less than 4 per cent. So what should we do? We should try to increase the share of the renewables in the energy production. There are a lot of issues that we can solve from the renewables. Waste management can be helpful as one of the sources. We can generate electricity from waste. Hence, we can Mitigation of Ecological Degradation in South Asia: Towards ...

have some of the efficient solutions developed here and this can solve our problem.

The second initiative that has been taken by the government of Pakistan is supporting the use of electric vehicles. How are we going to do that? We have to wait and see, but at least for the air pollution, this is going to be an important step. Hybrids are solving some of our problems but what kind of fiscal and research structures and initiatives will be there, and what is going to promote the use of those vehicles here.

Now, what are the other problems in research cooperation? What else do we need to look into? What are the common problems which all the other countries are facing? Like Pakistan, India, Nepal and Bangladesh are facing the issue of glaciers melting down, but the intensity definitely varies. What is the intensity for different countries or what is going to determine how much they are willing to solve the problem? It varies. India and Bangladesh are also facing floods, but not to an extent as we are facing.

So, that also determines the response of local climate change and water agencies to mitigate this climate issue. Other than that, temperature and precipitation is also there. Being an economist, I would also say that I would look into all of these things and how are they going to affect economic growth. For example, environmental degradation, which is claimed in the World Bank report, has reduced Pakistan's GDP by 5%. India says it has reduced its GDP by 2.8%, and definitely others are also affected by it. It definitely adds to the problem of poverty and vulnerability of population.

Now, as far as the vulnerability of the population is concerned, whenever we are going to have, at the local, regional and global level; the impact of vulnerability depends on gender and it takes in male, female and children. You cannot say that the whole population is affected by the same amount by floods and the impact is different. So whenever we have a policy, we have to take into account these considerations.

Secondly, one of the important limits mentioned by Pervaiz Amir -or some early speaker -- was migration. We have no reliable information on the impact of local migration at the national and international level. So, how are we going to formulate a policy when we do not have any reliable information on that?

All the countries have their climate change policies, and Pakistan too has its climate change policy. Nepal, Sri Lanka and India have their climate change policies focusing particularly on energy and air pollution. They are investing a huge amount on that. Now the question is how we are trying to develop environmental linkages to minimize its impact.

I want to just highlight some points in terms of transport and technology. We need to have our local solutions. Without this investment and technology, handling environment would be very difficult.

First thing, Pervaiz Amir said that if you want to have the migration data, would all the countries share their migration details? So, how can we have this effective migration policy when we do not have the data? What is driving migration, and what kind of services we need?

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And then, there are financing and capacity development; where are these issues, what are we doing there, what are the legal issues, what are the legalities and what are we doing? All these things if we can address, then we can have our policy. At the global level, one of the targets of the countries is to meet the SDGs.

If we can effectively deal with this problem, there are some win-win strategies as well from where we can have the environmental solution, and can reduce poverty as well. A couple of issues were there like elimination of subsidies and property rights, and then also the trade policies that we can have on the international level.

We all know that climate change is complex. It is very difficult to deal. Climate change leads to food security issue, and that affects how we can deal with hunger and poverty. Energy issues are some of the other problems.

All these are the goals in SDGs, and they all are critically linked. We cannot do anything on addressing the climate change problems at national, international, regional -- and at the local/micro level particularly. At micro level, it would be difficult to have effective solutions, which can work at the macro-level for Pakistan.

Climate Change Hotspots in South Asia: Glacier Loss and Way Forward



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Introduction

Ut of eight South Asian countries, six largely depend on the water system of Himalayas and mountains. The Himalayan region has the largest concentration of glaciers outside the polar caps generally called 'Third Pole.' The water system in Himalayas has been the basic lifeline for billions of people of the region, as most of the river basin are glacierized and originated from the Himalayas and mountains in South Asia. While Himalayas and mountains in South Asia are highly vulnerable to climate change, particularly by the rising temperature, that have resulted into the melting of glaciers. Many of the inland (terrestrial areas) in the South Asian countries have been the hotspots of climate change, adversely affecting the nature, people and economy of the region.

This paper is primarily based on the secondary sources. The paper reviews the current trend of degradation of the Himalayas and mountains as hotspots of climate change, particularly due to the rise of temperature and pollution (emission of GHG and Black carbon) in the region. This also captures how water supplies are emerging as grave threats for hundreds of millions of downstream people across

many parts of South Asia. The drivers of the climate change are also discussed with a focus on their role in glaciers, retreat in Himalayas and extreme climate events in downstream terrestrial areas. In addition to the Himalayas as hotspot of the climate change, this paper also reviews some of the studies on the hotspots in different places of the South Asian countries. The paper also discusses about the impact of the climate change on the livelihoods of people in hotspots areas, where the temperature is already above the optimal value. The last section of the paper presents some key messages and policy implications to be considered by the South Asian governments to address the climate crisis in the region.

Glaciers Melting in the Third Pole: Impact on Water System and Livelihoods

"In 1999, a report by the Working Group on Himalayan Glaciology (WGHG) of the International Commission for Snow and Ice (ICSI) stated: `glaciers in the Himalayas are receding faster than in any other part of the world and, if the present rate continues, the livelihood [sic] of them disappearing by the year 2035 is very high."" (WWF Nepal, 2005, page 29).

"The Himalayan Mountains are home to not only the highest peak in the Mount Everest at 29,029 feet, but also to the third largest deposit of ice and snow in the world, after Antarctica and the Arctic. Now the first complete study of this remote region reveals that its glaciers lost billions of tons of ice—equivalent to more than a vertical foot and half of ice each year—from 2000 to 2016. That is double the amount of melting that took place from 1975 to 2000, revealing that the ice loss is accelerating with the rising temperatures. It is also threatening water supplies for Climate Change Hotspots in South Asia: Glacier Loss and Way Forward

hundreds of millions of people downstream across much of Asia" (Leahy, 2019).

"The immense upland of the third pole is one of the most ecologically diverse and vulnerable regions on Earth. People have only attempted to conquer these mountains in the last century, yet in that time humans have subdued the glaciers and changed the face of this wilderness with pollution and other activities. Researchers are now beginning to understand the scale of human effects on the region – some have experienced it directly: many of the 300 IPCC cryosphere report authors meeting in the Nepalese capital in July were forced to take shelter or divert to other airports because of a freak monsoon" (Vince 2019).

The Hindu Kush and the Himalayan region stores more snow and ice than anywhere else in the world outside the north and south pole regions, giving its name: 'The Third Pole'. The Third Pole contains the world's highest mountains, including all 14 peaks above 8,000 metres. It is the source of the major rivers in South Asia and forms an important global ecological buffer.¹

The three cases above are indicative of the alarming situation of glacier melting in the Third Pole, even though it will not disappear by 2035 as predicted by the WWF report 2005. The water system in the Himalayas has been the basic lifeline of a billion people of the world. With the glacier coverage of 33,000 sq. km, the region is considered as a "Water Tower of Asia" as it provides around 86,000,000 cubic metres of water annually. These Himalayan

¹ http://www.icimod.org/?q=3487

glaciers feed seven of Asia's great rivers: the Ganga, Indus, Brahmaputra, Salween, Mekong, Yangtze and Huang Ho, and ensure a year round water supply to about one billion people.² The Himalayas and the Mountains of South Asia particularly, Nepal, India and Bhutan share one of the world's greatest freshwater resources from the snows of Himalayas and the monsoon which the mountain creates. Seventy per cent of the world freshwater is frozen in glaciers (WWF Nepal, 2005).

Most of the river basins originating from the Himalayas and mountains in South Asia and Hindu Kush and Himalayas are glacierized. The Indus River Basin is shared by four countries; Afghanistan, China, India, and Pakistan, with the largest portions of the basin lying in Pakistan (52%) and India (33%). The main river originates at Lake Ngangla Rinco on the Tibetan Plateau in the People's Republic of China. Likewise, the Ganges River that originates with melting glacier water travels through two countries -India and Bangladesh, with the tributaries of Nepal's main river system (Koshi, Gandaki and Karnali)³ provides a regular and reliable source of water flow in river basins. The melting water is especially vital in the post-monsoon season for regions with lower summer precipitation. According to the compilation of glacier mass and area change studies, glaciers in most regions are shrinking and losing mass. A number of studies have indicated that glacier mass loss will accelerate through the 21st century, and higher-emission scenarios will result in even greater mass loss.

² http://lib.icimod.org/record/12785/files/1092.pdf

³ A study has estimated that the contribution of annual glacier melting water to annual stream flow into the Ganges Basin from the glacierized catchments of the Nepal Himalaya represents approximately 4% of the total annual stream flow volume of the rivers of Nepal. www.the-cryosphere-discuss.net/4/469/2010/ (Alford, D. and Armstrong, R. (2010), The Cryosphere Discussion., 4, 469–494, 2010.



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Source: The Guardian, 15 September, 2019

Wester et al., 2019 have indicated that the rise of regional equilibrium line altitudes (ELAs) will result in the complete disappearance of debris free lower elevation glaciers, and will increase volume losses from glaciers with high-elevation accumulation areas. Changes in the climate variability have led to a rapid retreat of mountain glacier systems. Scientific studies have shown that 67 per cent of glaciers are retreating at an alarming rate in the Himalayas as a result of various factors, including climate change.⁴ Some other studies have estimated that a quarter of the region's ice has been lost only over the last 40 years.⁵ The melting

⁴ http://lib.icimod.org/record/12785/files/1092.pdf

⁵ https://www.nationalgeographic.com/environment/2019/06/himalayan-glaciersmelting- alarming- rate- spy-satellites-show/

means runoff is 1.6 times greater than if the glaciers were stable, resulting in seasonal flooding and the creation of many glacial lakes that create a risk of catastrophic outburst floods. In May 2012, one such flood killed over 60 people in villages near Pokhara, Nepal. It also destroyed houses and infrastructure (Leahy, 2019).

Columbia University researchers' findings state that the Third Pole ice loss has accelerated over this century, and the rate has now roughly doubled than that of 1975 to 2000, when the temperature was an average 1 degree Celsius lower. Glaciers in the region are currently losing about half a vertical metre of ice per year because of anthropogenic global heating. The reason for the rapid ice loss, according to the research, is the warming rate of the Tibetan plateau, which is three times as fast as the global average, by 0.3C per decade. In case of the Third Pole, this is because of its elevation, which means it absorbs energy from rising, warm, moisture-laden air (Vince, 2019).⁶ Even if average global temperatures stay below 1.5 degree C, the region will experience more than 2 degreeC of warming. If emissions are not reduced, the rise will be 5 degreeC (Wester et al., 2019). Winter snowfall is already decreasing and there are, on average, four fewer cold nights and seven more warm nights per year than 40 years ago (ibid).

While the estimates on the total number of glaciers in the Himalayas varies, inventories by various institutions suggest that there are over 5,000-6,500 glaciers in the Indian part of the Himalayas⁷ and above 3000 glaciers in Nepal⁸.

⁷ ibid

⁶ https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/sep/15/tibetan-plateau-glacier-meltipcc-report-third-pole

⁸ https://www.nepjol.info/index.php/HN/article/view/10034

Projected Change on Snow Melting: Some Evidences

There are relatively few projections of future snowpack behaviour in the extended HKH. At the basin scale, high emission climate scenarios (RCP8.5) from the most recent Coupled Model Inter-comparison Project (CMIP5) show snowfall reductions of 30–50% in the Indus Basin, 50–60% in the Ganges basin, and 50–70% in the Brahmaputra Basin by 2071–2100 (Viste et al. 2015). A 50% reduction in average basin SWE has also been projected for the Upper Indus by the 2050s (Bocchiola et al. 2011) under a 'business-as-usual' emission scenario (SRES A2). Snow depth reductions of 25- 50% and 17-39% have also been projected for the Himalayas and Hindu Kush-Karakoram, respectively (Terzago et al. 2014), though an earlier modelling study of the Spiti River showed only a 1–7% decrease in SWE in response to a +2 °C temperature increase (Singh and Kumar 1997). Projected decreases in end of winter SWE (Diffenbaugh et al. 2013) across the Himalaya may not be relevant to local hydrology, particularly in monsoon-dominated regions, since winter snow only comprises a small fraction of all snow here.

By 2100, snowline elevations are projected to rise between 400 and 900 m (4.4 to 10.0 m/yr) in the Indus, Ganges, and Brahmaputra basins under RCP8.5 emission scenarios (Viste et al. 2015). Coarse resolution general circulation models (GCMs) project a similar rate of rise in the freezing line altitude (zero degree isotherm) for the region (Ghatak et al. 2014). Chevallier et al. (2014) project a snowline rise of 4–7 m/yr for the Pamir region. We note that these values are higher than the average 150 m increase in snowline that corresponds to a 1 °C increase in temperature in mountain regions (Beniston 2003).

In western China, snowfall totals may increase until mid-century (Li et al. 2008), while decreases are expected in eastern China and Inner Mongolia. Future decreases in snow cover and depth on the Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau (QTP) are dependent on emissions scenarios, with accelerated snow losses under highemissions scenarios (Wei and Dong 2015).

Adapted from Wester et al., (eds), 2019

All the references included here are available in P. Wester, A. Mishra, A. Mukherji, A. B. Shrestha (eds) (2019), The Hindu Kush Himalaya Assessment—Mountains, Climate Change, Sustainability and People, Springer Nature Switzerland AG, Cham⁹.

Rising Temperature

South Asian region has varied geographical combination with regional circulation patterns to create a diverse temperature and climate. The glaciated northern part, which includes the Himalayas, Karakoram, and Hindu Kush mountains have annual average temperatures at or below freezing point, whereas much of the South Asian countries averages 25°C to 30°C (77°F to 86°F).¹⁰ Both the hot

⁹ https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2F978-3-319-92288-1.pdf

¹⁰ https://www.reuters.com/article/us-south-asia-climatechange-worldbank/half-ofsouth-asia-living-in-vulnerable-climate-hotspots-world-bank-idUSKBN1JO2AV

and cold extremes are challenging for human well-being, and climate change heightens these challenges.

A recent World Bank's study found that average annual temperatures throughout many parts of South Asia have increased significantly in recent decades. Western Afghanistan and south-western Pakistan have experienced the largest increases, with annual average temperatures rising by 1.0°C to 3.0°C (1.8°F to 5.4°F) from 1950 to 2010. Southeastern India, western Sri Lanka, northern Pakistan, and eastern Nepal have all experienced increase of 1.0°C to 1.5°C (1.8°F to 2.7°F) over the same period. The precise magnitude of the estimated temperature changes varies across locations, but the direction of the changes is undebatable (Mani et al, 2018).

The same study has also indicated that rising average temperatures can affect living standards through diverse pathways, such as agricultural and labour productivity, health, migration, and other factors impacting economic growth and poverty reduction. Reduction in agricultural productivity will affect the living standard for the households who depend on agriculture. A warmer climate has a number of consequences in the lives of the people, as it will increase the propagation of vector-borne and other infectious diseases, resulting in loss of productivity and income. On the other hand, a warmer climate can increase productivity in historically colder regions, such as mountainous areas by providing the opportunity of new crops, vegetables and fruit varieties. In the warmer areas, days of extreme heat are linked with low worker productivity. A changing climate can force people out of their traditional professional domains, resulting in individuals not earning as much money as they used to in normal situation (ibid).

Mani et al, 2018 took two scenarios to substantiate the evidences of climate change in South Asia- i) climate-sensitive scenario. In this scenario, temperatures are projected to increase the most for Hindu Kush and Karakoram mountains and ii) carbon-intensive scenario: In this the climate model projection is for annual average temperatures to increase 2.5°C to 3.0°C for Afghanistan, the portion of Pakistan neighbouring Afghanistan, the Karakoram mountains, and the Himalayas, relates to 1981-2010 values. Part of the reason for this spatial pattern of large temperature increase is that these regions will lose substantial snow and ice cover under these climate scenarios. For example, Mosier 2015 and Wester et al., 2019, find that snowfall will decrease more in the Hindu Kush Mountains than the Karakoram Mountains. Snow and ice help to regulate air temperatures because they reflect solar radiation and regulate air temperatures through the melting process. Snow and ice also store water, which gets released during the hottest time of the year. Therefore, losing these important natural water reservoirs results in enhanced climate change and low water availability.

The Fourth Assessment Reports of the Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) states that there is now a more concrete evidence to show that the Earth has warmed even more since 1750 because of anthropogenic activities. The IPCC also mentions that over the next century, average surface temperatures are expected to rise between 1-6.3 Celsius depending on various emission scenarios with impacts on health, agriculture, forests, water resources, coastal areas, species and natural areas. Impacts on high mountain systems, including glacial retreat are amongst the most directly visible signals of the global warming. One of the most important and visible indicators of climate change is the recession of glaciers in many parts of the world. Although recession of glaciers has been suggested by some scientists as a natural phenomenon, in the latter half of the 20th century, an increase in the rate of retreat has been observed in most glaciers around the world, including the Himalayas.¹¹

Global rise in temperature has come to be seen as a major issue confronting the lives of the millions of people around the world. Temperature data available since 1000 A.D. indicates that the 20th century was unusually warm and the decade of 1990s was the hottest on record with six of the warmest years occurring in this last decade. Recent examples of erratic weather patterns have been experienced by the people on a regular basis across the world with South Asia being more visible. The rapid growth in the industrialized nations, which have followed a fossil fuel based economic developmental path over the past few decades, has resulted in an exponential increase in GHG concentrations emitted into the atmosphere. This has accelerated the melting of glaciers in Himalayas.¹² Glaciers are highly sensitive to even minor changes in the atmospheric temperature. It is well documented that temperatures in the Himalayas have risen in recent decades and that glaciers in the region are losing mass, especially in the Southern slope of the Central Himalayas (Ren et al., 2006).

GHG as Drivers of Climate Change-Rising Temperature and Extreme Events of Precipitation

The primary driver of the climate change is the Green House Gas (GHG) emissions as the major contributor. The GHG emissions are triggered by the anthropogenic activities, primarily the development

¹¹ (http://lib.icimod.org/record/12785/files/1092.pdf accessed on 16 November 2019)

¹² (http://lib.icimod.org/record/12785/files/1092.pdf accessed on 16 October 2019)

activities. Projecting future climatic changes requires creating a scenario that projects the amount, timing, and the type of future GHG emissions by human activities (Mani et al,. 2018). GHG emissions being the major driver of the climate, the 2015 Paris Agreement on climate change set a target of limiting average global temperature increases to 2°C (3.6°F) relative to preindustrial conditions. The average prediction by these climate models is that annual average temperatures in South Asia will increase 1.6°C (2.9°F) by 2050 under the climate-sensitive scenario, and 2.2°C (3.9°F) under the carbon-intensive scenario. These increases are relative to 1981–2010 conditions (Mani et al 2018). The study carried out by the World Bank in 2018 shows failure to reduce GHG emissions and take measures to build climate change resilience. It will lead to diminished economic performance in most of the South Asian countries.

Black carbon is one of the worst forms of Co2 that accelerates the glacier melting. Black carbon has multiple climate effects, changing clouds and monsoon circulation, as well as accelerating ice melt.¹³ Vince 2019 writes "air pollution from the Indo-Gangetic Plains – one of the world's most polluted regions – deposits this black dust on glaciers, darkening their surface and hastening melt. While soot landing on dark rock has little effect on its temperature, snow and glaciers are particularly vulnerable because they are so white and reflective. As glaciers melt, the surrounding rock crumbles in landslides, covering the ice with dark material that speeds melt in a runaway cycle. The Everest base camp, for instance, at 5,300 metres, is

¹³ https://doi.org/10.1002/jgrd.50171, published in 2013

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now rubble and debris as the Khumbu Glacier has retreated to the icefall."4

Changes in temperature due to GHG emission cause extreme precipitation events, which would result in an increase in damage and economic disruption; whereas decreasing precipitation would result in less overall water availability in South Asia, which would reduce the agricultural yields and water security in the region.

More Inland Hotspots in South Asia

The Himalaya Mountains are the hotspots of climate change in South Asia that is already dealt in the section above. However, a number of studies have demonstrated that many places of inland areas and downstream of Himalayas are getting hotter and experiencing the extreme events of climate. This has also contributed to the acceleration in the melting of Himalayas. A study commissioned by the World Bank has found that most of the countries in South Asia are experiencing hotter temperature and getting negative impacts to the livelihoods of the people. The countries with the more prominent hotspots in South Asia are Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The same study documents the cases of negative impacts of increasing temperature such as cities like Karachi, Pakistan, emerge as hotspots because higher temperatures are forecast to lower labour productivity and worsen public health. In other cases, like the central belt of India, hotter days and changes in rainfall patterns are expected to sharply increase stress on farmers.

¹⁴ https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/sep/15/tibetan-plateauglacier-melt-ipcc-report-third-pole

The World Bank report says:

Under the carbon-intensive scenario, dozens of inland hotspots in the center of South Asia would shift from moderate in 2030 to severe by 2050. Coastal areas do not generally experience this additional deterioration in living standards. However, they could be negatively affected by other consequences of the climate change, such as sea-level rise and a likely increase in storms and other extreme events.

Moreover, the study has flagged out that more than half of the region will be a hotspot by 2050 under the carbon-intensive scenario, with 45 per cent of the present population of South Asia—800 million people—living in areas projected to become moderate or severe hotspots. Under the climate-sensitive scenario, the number of people affected would be 375 million, or 21 per cent of the population. For India, it has been projected that living conditions in Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh will deteriorate by more than 9%, followed by Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra. Of the top 10 most affected hotspot districts, 7 (Chandrapur, Bhandara, Gondiya, Wardha, Nagpur, Raj Nandgaon, Durg) are in Vidarbha and the remaining 3 in Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh (Mani et al., 2018).

Hotspots Impacting on Livelihoods of People of South Asia

Climate change could sharply diminish the living conditions for up to 800 million people in South Asia, a region that is already home to some of the world's poorest and hungriest people, if
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nothing is done to reduce global greenhouse gas emissions (The New York Times, June 28, 2018)¹⁵.

Many studies have found that the warming trend in the world will have a greater impact in the Himalayas than other regions and places. Melting of snow and unseasonal rainfall can lead to flooding and destroy crops; too little snow and rain can also mean crop failure and have broad-reaching consequences on the economy and people's lives. This will also have an impact on wildlife, farming and grazing conditions, natural resources from timber to medicinal herbs, and the survival of a rich variety of unique cultures (www.icimod.org).

Various studies have proved that the present trend of climate change has adversely affected the livelihood of the people. Mani et al., 2018 indicates that such changes (due to anthropogenic activities) in average can be projected with greater impact than changes in extreme events. Although extreme events cause major disruptions to consumption, they generally are of relatively short duration -- and consumption bounces back after relief and rehabilitation efforts have been undertaken. In contrast, the effects of long-term changes in the climate, such as average temperatures and precipitation patterns, are recurring and will require adaptation to overcome. Same study (Mani et al., 2018) found temperatures in Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka is already above their optimal values. This means that at the national level, any further increase in average temperature will have a negative effect on the consumption expenditures.

¹⁵ https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/06/28/climate/india-pakistan-warminghotspots.html

If the loss caused by the hot temperature is translated into gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, changes in average weather are predicted to reduce income in severe hotspots by 14.4 per cent in Bangladesh, 9.8 per cent in India and 10 per cent in Sri Lanka by 2050 under the carbon-intensive scenario compared to the climate of today (Mani et al 2019). Climate effects are smaller when the developments planned are climate-sensitive.

Same authors (Mani et al., 2018) above argue that changes in average weather may have some benefits for Afghanistan, Nepal, and highelevation areas of India because of their cold climates. According to them, temperatures in Nepal are still less than the inflection point, meaning that increase in the temperatures is predicted to have positive effects on the consumption as well. However, not all effects of increasing temperatures will be positive in Afghanistan, Nepal, and high-elevation areas of India. For example, people in the mountain regions rely extensively on stream flow from snow and glaciers. Warming will affect the timing and availability of water resources, which could have profound effects. *Also there is no mechanism that the temperature level can be kept in balance once rises*. In addition, mountain regions may be less resilient to the natural disasters.

Key Messages and Policy Implications

 The snow, ice and other forms of water source (Cryosphere) are the major source of fresh water supply in South Asia and Hindu Kush Himalaya regions. The current phenomena and projected changes in the cryosphere presents a scenario that will affect the availability of water and stream flows over time across the region, with an impact both in upstream and downstream. If the

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present trend of rising temperature and melting of glaciers continued, it will worsen the ecology and economy resulting in the human crisis in these regions in near future.

- 2. Glaciers have thinned, retreated and lost mass since the 1970s in the Himalayas. Studies have found that glacier volumes are projected to decline by up to 90% through the 21st century in response to decreased snowfall, increased snowline elevations and longer melt seasons. The degradation of Himalayas' snow and permafrost will destabilize some high mountain slopes and peaks, cause local changes in hydrology and threaten transportation infrastructure.
- 3. Rivers which are heavily reliant on glacial runoff, such as the Indus, are particularly vulnerable (40% glacier-fed) showing reduced water levels because of diminished melting. So, although mountain communities are suffering from the glacial disappearance, those down-streams are currently less affected because rainfall makes a larger contribution to rivers such as the Ganges, as they descend into populated basins. Upstream-downstream conflict over extractions, dam-building and diversions have so far largely been averted through water-sharing treaties between nations, but as the climate becomes less predictable and scarcity increases, the risk of unrest within and between nations grows.
- 4. Evidences have shown that the productivity of the people in the hotspot areas is low (low earning, limited access to the basic livelihood services -- food, health, income, employment, sanitation and hygiene etc). This in turn has increased the vulnerability of the people particularly poor, women and

marginalized groups of the society. In fact, the hotspots of the climate change exacerbate the existing inequality in the South Asian societies.

- 5. Glacier lake outburst floods (GLOFs), mass movements (rockfalls, avalanches, debris flows) and glacier collapses present significant risks to mountain residents. The key messages here imply to implement the national and international commitments on reducing the impact of climate change through emission reduction. Lower emission pathways will reduce overall cryospheric change and reduce secondary impacts on water resources from mountain headwaters. The pathway will also reduce the impact on the terrestrial areas and rising sea level.
- 6. In the past few decades, continuous impact on the Himalayas and mountains in South Asia, in the form of development interventions have caused large scale impacts on the ecology of the region. Climate change is expected to further accelerate the adverse impacts on these regions. There is a need to assess the ecological limit of the development so as the development interventions are designed on the ecological carrying capacity.
- 7. In future, economic growth and structural changes will cause people to migrate to cities, leaving behind their agricultural and other climate-sensitive practices in the rural areas. Although this could potentially make more of the population climate-resilient, urban migration will also create new climate impacts. Urban populations will face a number of health risks exacerbated by events such as heat waves and flooding.

Climate Change Hotspots in South Asia: Glacier Loss and Way Forward

- 8. Various stakeholders ranging from local communities, to academic institutions, civil society organizations, government bodies and policy-makers need to work in an integrated manner to make their regions climate-friendly.
- 9. All the resilience strategies and actions are inclusive, to avoid inequality in growth and opportunity. The projected emergence of many moderate and severe hotspots under the carbonintensive scenario shows the need for resilience policies to target impoverished population and highly vulnerable regions.
- 10. Finally, the present trend of climate change demands for changing the paradigm of current development. Evidences have proved that the crisis of climate is the by-product of the current development paradigm -- the growth led to economic development paradigm. It demands the changes in lifestyle-production and consumption (economy), use of natural resources (ecology) and use of technology (more high tech we have, more climate change we observe). In fact, there is a dire need of the reversal of current paradigm of development to halt the current rate of rising temperature and climate change. The starting point to halt the climate change is to seriously take actions to reduce GHG emissions and work towards meeting the targets established under the Paris Agreement and Development Agenda 2030 (SDGs).■

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Annexures

Annex 1: Biographies

Annex 2: IPRI Publications



Dr Arif Alvi was sworn in as the 13thPresident of Islamic Republic of Pakistan on September 9, 2018. He was born in 1949 and completed his early education in Karachi. He did his Bachelor of Dental Surgery (BDS) from De' Montmorency College of Dentistry, Lahore. He completed his Masters of Science in the field of Prosthodontics from the University of Michigan (1975) and in Orthodontics from the University of Pacific, San Francisco (1982).

Mr Imran Khan is the 22nd and current Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Chairman of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI). Before entering politics, he was an international cricketer and captain of the Pakistan national cricket team, which he led to victory in the 1992 Cricket World Cup in Melbourne. His services in the field of philanthropy are world-acclaimed, as he established the first Cancer hospital in Lahore, named after his late mother, Shaukat Khanum Memorial Cancer Hospital.

Sardar Masood Khan is the current and 27th President of Azad State of Jammu and Kashmir. During his tenure as a Permanent Representative to the UN, he frequently reached out to the UN Secretary General, the UN Security Council, the UN General Assembly and UN Human Rights Council to persuade them to fulfill the UN's promise to help decide Kashmir's political future through fair, just and democratic dispensation. He has also served as Pakistan's Ambassador to the People's Republic of China (2008-12). Before assuming the office of the President Azad Jammu and

Kashmir, he served as Director General, Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Dr Moeed Yusuf is a Special Advisor to the Prime Minister on National Security and the then-Chairman of the Strategic Policy Planning Cell, National Security Division, Prime Minister's Office. He holds a PhD from Boston University and his research focuses on security and development issues of South Asia.

Ambassador Vice Admiral (Retd.) Khan Hasham bin Saddique, President Islamabad Policy Research Institute, joined Pakistan Navy in 1978. He retired as Vice Chief of Naval Staff in 2017. He has served as Pakistan's Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Permanent Representative at the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). Vice Admiral Khan Hasham holds a Masters' degree in Joint Warfare and War Studies from the Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, and MS in Operations Research from Naval Post-Graduate School, Monterey, US. He did his MPhil in Public Policy and Strategic Security Management from the National Defence University, Pakistan. He joined Islamabad Policy Research Institute in March 2019.

Mr Daniel F. Runde is the Senior Vice President and Director of the Project on Prosperity and Development at Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington DC. Mr Runde is also the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid (ACVFA) and has also served as a Director of the Office of Global Development Alliances (GDA) at the US Agency for International Development (USAID). He is a global thought leader and is an ardent supporter of a free and prosperous world. He supports the US economic engagement with Africa.

Dr Mohammad Faisal currently serves as Pakistan's Ambassador to Germany. Earlier he served as a Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan. Dr Faisal has also served as the Director General of South Asia and South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).

Mr Ahmer Bilal Soofi is a senior lawyer and the President of Research Society of International Law (RSIL). He has also served as Pakistan's former Federal Law Minister. Mr Soofi holds an LLM in International Law from the University of Cambridge, UK. He has advised the Government of Pakistan on important legal issues. Mr Soofi has also been a member of the Advisory Committee to the United Nations Human Rights Council and remained the Vice-President of its Asia-Pacific group for three years (2011).

Ms Mishaal Hussein Mullick is the Chairperson of the Peace and Culture Organization, Pakistan. She is a peace advocate and has stood up for the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir.

Ms Fawzia Koofi is the Chairperson of the political party "Movement of Change for Afghanistan." She is a veteran Afghan parliamentary lawmaker and the first female in the Afghan parliament to be elected as the Second Deputy Speaker. She is a strong advocate of democracy and women rights. She has supported the "Back To School" campaign for Afghan women. Ms Koofi has also worked with the UNICEF (United Nations Children Education Fund) as a Child Protection Officer.

Dr Andreea Stoian Karadeli is a Peace Mediator at EU and NATO, Romania. Dr Karadeli is a graduate from Exeter University (Devon)

UK. She has done her PhD in 'National Security and Intelligence' from MV (Mihai Viteazul) National Intelligence Academy, Romania. Her research focus is on the evolution of religiously inspired terrorism, conflict resolution, intercultural communication, face reading techniques and profiling.

Dr Muhammad S. Al Sulami is the founder and Chairman of Rasanah International Institute for Iranian Studies. Dr Sulami received his PhD from Leiden University, Netherlands. He is an expert in Iranian affairs with focus on the Iranian identity, nationalism and Arab-Iran relations.

Senator Syed Shibli Faraz was Pakistan's Minister for Information and Broadcasting. He did his LLB from Law College, Peshawar, Pakistan, and received his MA International Relations from University de Los Andes, Colombia, USA. Senator Faraz is the Chairperson of 'Strategic Plan Oversight Committee'; 'Committee on Rules of Procedure and Privileges'; 'Committee Commerce and Textile'; and the 'Senate Finance Committee'.

Dr Marvin G. Weinbaum is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and Director of Afghanistan and Pakistan Studies at the Middle East Institute in Washington, D.C., USA. He served as an analyst for Pakistan and Afghanistan in the US Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research (1999-2003), and has been a Senior Fellow at the United States Institute of Peace (1996-97). Dr Weinbaum is the author/editor of six books, including "South Asia Approaches the Millennium: Reexamining National Security" (1995), and "Afghanistan and Pakistan: Resistance and Reconstruction" (1994).

Dr Sergey Ermakov is the Head of Research at the Russian Institute for Strategic Studies (RISS), Moscow. His areas of interest are European security, the role of military power and violent extremism. He has also worked at the Institute of the USA and Canada Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

Dr Li Jing Feng is the Director of Regional Studies and Strategic Research Center, Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences (SASS), China. His research interests focus on Sino-Pakistan relations and his publications include "Gwadar – the Balance in Transformation" (June 2017); "Kashgar of China Opens to Pakistan" (April 2018); and "Comparative Study on the Belt and Road Initiative among Chinese Provinces" (November 2017).

Ms Lidiya Parkhomchik is Director of the Institute of World Economics and Politics (IWEP), Kazakhstan (under the Foundation of the First President of RK- Elbasy). Ms Parkhomchik is a graduate of Abylai Khan Kazakh University of International Relations and World Languages, Almaty. Her areas of interest include the Caspian region, energy, transportation, regional cooperation and security. She has published more than 30 scientific papers.

Dr Huma Baqai is the Associate Dean Faculty of Business Administration and Associate Professor of Social Sciences and Liberal Arts at the Institute of Business Administration (IBA), Karachi, Pakistan. Dr Baqai is also on the visiting faculty at Air War College, National Institute of Management, Karachi, Pakistan. She is a member of the Advisory Council on Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, and is also a part of Track-II diplomacy between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Makhdoom Khusro Bakhtiar was Federal Minister of Economic Affairs in the Government of Pakistan. He has held the portfolios of Minister of Planning, Development and Reform; National Food Security and Research; and Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. He has been a member of the National Assembly since August, 2018. Mr Bakhtiar received his LLB (Hons.) degree from the London School of Economics (1994) and Political Science and Bar-at-Law Degree from Lincoln's Inn (1995), United Kingdom.

Dr Abdul Hafeez Shaikh was Advisor to the Prime Minister on Finance, Revenue, and Economic Affairs. Dr Shaikh has also served as the Federal Minister for Privatization and Investment. He is an economist of international repute with over 30 years of experience in economic policymaking, management and implementation. He holds a PhD in Economics from Boston University, USA. He has authored many publications, including a book on Argentina. He was awarded Pakistan's 'Man of the Year' in 2004 by the business community. Dr Shaikh has also worked with the Harvard University and the World Bank.

Mr Yaseen Anwar is former Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan. Previously, he worked with JP Morgan Chase, Bank of America and Merill Lynch in London, New York, Paris and Egypt. He has served on the Boards of prestigious institutions, including as Chairman of Eco Trade Development Bank, Turkey; US Pakistan Economic Council; United National Bank Ltd; and has been a member of the Council of Foreign Relations and others. Currently, he is serving as the Senior Advisor to the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China in Singapore. He is also serving on the Advisory Boards of International Monetary Institute (IMI) of Renmin University,

Beijing; and the Official Monetary and Financial Institutions Forum (OMFIF), UK.

Dr Wang ZhengXu is a 1000-Talent Distinguished Professor at the Department of Politics at Fudan University, China. Professor ZhengXu holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Michigan, USA. His current research projects include democratic values of the Chinese citizens, political reforms and politics of governance in China. His publications have appeared in various international journals, including but not limited to International Review of Sociology, Contemporary Politics, Asian Journal of Public Opinion Research, and others.

Mr Leonid Savin is a Founder and Chief Editor of the Journal of Eurasian Affairs. He is a geopolitical analyst, and head of the administration of the "Eurasian Movement." Mr Savin has authored numerous books on geopolitics, conflicts and international political philosophy published in Russia, Ukraine, Spain, Serbia and Iran.

Ambassador Javad Kachoueian has served in two distinct assignments as the Senior Assistant and Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ambassador Javad served as the Director of Center for Euro-America Studies in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has also served as Iran's Ambassador to Ireland, Finland and Non-Resident Ambassador to Estonia. He was also Iran's Charge d' Affairs to Norway. He holds an MA in International Law and BA in Political and Diplomatic Relations.

Mr Haroon Sharif served as a Minister of State and Chairman of Pakistan's Board of Investment in 2018-19. He remained an active member of the Cabinet's Economic Coordination Committee and the Committee on Privatization. He was Pakistan's Lead Representative for the Industrial Cooperation in the Joint Cooperation Committee (JCC) of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Mr Sharif is a well-known global expert on economic policy, international development, economic diplomacy and financial markets, and served as the Regional Advisor to the World Bank Group for promoting economic cooperation in South and Central Asia.

Dr Pervaiz Amir is an economist trained at Michigan State University with advanced training in environmental economics from the Harvard University, USA. He has worked in different capacities with notable international bodies such as the World Bank, British Council, USAID, IUCN and the World Commission on Dams. He has also served as Expert Member on Water of the Prime Minister's Task Force on the Climate Change. He has also undertaken dozens of research studies on climate change and water security on behalf of the government and international institutions.

Dr Rehana Siddiqui is a former Director at the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad. Dr Siddiqui's areas of specialization include Economic Growth, Environmental Economics, Human Resource Development and Applied Econometrics. Dr Siddiqui holds a PhD (Economics) from Columbia University, USA. She has published over sixty research papers, and co-authored four books including, Gender and Empower-Evidence from Pakistan and Technology-Based Industrial Vision and Strategy for Pakistan's Socio-Economic Development.

Dr Netra P. Timsina is the Chairperson and Senior Research Fellow at the South Asia Institute of Advanced Studies (SIAS), Nepal. He is extensively engaged on the climate change debate, particularly with

the discourse of climate justice for the common people. He is a member of the Climate Change Council of Nepal. He holds a PhD degree from the University of Reading, UK, in the Political Economy of Natural Resource Management and also teaches public policy courses in universities in Nepal as an adjunct professor.

Mr Fawad Ahmed Chaudhry was the Federal Minister for Science and Technology. He has also served as the Special Assistant to the Prime Minister from 2012 to 2013. In the Federal Cabinet, he was assigned the portfolio of Minister for Information and Broadcasting of which he assumed charge on August 2018 till April 2019.

Dr Bilal Sambur graduated from the Faculty of Divinity at Ankara University, Turkey. He completed his PhD from the Department of Theology at the University of Birmingham, UK. He is currently working as Professor of Psychology at the University of Yıldırım Beyazıt, Ankara, Turkey.

Mr Obaid-ul-Haq serves as a Chairman of the Board, and CEO of Tech Avenue. Prior to founding Tech Avenue, he was Vice President of Afiniti, an Artificial Intelligence company. He received his BS in Computers from NUST, Pakistan; and MS in Computer Science from the George Washington University, USA.

Dr Richard Wilcox served as a founding Director General of the African Union's African Risk Capacity (ARC) agency from February 2013 to September 2015. Prior to this, Dr Wilcox held positions of the Representative of the United Nations Secretary General to Serbia (2008), Political Director for the UN in Iraq (2007), and Director of UN affairs on the US National Security Council staff (2000-01). He also worked at the UN World Food Programme (WFP) as Chief of

Interagency Coordination and Director of Business Planning. Dr Wilcox holds a PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA.

Dr Zahri bin Yunos is the Chief Operating Officer of Cyber Security Malaysia. Dr Yunos was a central figure in the establishment of the OIC Computer Emergency Response Team (OIC-CERT). He holds a PhD in Information Security from the Universiti Teknikal Malaysia Melaka, Malaysia. ■

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- 24. Stabilising Afghanistan Regional Perspectives and Prospects (2011)
- 25. De-radicalisation and Engagement of Youth in Pakistan (2011)
- 26. Balochistan: Rationalisation of Centre-Province Relations (2010)
- 27. Pakistan India Peace Process: The Way Forward (2010)
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 Syed, Zafar N. Jaspal, Ahmed Ijaz Malik, Faisal S. Cheema and Huma A. Shah (2001).

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• Fayyaz Ali Khan, FATA Mainstreaming: Way Forward (2019)

IPRI Publications

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In 2019, IPRI launched the Margalla Dialogue. Under this flagship Track 1.5 initiative, IPRI started an open call for essays, thoughtpieces, opinion articles and policy perspectives from eminent and dynamic scholars at all levels for publication in a book. The idea is to select, acknowledge and publish innovative ideas that challenge traditional disciplinary boundaries and provocatively revisit conventional themes like Diplomacy, International Relations, Political Science, Security, and Governance, with a particular focus on Pakistan and Pakistanis:

1. The Kaleidoscope that is Pakistan (2019)

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