



LAHORE CSS ACADEMY

13-Sher Shah Block, New Garden Town, Barkat Market, Lahore
0331-0001110 / 0333-9800938



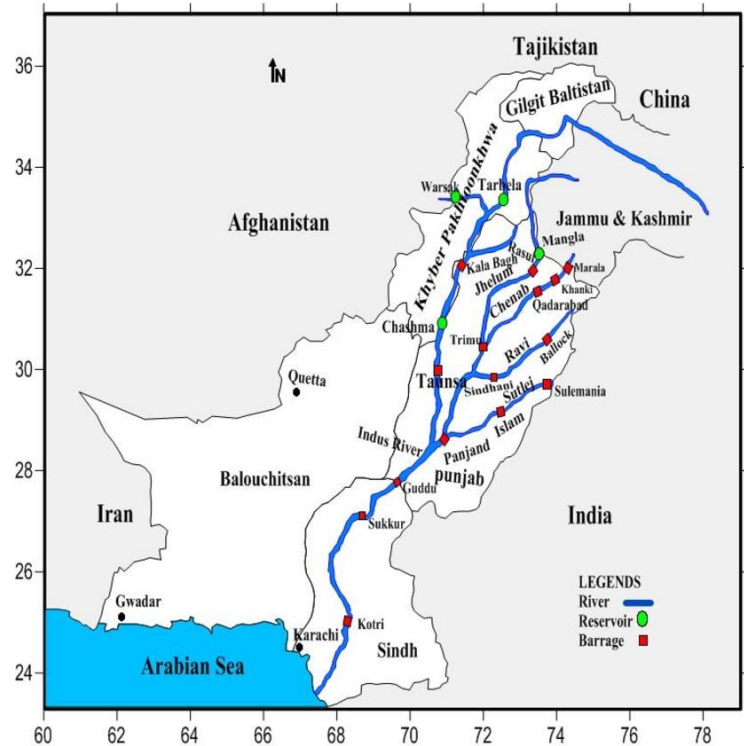
Hydro Politics & Water Crisis

Facts

- Irrigation dependent on single river
- Indus river system: 3 major reservoirs + 19 barrages + 43 canals + 57000km length of canals + 89000 water courses + running length of 1.65 million km.
- Indus river annual flow 91.26MAF
- Its western tributaries Jhelum and Chenab contribute 23.28MAF & 27.1MAF respectively.
- 75% of its flow in summers, and 25% in rest months.
- GW supply is decreasing 16-55cm/year.

1. Regional Issues

- Regional politics and issue of Pakistan's geography
 - Tibet: ½ world population depend on it.
 - No water sharing agreement b/w china or any lower riparian country for Tibetan waters
- Water conflict with Afghanistan
 - No water sharing agreement so far
 - River Kabul: 17% of total water sharing
- Water conflict with India - Issues of IWT
 - Water terrorism by India
 - Multiple violations of treaty
 - Dam Projects on Western Rivers
 - Data Sharing and Transparency
 - Political pronouncements
 - Indian Proposal to revise IWT – Jan 2024



Indian Violations of IWT

- Shah pur kandi dam on ravi
- Ujh dam on j&k
- 2nd satluj-bias canal in Punjab
- Krishanganga dam on Jhelum
- 15 projects completed on jhelum
- Nimo bazgo on Indus (completed 2012)
- 155 projects on Chenab
- Pakal dul dam on Chenab
- Bagliar dam on Chenab

2. Domestic Water issues

- Live Water Storage Capacity
 - 1976 = 16.26MAF
 - 2021 = 13.68MAF



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- ii. Water Carry Over Capacity/water life
 - Pakistan = 30 days
- iii. Per Capita Water Availability
 - 1951 = 5650 m³
- iv. Agriculture (overall 24-26% of GDP)
 - Very thirsty
 - Poor crop per drop ratio
 - Inefficient irrigation & seepage
 - 4 major crops (wheat, cane, rice, cotton)
 - 80% cultivated land in Pakistan, 33% is affected by water logging and salinity.
 - Issue of water theft
- v. Storage
 - 10% of total water storage, global average 40%
 - Focus on large dams – jingoism attached with it
- vi. Population
 - Census 2023: 240 million people, 2.5% growth rate
 - Regional growth 1.2%
 - CCI target: 1.1% till 2030
 - 45% of total population facing shortfall
 - Karachi: 1 billion gallon per day demand
- vii. Provincial politics
 - Despite WAA in 1991, and formation of IRSA, small provinces are dissatisfied with their water share
- viii. Water experts
- ix. Issue of data
- x. Water wastage
 - 30MAF dumped into sea every year
- xi. Less no. of reservoirs
 - 155 dams of Pakistan
 - >5100 dams of India
 - Silting issue
- xii. Issue of power
 - Only 3 hydro IPPs
 - 87 known hydel projects, capable of generating 65000MW, unexploited.
- xiii. More focus on surface water, least focused on ground water



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- xiv. No flood water storage mechanism
- Bottle neck urbanization/risk intensive urbanization
 - Glacial lake outburst flood (GLOF)
 - Case of CUST & Soan River
 - Cloud burst in cities and water reaching to bottle necks
 - Drainage system clogged by solid waste
 - Floods 2010: \$10B cost, 1600 deaths, 38600km² affected land
 - Floods 2022: 1800 deaths, Damage \$14.9 Billion, Loss to the GDP at \$15.2B, and the total needs of rehabilitation at US\$16.3 billion.
- xv. Crisis of behavior
- xvi. Crisis of governance
- xvii. Crisis of economy
- xviii. Crisis of politics
- xix. Crisis of legislation
- National Water Policy – 2018
- xx. NEQs not updated since 1997

Recommendations

- Independent monitoring of barrages
- Independent framework building of dams e.g Kalabagh & Diamir Bhasha
- develop new digital mechanism of data sharing based on GIS & satellite technology with India
- Renegotiate with India for equitable benefit sharing (EBS)
- Case study- Turkey
- Extend role of world bank
- Eliminate religious dogmas
- Installation of Water/waste water treatment plants
- Research & capacity building
- Population control
- Increase GDP share on water development



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Understanding Economic Crisis of Pakistan

Key Concepts

1. **Budget Deficit/Fiscal Deficit:** occurs when the government spends more money (expenditure) than it collects from taxes and other sources (revenue) in a given year.
2. **Trade Deficit:** This occurs when a country imports more goods and services than it exports.
3. **Current Account Deficit:** It's broader than the trade deficit. It indicates the country is spending more on imports and other foreign obligations than it earns through exports and other foreign income.
4. **Twin Deficit:** refers to a situation where a country experiences both a fiscal deficit and a current account deficit simultaneously.
5. **Balance of Payments (BoP) Issue:** This broader concept refers to the overall record of a country's economic transactions with the rest of the world.
6. **Taxation:** This refers to the system by which the government collects money from individuals and businesses to finance its activities. Taxes can be levied on income, property, goods and services, etc.
7. **Consumerism & Consumer Economy:** It describes a culture of excessive buying and consumption of goods and services, often driven by marketing and social pressures. Pakistan's economy relies heavily on imports to satisfy consumer demand. This means a significant portion of money spent by consumers goes towards foreign goods, hindering the growth of domestic industries.
8. **Debt Servicing:** When a country borrows money, it incurs a debt. **Debt servicing** refers to the act of paying back the principal amount borrowed and the interest accrued on it.
9. **IMF (International Monetary Fund):** It provides loans and technical assistance to countries facing economic difficulties, often with conditions attached to the loans.
10. **World Bank:** This is another international organization that works to reduce poverty and improve economic development in developing countries. It provides loans, grants, and technical assistance to support various development projects



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11. **Bailout Package:** When a country or financial institution is facing financial collapse, a bailout package refers to financial aid provided by another country, the IMF, or other institutions. The aim is to prevent a wider economic crisis.
12. **Gross Domestic Product.** It is a monetary measure of the market value of all final goods and services produced in a country within a specific period, typically a year.
13. **Economic Growth:** Refers to the increase in the size of a country's economy over a period, usually expressed as a percentage. It measures the rate of change in the economy over time and expressed as a percentage change (e.g., 5% growth).

Key Differences:

Feature	GDP	Economic Growth
Focus	Size of the economy at a specific time	Rate of change in the economy over time

14. **Monetary Policy & Fiscal Policy:** Monetary policy and fiscal policy are two crucial tools used by governments to influence the economy and achieve specific economic goals. While they share the same objective of promoting economic stability and growth, they operate through different channels and mechanisms.

Feature	Monetary Policy	Fiscal Policy
Implemented by	Central bank	Government
Main tools	Interest rates, reserve requirements, open market operations	Government spending, taxation
Effect on money supply	Indirectly influences money supply through interest rates and bank reserves	Directly affects money supply through spending and tax policies
Impact on economy	Relatively quicker impact but may have long-term consequences	Slower impact but can be more targeted



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Pakistan's standing

- 5th largest population
- 24th largest in terms of Purchasing Power Parity
- 42nd largest in terms of Nominal GDP

Issues in the economy of Pakistan

- Historical Overview
 - 1947-77: era of experimentation
 1. Ayyub's Capitalistic model (Harvard Trickle Down Model) by giving policy authority to capitalist elite of different businesses
 2. Bhutto's Nationalist model
 - 1977-2000: Twisted Economies
 1. Zia and Cold war (aid based economy)
 2. Structural adjustment under Nawaz and Bibi (era of seeking short term loans by IMF)
 - 2000 Onwards: Energy Crisis, Terrorism, Circular Debt, Deficits of State Owned Enterprises
 1. Depletion in US-AID 2007 onwards resulting in energy crisis
 2. Consumer Credit Model of Musharraf (loans to educated people)
 3. PPP (2008-2013) couldn't deal with energy crisis, mainly legislative work
 4. PMLN (2013-2018) - Mainly CPEC
 5. PTI (2018 – 2022) – Construction Sector Growth
 6. 2022 onwards – marked by floods & political turmoil at large.

Socio-Economic Indicators revealing worrisome situation (2023)

- i. Fiscal Side
 - Inflation >25%
 - budgetary deficit at over 7pc of national income
 - large foreign and local debt repayments
 - underwhelming exports



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ii. Human Development Side

- Highest infant mortality (55.777 deaths per 1000 live births)
- female fertility rates even among poor countries (3.47 children per woman in 2021)
- 58pc of kids under five are stunted or wasted
- 26 million (40pc) children are out of school
- 8m-plus babies born every year for whom we neither have schools nor teachers
- 39pc of our fellow citizens living in abject poverty

iii. In terms of governance

- a totally ineffective local government system — the government tier that interacts most with people and is supposed to provide services — leaving our citizens without health, education and other basic services.
- State-owned enterprises (SOEs) lost around Rs700 billion in 2023

Summary of Economic Survey of Pakistan (FY 2023 – 2024)








Global Indicators

- Global economic growth has slowed down from 3.5% in 2022 to 3.2% in 2023 and is projected to continue the same pace in 2024 and 2025, below the historical (2000-2019) annual average of 3.8%.
- Global inflation is expected to fall from 6.8% in 2023 to 5.9 % in 2024 and 4.5 % in 2025.

Significant Economic Statistics

- Economic growth: 2.38% (against 0.21% in 2023)
- GDP increased to Rs.106,045 billion in FY2024, showing a growth of 26.4 percent over (Rs. 83,875 billion) last year
- Per capita income increased by US\$129 to US\$1680 as compared to US\$1,551 of last year

KEY INDICATORS FY2024

 GDP Growth	2.38% ↑
 Agriculture	6.25% ↑
 Industries	1.21% ↑
 Services	1.21% ↑
 Per Capita Income (US \$)	1,680
 Investment	13.1% (as % of GDP)
 Savings	13.0% (as % of GDP)



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- The FOREX reserves recorded at US\$14.0 billion including SBP's reserves of US\$8.9 billion as on June 05, 2024.
- The saving to GDP ratio recorded at 13% in FY2024 compared to 13.2% in FY2023.
- The investment to GDP ratio stood at 13.14 percent in FY2024 compared to 14.13 percent in FY2023
- Rupee appreciated by almost 3.0 percent during the first eleven months.
- The fiscal deficit stood at 3.7 percent of GDP during July-March FY2024 the same as last year
- Total revenues grew by 41.0 percent to Rs 9,780.4 billion in July-March FY2024 against Rs 6,938.2 billion last year. Nontax collection grew by 90.7 percent to Rs.2,517.9 billion during July-March FY2024 against Rs.1,320.5 billion last year. Total tax collection grew by 29.3 percent to Rs.7,262.5 billion during July-March FY2024 against Rs.5,617.7 billion last year.
- The highest-ever single-year increase in tax exemptions or concessions, surging by 73.24 percent or Rs1.64 trillion in the outgoing fiscal year. The Rs3.9 trillion worth of tax exemptions were 73% higher than in the previous fiscal year.
- Inflation significantly reduced to 11.8 percent in May 2024 from its peak of 38 percent recorded in May 2023. It is lowest inflation after 30 months.
- Total development expenditures grew by 14.2 percent to Rs.1,158.1 billion against Rs.1,014.0 billion last year. The Federal PSDP (including development grants to provinces) stood at Rs 321.6 billion during July-March FY2024 against Rs 328.8 billion last year, showing a decline of 2.2 percent.
- CAD narrowed down by 94.8 percent to US\$0.2 billion (Jul-Apr FY2024) as compared to US\$3.9 billion as compared to last year.

KEY INDICATORS

Jul-Mar FY2024

Total Revenue (Rs. Trillion) 9.78



Tax Revenues

29.3% ↑
Rs 7.26 tr



Non-Tax Revenues

90.7% ↑
Rs 2.52 tr

Total Expenditure (Rs. Trillion) 13.68



Current Expenditure

33.4% ↑
Rs 12.33 tr



Development Expenditure

14.2% ↑
Rs 1.16 tr



Fiscal Deficit (as % of GDP)

3.7%
(same as last year)



Primary Surplus (as % of GDP)

1.5% ↑



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- Trade deficit of goods contained by 21.6 percent to US\$17.7 billion in Jul-Apr FY2024 as compared to US\$22.6 billion last year
- Remittances grew by 3.5 percent during Jul-Apr FY2024 and recorded at US\$ 23.8 billion as against US\$ 23.0 billion last year.
- FDI inflows increased by 8.1 percent to \$1.5 billion during Jul-Apr FY2024 compared to \$1.3 billion in the same period last year.
- IT exports: \$ 2283 million
- BISP: 466 Billion

KEY INDICATORS

Jul-Apr FY2024 (\$ billion)

 Current Account Deficit	0.2
 Exports	25.7
 Imports	43.4
 Trade Deficit	17.7
 Remittances	23.8
 Foreign Direct Investment	1.5

Debt

- Total public debt stood at Rs.67,525 billion by end-March 2024. Out of which, domestic debt recorded at Rs.43,432 billion while external debt reached Rs.24,093 billion (US\$ 86.7 billion). During Jul-Mar FY2024, total interest expense on public debt recorded at Rs. 5,518 billion, of which, Rs. 4,807 billion as interest on domestic debt and Rs. 710 billion on external debt.
- Debt to GDP ratio stayed at 74.8%.

Sector-wise Growth

- Agriculture emerged as a main driver of economic growth, registering a growth of 6.25 (highest in last 19 years) percent on the back of double- digit growth in output of major crops.
- Industrial and services sectors each posting a growth of 1.21 percent
- The industrial sector posted a positive growth of 1.21 percent in FY2024. Industrial sector performance is mainly driven by the manufacturing sector (2.42%) and construction sector (5.86%).
- Services sector constitutes the largest share of 57.7 percent in GDP for FY2024.
- Large Scale Manufacturing (LSM) declined by 0.1 percent during Jul-Mar FY2024 compared to decline of 7.0 percent last year.



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Education

- 1.5% of GDP
- Literacy rate 62.8%
- Universities 263 (public:154, private:109)
- Higher education allocation: 69.7 Billion
- Ph.D Faculty Members: 35.46%






Health

- Public Health Expenditure: 1.0% of GDP
- Hospitals: 1,284
- Infant Mortality Rate: 52.8 Per 100,000 Births
- Life Expectancy: 67.3

Population

- According to the 7th National Population and Housing Census 2023 the population is 241.5 million with growth rate of 2.55 percent.
- Unemployment rate: 6.3%

KEY INDICATORS

 Expenditure (FY2023)	1.5 (as % of GDP)
 Literacy Rate	62.8%
Male: 73.4% Female: 51.9%	
 Universities	263
Public: 154 Private: 109	
 Higher Education Allocation	69.7 (Rs billion)
 Ph.D Faculty Members	35.46%

KEY INDICATORS

 Public Health Expenditure	1.0 (As% of GDP FY2023)
 Health Sector PSDP Allocation	25.3 (Rs billion)
 Hospitals	1,284 (2023)
 Basic Health Units	5,520 (2023)
 Infant Mortality Rate	52.8 (Per 100,000 Births - 2021)
 Life Expectancy	67.3 (2022)
 Registered Doctors	299,113 (2022)









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Energy sector

- Total installed capacity of electricity in the country is 42,131 MW, with contribution from hydel (25.4%), thermal (59.5%), nuclear (8.4%) and renewables (6.8%).
- As of March 2024, net metering based solar installations stood at 117,807 with a cumulative capacity of 1,822 MW.
- Transport sector - major consumer of petroleum products, comprising 79.4% of total demand.

KEY INDICATORS

	Total Installed Capacity (end March 2024)	42,131 (MW)
	Total Installed Generation (end March 2024)	92,091 (Gwh)
Consumptions (Jul-Mar 2024)		
	Total Electricity	68,559 (Gwh)
	Petroleum Products	12.30 (million tonnes)
	Gas	3,207 (Mmcf)
	Coal	17.3 (million tonnes)

Summary of Federal Budget (FY 2024 – 2025)

Important Statistics

- Total spending estimated to be 18.9 trillion Pakistani rupees (\$67.84 billion) in 2024-25, including Expects debt servicing of 9.8 trillion rupees.
- Budget deficit (85 trillion) is 6.9% of the GDP
- Defense expenditure of 2.1 trillion rupees, an increment of 18%, i.e. is 1.7% of gross domestic product (GDP). Averagely, Pakistan spends \$13,400 per soldier, India \$42,000, Saudi Arabia \$371,000, Iran \$23,000, while the United States allocates \$392,000 annually.
- Pakistan has planned to borrow a minimum of \$23 billion in the next fiscal year
- Pension payments seen at 1 trillion rupees
- Total subsidies projected at 1.4 trillion rupees
- Rs79 billion allocated for IT sector
- Rs86.9 billion allocated to promote remittances in Pakistan

National Public Sector Development Program (PSDP)

- The government on Wednesday announced an [Rs3.792 trillion](#) national Public Sector Development Programme (PSDP) for fiscal year 2024-25, which represents a staggering 58 per cent increase from the Rs2.39tr.
- Of the total, Rs2.095tr has been allocated to provincial PSDP.
- Around 1.5 trillion for federal PSDP, which is 101% higher than the previous year.



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Energy Sector

- Rs253 billion allocated for energy sector
- Rs4 billion allocation made for 'e-bikes' and another Rs2 billion for energy-saving fans to promote energy conservation
- Reduce transmission and distribution losses
- 9 DISCOs to be privatized

Social Welfare

- Salary increment for grade (1-16): 25%
- Salary increment for grade (17 & above): 20%
- Pension increment: 15%
- Minimum Wage: 37000 (increment of 5000)
- BISP programme allocation has been increased by over 27%: 598 Billion
- Aurangzeb proposes what he calls a 'National Fiscal Pact' with all provinces

Revenue Collection

- Rs12970 Billion is FBR's target, which is 38% higher than the outgoing fiscal year.
- Capital gains tax for property sale/purchase: 15% tax for filers, 45% for non-filers.
- There is no income tax if the annual income is up to Rs600,000.
- Govt aims to elevate the tax-to-GDP ratio from its current level of just over 9% to 13% within the next three years.

Crack Down on Non-Filers

- The government also proposed a host of other measures to crack down on non-filers and compel them to file tax returns, apart from the blocking of their mobile SIMs and severing their utility connections, such as exit of such individuals from Pakistan be barred except for Hajj and Umrah travellers, minors, students and overseas Pakistanis.
- Penalties were proposed for entities failing to fully disclose relevant particulars, submitting incomplete information in their tax returns or failing to file returns on discontinuation of their business. Further, a penalty of sealing of shop was proposed for traders and shopkeepers who failed to register under a scheme. The failure by a shopkeeper or trader to register be made an offence punishable on conviction with imprisonment for six months or with fine, or both.



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Notable Tax Exemptions

- A health insurance scheme for journalists and people associated with the media industry.
- Exemption of customs duties on raw materials for hemodialysis machines and treatment of Neonatal Respiratory Distress Syndrome
- Withdrawal of regulatory duty (RD) on import of sliver cans and lollipop sticks
- Incentives for manufacturing of solar panels and allied equipment
- Extension in scope of exemptions on import of machinery and equipment for farming and processing of seafood

7th NFC Award – Distribution of Revenues

1. Federal Divisible Pool

The divisible pool taxes in each year shall consist of the following taxes levied and collected by the Federal Government in that year, namely: —

- | | |
|--|--|
| i. taxes on income | vi. customs duties |
| ii. wealth tax | vii. federal excise duties excluding the excise duty on gas charged at well-head |
| iii. capital value tax | viii. any other tax which may be levied by the Federal Government |
| iv. taxes on the sales and purchases of goods imported, exported, produced, manufactured or consumed | |
| v. export duties on cotton | |

❖ One percent of divisible pool taxes shall be assigned to KPK to meet counter-terrorism

Vertical Distribution: Federal Govt's share: 42.5% & Federating Units' share: 57.5%

2. Allocation of shares to the Provincial Governments

The indicators and their respective weight is;

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| i. Population 82% | iii. Revenue collection/generation 5% |
| ii. Poverty 10.3% | iv. Inverse population density 2.7% |

Accordingly the sum distributed among provinces will be

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| i. Balochistan 9.09% | iii. Sindh 24.55% |
| ii. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 14.62% | iv. Punjab 51.74% |



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Issues with Economy of Pakistan

1. Unsustainable Economic Growth Pattern
 - Politics of Statistics
 - Import-led economy
2. Three Deficits
 - Export-Import Imbalance
 - Current Account Deficit
 - Trade Deficit
3. Debt Issue
 - Debt/GDP ratio should stay at 60%.
4. Tax Problems
 - Regressive Taxation
 - Tax Volume vs Tax Payers
5. Cash based economy: Issue of data
6. Energy problems
 - Increasing line losses and growing Circular Debt
7. Non-Development State Owned Enterprises
 - State Owned Enterprises or State Owned Liabilities?
 - PIA, Pakistan Steel Mills (PSM), Pakistan Railways, DISCOs, GENCOs etc
8. Procedural Complexities for Investors; depleting FDI
 - Why do we have low foreign investment?
 - Absence of efficient single window operation
9. Population Growth and Consumer Economy
10. Geography and Neighborhood
 - Transit OR Ambush?
 - Cold war, war on terror, wars with India



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11. Ineffective Development policies

- Casino Economy
- Unproductive rich class
- Proliferation of easy money multipliers for rich

12. Troubles of Construction sector

13. Too much experimentism on governance structure, economic system, and political system

14. A Fiscal Federalist State; issues with 7th NFC Award and the 18th amendment

15. Inconsistency of policies: Lack of continuity in leadership roles is death to progress.

16. Conflict of interest in policy making corridors

17. Increasing share of services sector

18. Judicial Activism's Cost of Economy

19. Free Trade Agreement with China

20. Unnecessary overwhelming attached with CPEC

21. Global Constraints

- FATF
- Hard image of Pakistan

Solutions/Recommendations

1. Shift Pakistan's economic strategy towards export-driven growth

- Case study of South Korea

2. Liberalization of economy

- Minimum government intervention
- Privatization

3. Introduce equity-based Progressive Taxation

4. Documentation and formalization of economy

5. Reduce Dollar Gap

6. Minimize Federal Non-Development Expenditures

7. Transform Economic Growth into welfare of common man

8. Rationalization of defense expenditures



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9. Resolve Energy Sector Problems
10. Debt servicing - a shared job?
11. Revisit and Reconsider NFC Award
12. Empower Encourage and Facilitate Freelancing
13. Encourage Local Investments
14. Revisit free trade agreement with China
15. Trade with Neighborhood
16. Improve textile industry
17. Reduce Rampant profligacy
18. Good Intentions without any planning won't pay back
19. Entire Political System must work together
20. Overview of Economic Revival Plan & Establishment of Special Investment Facilitation Council (SIFC)

Informal Economy

Some 60 percent of the world's population participates in the informal sector. Around the world, some 70% of economic activity is taking place in the shadows (World Bank)

Situation in Pakistan

- The size of Pakistan's informal economy (shadow economy) is estimated to be as much as 56 per cent of the country's GDP (as of 2019), means around \$180 billion a year.

Causes

1. Bureaucratic and procedural complexities
2. Complex tax code
3. Weak enforcement of tax laws
4. Limited access to finance
5. Regulatory hurdles
6. Perceived stigma associated with formalization; example of Zakat
7. Behavioral issue; absence of tax culture

Consequences

1. Low growth potential of informal sector
2. Reduction in Government's revenue



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3. Labor's economic exploitation & labor rights abuses
4. It promotes gender inequality & Child Labor
5. Unfair competition
6. Environmental degradation

Recommendations:

- Improving access to and quality of education
- Progressive Taxation
- A range of structural policies can help increase incentives and lower the cost of formalization. Elimination of excessive regulations/bureaucratic requirements also helps.
- Institutions must act as facilitator
- Case Studies: Several Latin American and Caribbean countries (ie Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Dominican Republic, Uruguay)
- ILO's landmark Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy Recommendation, 2015.



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Hybrid Warfare & Non-Traditional Security Threats & Non-State Actors

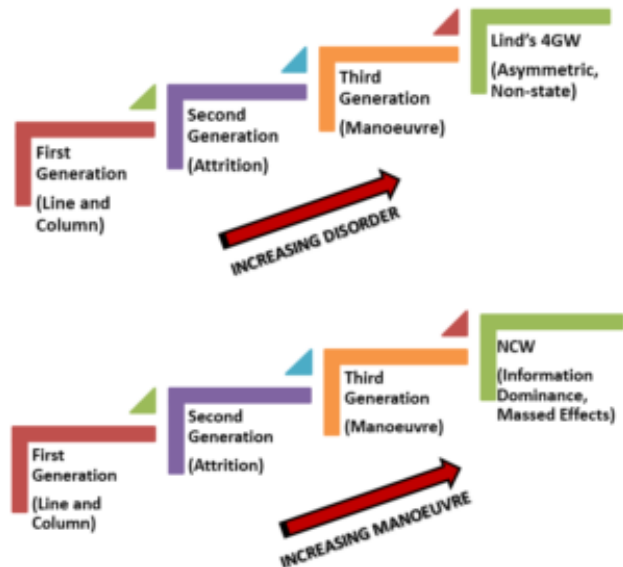
“Hybrid warfare entails an interplay or fusion of conventional and unconventional instruments of power and tools of subversion. These instruments or tools are blended in a synchronized manner to exploit the vulnerabilities of an antagonist and achieve synergistic effects.”

(NATO)

- Conventional/Traditional Security Threats Vs Unconventional/Non-Traditional Security Threats
- The supreme art of war is to subdue the enemy without fighting, as the ancient military strategist, Sun Tzu, suggested.

Generations of Warfare

- First Generation (1GW): Refers to the warfare of the pre-industrial age, characterized by line and column tactics, muskets, and fixed formations. Battles were often face-to-face, and firepower was limited.
- Second Generation (2GW): Emerged during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, marked by the integration of industrialization, machine guns, and indirect fire artillery. Trench warfare in World War I is a notable example.
- Third Generation (3GW): Developed during the mid-20th century, emphasizing maneuver warfare, combined arms, and mobility. The use of tanks, airpower, and infantry tactics evolved significantly during this period.
- Fourth Generation (4GW): Arises from the late 20th century and beyond, featuring non-traditional conflicts, asymmetric warfare, and the integration of irregular forces, terrorism, and information warfare. Focuses on political and psychological goals as much as military objectives.
- Fifth Generation (5GW): A concept still under discussion, it involves the use of advanced technology, cyber warfare, and the blurred lines between civilian and military domains. Information operations and the use of artificial intelligence could play a significant role in this generation.





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Why did this transition from traditional warfare to hybrid warfare happen?

- i. Globalization, rise of transnational issues, and Terrorism
- ii. Emergence of Nuclear security
- iii. Increased Costs of Traditional Warfare and public backlash; Wars are expensive projects
- iv. Technological Advancements and Advent of social media
- v. Evolving Nature of Conflict; “Grey Zones”
- vi. Exploiting the 24-hour News Cycle
- vii. Ethnic fault lines – a readymade recipe
- viii. Religious tilt over national tilt

Modern Day Examples

- The Russo-Ukrainian Wars (2014-2023)
- The Rise of ISIS (2014-2017)
- Myanmar's Crackdown on Rohingya (2017-Present)
- Alleged Election Interference by Russia:
- EU-Disinfo lab Report 2020
- Chinese approach to hybrid warfare, particularly regarding Taiwan and the South China Sea, serve as case studies to illustrate the practical application of these concepts.

Tools & Mechanism of Hybrid Warfare

- Individualization of AI & BOTS
- Election manipulation
- Promotion of insurgency
- Instigation of ethnic fault lines
- Economic aspect – use economic leverage (neo-imperialism)
- Political – hatred against govt.
- Cultural clashes
- Cinema e.g. Hollywood
- Cyber attacks
- Color revolutions – regime change e.g. arab spring



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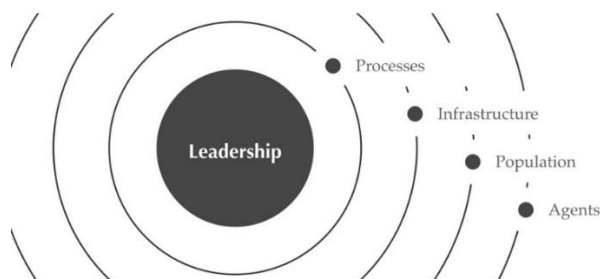
Theoretical Frameworks

1. Global dominance theory

- Rely on HWF to achieve dominance

2. Warden's Five Ring Theory

- Warden's five rings theory is a theory of airpower that primarily relies on the prioritization of targets. Warden advocates a strategic concept focused on strategic paralysis.



Policy Recommendations

1. Human Security & State Security are two different, yet interlinked aspects
2. Work on Economy
 - “Economy is sub-structure which determines super structure”
3. Political consensus to end polarization
4. Foreign Policy – change global perception
5. Inculcate civic education
6. DDR Approach
7. Implement National Security Policy 2022
8. Strengthening International Cooperation
9. Building State Resilience
10. Investing in Research and Development
11. Enhancing Legal and Normative Frameworks
12. Adopting a Whole-of-Government Approach
13. Promoting Strategic Communication



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Non-Traditional Security threats

- *“The weak and defenseless, in this imperfect world, invite aggression from others.” Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah*
- The internal threats in Pakistan include threats like poor economy, increase in population, decline in education, decline in mortality rate, unavailability of clean water, lack of food resources, environment degradation, macroeconomic instability, climate change, population, cyber security, and food, energy and gender insecurity.
- NTST needs Non-traditional solutions.

Non-State Actors

- NSAs are defined as organized political actors, be they individuals or organizations, that lack direct connections or affiliations with any state but pursue aims that affect vital interests. E.g. Amnesty International, multinational corporations (such as Microsoft), regional organizations (such as the European Union), and international organizations (such as the United Nations), separatist groups & rebels.
- Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HuM), Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HM), Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), Sipah-e-Sahaba, Lashkar-e-Jhangbi, and Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM), Baluch Liberation Army, Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP).
- Conceptualization of Rebels, Insurgents, Belligerents



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Resurgence of Terrorism in Pakistan

Tracing the Origin of Terrorism (1974-2024):

1974: The Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore lays the groundwork for closer cooperation among Muslim nations, potentially influencing future support for Mujahideen groups.

1979: Soviet Union invades Afghanistan. Pakistan becomes a key supporter of the Afghan Mujahideen.

1988: Soviet Union withdraws from Afghanistan. Power vacuum in Afghanistan leads to civil war.

1990s: Rise of militant groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed in Pakistan. These groups focus on Kashmir and potentially develop links with Al-Qaeda.

1998: Pakistan conducts nuclear tests in response to India's tests. Tensions escalate between India and Pakistan.

October 1999: Military coup led by General Pervez Musharraf overthrows Nawaz Sharif's government.

September 11, 2001: Al-Qaeda attacks the US, marking a turning point in the global fight against terrorism. Pakistan becomes a key ally of the US in the War on Terror.

2002: Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) is formed, consolidating various militant groups opposed to the Pakistani government.

2007: Red Mosque siege in Islamabad highlights the growing challenge of domestic extremism.

2008: Mumbai attacks by Lashkar-e-Taiba heighten tensions between India and Pakistan.

2011: Osama Bin Laden killed in Abbottabad, Pakistan, raising questions about Pakistani knowledge of his whereabouts.

2013 Onwards: US drone strikes target TTP and other militant groups in Pakistan's tribal areas. The effectiveness and legality of these strikes remains controversial.

2014: Withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan creates new uncertainties for regional stability. APS Attack.

2015: Operation Zarb e Azab



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2016: Baloch separatist attacks continue to pose a security challenge in Baluchistan. Rise of multiple factions including BLA, BLF, etc and potential nexus of separatism and terrorism.

- **January:** Suicide bombing at Bacha Khan University in Charsadda kills at least 20 people.
- **March:** Suicide bombing at Gulshan-e-Iqbal Park in Lahore, one of the deadliest attacks in Pakistan's history, claims over 70 lives.
- **August:** Attack on Quetta Civil Hospital by Lashkar-e-Jhangvi targets lawyers assisting victims of a previous bombing.
- **October:** Heavily armed militants storm a police academy in Quetta, resulting in over 60 deaths.

2017:

- **February:** Suicide blast outside the Punjab Assembly kills 13 people, including police officers. Jamaat-ul-Ahrar claims responsibility.
- **July:** Suicide bombing targeting Sehwan Sharif leaves over 80 dead.

2018:

- **May:** General Elections marred by violence, with several attacks targeting political candidates and rallies.
- **August:** Suicide bombing at an election rally in Mastung kills over 130 people, the deadliest attack of the year.

2019:

- **February:** Suicide bombing at a police checkpoint in Quetta kills at least 10 security personnel.
- **July:** Attack on Pearl-Continental Hotel in Gwadar highlights vulnerabilities in Balochistan.

2020:

- **February:** Suicide bombing at a Shia mosque in Karachi kills over 15 people.

2021:

- **April:** Bomb blast at a market in Parachinar kills at least 40 civilians.
- **August:** Suicide bombing at Kabul airport during US withdrawal creates security concerns for Pakistan.



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2022:

- **February:** TTP ends ceasefire with the Pakistani government, leading to a surge in attacks.
- **March:** Suicide bombing at a Shia mosque in Peshawar kills over 60 worshippers.
- **June:** Attack on Karachi police headquarters highlights the vulnerability of security installations.
- **Overall:** A significant increase in terrorist attacks compared to previous years, with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa witnessing the most violence.

2023:

- **January:** Suicide bombing at a police station in Islamabad raises concerns about attacks in the capital.
- **February:** Attack on Karachi Police Office highlights the ongoing threat posed by TTP.
- **March:** Blast at a mosque in Peshawar during Friday prayers results in numerous casualties.
- **Overall:** Continued rise in terrorist activities, with over 600 attacks reported throughout the year.

APS Attack - a Turning Point & Formation of NAP

December 2014: The Pakistani government, with broad political consensus, drafts a 20-point National Action Plan (NAP) overseen by the National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA).

Salient Features of National Action Plan 2014

The 20 agenda items of National Action Plan 2014 are:

1. Implementation of death sentence of those convicted in cases of terrorism.
2. Special trial courts under the supervision of Army. The duration of these courts would be two years.
3. Militant outfits and armed gangs will not be allowed to operate in the country.
4. NACTA, the anti-terrorism institution will be strengthened.
5. Strict action against the literature, newspapers and magazines promoting hatred, extremism, sectarianism and intolerance.
6. Choking financing for terrorist and terrorist organizations.
7. Ensuring against re-emergence of proscribed organizations.
8. Establishing and deploying a dedicated counter-terrorism force.
9. Taking effective steps against religious persecution.
10. Registration and regulation of religious seminaries.
11. Ban on glorification of terrorists and terrorist organizations through print and electronic media.
12. Administrative and development reforms in FATA with immediate focus on repatriation of IDPs.



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13. Communication network of terrorists will be dismantled completely.
14. Measures against abuse of internet and social media for terrorism.
15. Zero tolerance for militancy in Punjab.
16. Ongoing operation in Karachi will be taken to its logical end.
17. Balochistan government to be fully empowered for political reconciliation with complete ownership by all stakeholders.
18. Dealing firmly with sectarian terrorists.
19. Formulation of a comprehensive policy to deal with the issue of Afghan refugees, beginning with registration of all refugees.
20. Revamping and reforming the criminal justice system.

Revised National Action Plan – 2021

Kinetic Domain

1. Intolerance for Militancy – No Militant/Armed/Identified Criminal Gangs be Allowed to Operate
2. Action Against Spread of Terrorism Through Media (Electronic, Print & Social Media) Communication & Cyber networks
3. Taking Effective Measures Against Religious / Sectarian Persecution & Terrorism
4. Choking of Terror Financing & Proscribed Organizations
5. Curb Increasing Trends of Illegal Spectrum (Narco, Weapons & Human Trafficking)

Non-Kinetic Domain

1. Follow up of Counter Terrorism (CT) cases in Courts to conclusive end
2. Capacity Building & Strengthening of CTDs
3. Formulation, Institutionalization & Implementation of CVE Policy
4. Regulation & Registration of Religious Seminaries
5. Balochistan Reconciliation Process
6. Merged Areas of KP Reforms
7. Reforms in Criminal Justice System
8. Legislative / Legal Oversight for Espionage / Subversion
9. Repatriation of Afghan Refugees and dealing with their issues

Resurgence of Terrorism in Pakistan

i. Shortcomings of the National Action Plan (NAP):

- **Limited Scope:** neglected long-term strategies to address root causes
- **Uneven Implementation:** The implementation of the NAP faced inconsistencies.
- **Political Willpower:** Fluctuating political commitment hampered the NAP's effectiveness.



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- ii. **TTP's Strategic & Narrative Shifts:**
 - **Leadership Changes and Unification:** Following the death of Mullah Fazlullah in 2018, the TTP unified under a more centralized leadership with Mufti Noor Wali Mehsud
 - **Exploiting the Afghan Power Vacuum:** The Taliban takeover of Afghanistan in 2021 provided a safe haven for the TTP and boosted their morale.
 - **Shifting Tactics:** The TTP shifted tactics from large-scale attacks to more targeted assassinations and bombings.
 - **Formation of Willayah**
- iii. **Evolving Terrorist Landscape:**
 - **Emergence of ISIS-K:** The rise of ISIS-Khorasan (ISIS-K)
 - **Regional Influence:** The spillover effects of return of Afghan Taliban.
- iv. **Capacity gaps among provinces**
 - KP CTD spends less than 4pc of its budget on operations
- v. **Narrative Issue**
 - There is no clear national narrative on how to deal with those responsible for terrorism.
- vi. **Integration of Terrorism and Separatism**
 - Current wave of terrorism has its roots in Afghanistan. The TTP and Baloch insurgents uses Afghan soil and has the full backing of the Taliban regime.
- vii. **Institutional Gridlocks**
 - The bureaucratic mindset has developed a habit of suggesting new initiatives, inspired by those in the West, without considering the local context, need and the inherent financial and institutional limitations.
- viii. **Policy Discontinuity**
 - One government use kinetic tools, other use negotiations. State institutions failed to realize that society would not buy the idea of talking to the terrorists.



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Recommendations

1. Revamping the National Action Plan (NAP):

- Broaden Scope & Data-Driven Approach

2. Revamp Law Enforcement and Counter-terrorism Efforts

- Strengthen Intelligence Gathering
- Inter-Agency Coordination & Eliminate Institutional Disintegration
- Community Policing

3. Elimination of Institutional Gridlocks & Loopholes

- Developing early warning systems
- Activation of NACTA at all levels
- Capacity building of LEAs to curtail the financial supplies of the militants.

4. Counterterrorism Financing:

- Track and Disrupt Funding Networks
- Regulate Charitable Donation
- Public Awareness Campaigns

5. Technical Considerations

- Cyber security Measures
- De-radicalization Online Platforms

6. International Collaboration:

- Regional Cooperation
- Exchange of Expertise
- Diplomatic Efforts
- Three Evils of SCO

7. De-Radicalization and Rehabilitation:

- Design evidence-based de-radicalization and rehabilitation programs
- Focus on Reintegration of those militants willing to submit before state
- Counter-narratives

8. Addressing Socio-economic Issues:

- Economic Development in troubled areas
- Education Reforms
- Good Governance practices

9. Reorientation of Approach towards Interim-Afghan Government

- Bilateral state-to-state framework to seek security cooperation.
- Carrot and stick policy
- Revamp Afghanistan-Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity (APAPPS)



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Nuclear Proliferation & Nuclear Security/Nuclear Politics in South Asia

Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties (SALT) and arms control agreements

1. Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT) - 1963:

- Not a SALT treaty, but an important arms control agreement.
- Signed by the United States, Soviet Union, and United Kingdom.
- Prohibited nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, outer space, and underwater, but allowed tests underground.
- Aimed to reduce the environmental and health risks associated with atmospheric nuclear testing.

2. Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) - 1972:

- Part of the SALT framework.
- Limited the deployment of anti-ballistic missile systems that could potentially undermine the concept of mutual assured destruction (MAD).
- Aimed to prevent one side from gaining a significant advantage in defensive capabilities.

3. Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) - 1972:

- Consisted of two main agreements: a. **SALT I Interim Agreement:** Froze the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) each side possessed. b. **SALT I Treaty:** Placed limits on the deployment of multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRVs) on ICBMs.

4. Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) - 1979:

- Intended to build on the progress of SALT I.
- Addressed the qualitative and quantitative growth of nuclear arsenals.
- However, SALT II was never ratified by the U.S. Senate due to concerns over Soviet violations and changes in the geopolitical landscape.

5. Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty - 1987:

- Not a SALT treaty, but a significant arms control agreement.
- Signed by the United States and Soviet Union.



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- Eliminated an entire class of nuclear missiles with intermediate ranges (500 to 5,500 kilometers) that were seen as destabilizing for Europe.

6. Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I) - 1991:

- Part of the post-Cold War arms control efforts.
- Signed between the United States and Soviet Union shortly before the latter's dissolution.
- Required both sides to reduce their strategic nuclear weapons by about one-third.

7. Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START II) - 1993:

- Built upon the principles of START I.
- Proposed deeper reductions in the number of deployed strategic nuclear warheads.
- Ratified by both countries but not fully implemented due to changing circumstances.

New wave of Nuclear Proliferation

“A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.” U.S. President Ronald Reagan and former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev

For more than 75 years, humanity has lived in the shadow of the nuclear bomb. We have gotten used to this danger.

Existing global nuclear arsenal: The facts prove this neglect. The size of global arsenals and their destructive capacity remain significant. Around 13,000 nuclear warheads still exist, and although that number has decreased since its peak of around 70,000 warheads in 1986, for the first time in decades, it is likely to rise in the coming years, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Proliferation motivation comes from recent past history

- Lessons from the fate of Georgia and Ukraine
- American wars with Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, and Serbia but not with North Korea or Russia. The story of Libya

Proliferation motivation comes from recent past history

Anyone who doubts their utility need look no further than Georgia and Ukraine, which lack nuclear weapons and which Russia invaded, and contrast them to NATO countries, which enjoy America's nuclear umbrella and have not seen a shot fired. Or to American wars with Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, and Serbia but not with North Korea or Russia. NATO moved to end the regime in Libya after it gave up its nuclear program but not before. Leaders have absorbed the differences in fortune between Kim Jong Un, on the one hand, and Slobodan Milosevic, Saddam Hussein, and Muammar Qaddafi, on the other.



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Manifestations of Current Wave of Nuclear Proliferation

- Signing of AUKUS
- Russian Threat of tactical nuke-usage in Ukraine
- North Korea conducting record number of ballistic missiles tests in 2022
- A race of hypersonic technology among Russia, China, USA
- Pakistan getting 8 nuclear submarine from china by 2028
- Ukraine War: changing the historical nuclear-free mindset in power corridors non-nuclear developed states
- John Mearshimer: War in Ukraine most likely to end at nuclear bomb usage
- Chances of a false flag explosion of dirty bomb in Ukraine by any side
- Failure of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action
- “KSA for sure will get nuclear weapon If Iran does” said MBS
- China paradox and its nuclear doctrine
- US withdrawal from p5+1
- North Korea’s Doctrinal Shifts
- Black market of uranium.
- Transition from bipolarity to multi-polarity encouraging nuclear proliferation
- Moscow’s de-ratification (November 2023) of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) is merely designed to bring Russia into line with the United States, which signed but never ratified the treaty. Russia will not resume nuclear testing unless Washington does, say Russian diplomats.



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Pakistan's Nuclear Security Threat

Historical perspective

- **Alignment with the West:** Pakistan joined the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1954, an anti-communist defense pact. In 1955, Pakistan also became a member of the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).
- **1950s-60s:** Pakistan received substantial military aid from the U.S., including modern weaponry, training, and financial assistance.
- **Suspensions:** Aid was intermittently suspended, especially during the India-Pakistan wars (1965 and 1971), impacting Pakistan's military preparedness.
- **China-Pakistan Cooperation:** From the 1960s onward, military cooperation with China grew, including the co-production of weapons and joint military exercise.
- **Nuclear Deterrence:** After India's nuclear test in 1974, Pakistan embarked on its own nuclear program to achieve "credible minimum deterrence" against a larger Indian conventional force
- **Ensuring BOP:** Nuclear explosion 1998

Nuclearization and unending pursuit power maximization in South Asia by India:

- undermine the strategic parity in the region by challenging Pakistan's nuclear threshold
- Notions of 'surgical strikes' and 'new normal' under the nuclear scenario
- Gradual shifts in its doctrinal posture.
- Development of ballistic missile defense (BMD)
- purchase of S-400 anti-missile system
- acquisition of anti-satellite ([ASAT](#)) weapons
- India-US 'Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement' (BECA)
- India's short-to medium-range missiles are, by their very ranges, Pakistan-specific. i.e mainly Agni series

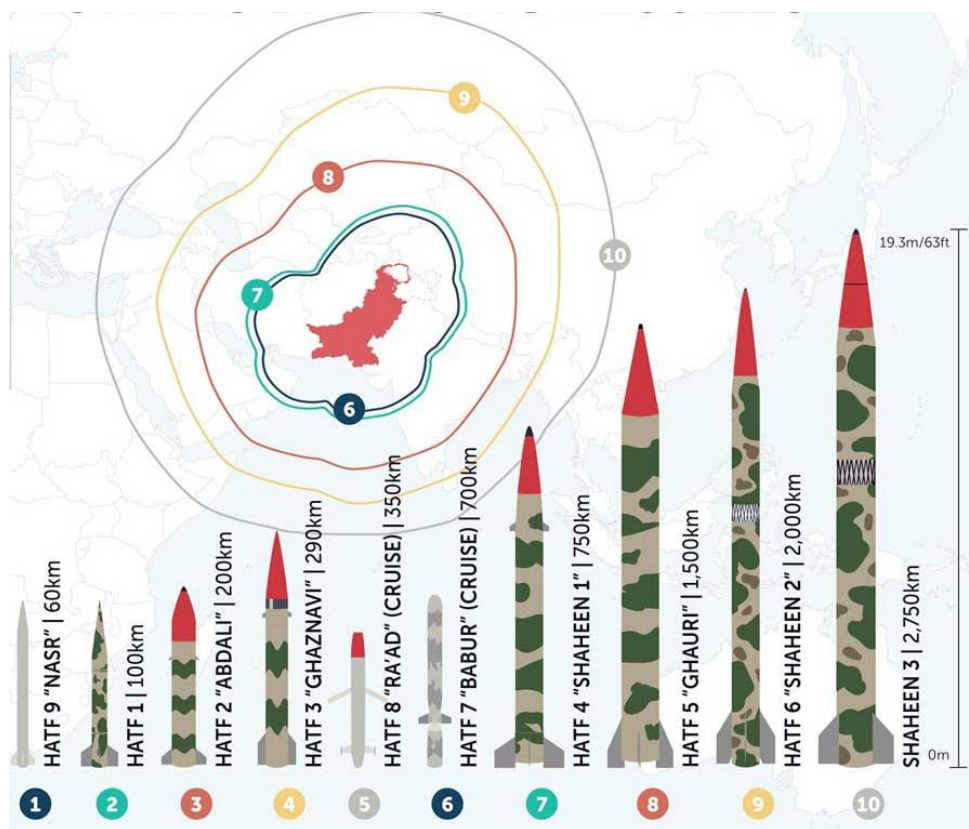


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- Test of ballistic missile Agni-V conducted by Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicles (MIRV) technology
- Completing its nuclear triad
- Having second strike capability
- Offensive approach
- Most recent Conventional warfare Cold Start Doctrine: The doctrine is intended to allow India's conventional forces to perform holding attacks to prevent a nuclear retaliation from Pakistan in case of a conflict. It involves the various branches of India's military conducting offensive operations as part of unified battle group.





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Environment: Global Warming, Climate Change, Kyoto Protocol, Copenhagen Accord, Climate Politics

History of International commitments related to Environment

1. London Convention 1933 (preservation of Flora & Fauna)
2. Convention on wild life preservation and nature protection 1940
3. UN Stockholm Conference 1972 on Human Environment
4. Vienna Convention of protection of Ozone Layer 1985
5. Montreal Protocol On Substances That Deplete Ozone 1987
6. Un Conference On Environment And Development (UNCED) in Rio De Janeiro (RIO Conference) 1992, also called Earth Summit
7. Kyoto Protocol
8. Stockholm conference on persistent organic pollutants (POP), signed in 2001, effective 2004.
9. Copenhagen Accord 2009
10. Paris Agreement – COP21

What is Climate Justice?

- Climate justice is a concept that addresses the just division, fair sharing, and equitable distribution of the burdens of climate change and its mitigation and responsibilities to deal with climate change.

Rich Country's standing

- “Climate change is caused by rich countries but it will hit poor countries more severely than rich countries.”
- Rich countries are also facing serious challenges as natural disasters related to climate change are causing much more losses in recent years.

Pakistan's standing

- Pakistan is responsible for less than [1 percent](#) of global carbon emissions but is among the most vulnerable to extreme weather events.
- 2022 summer's monsoon [rains and floods](#)
- “Climate change caused disasters are entitlements for countries that are on the front line of somebody else's carbon legacy,”



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Pakistan Leads Charge for Climate Justice at COP27: Loss and Damage Financial Mechanism proposed by Pakistan

- Pakistani PM pressing the case for a “loss and damage” financial mechanism that would oblige developed countries to help “victim” countries pay for the impact of climate change and to prevent energy-poor countries from becoming part of the problem by transitioning to cleaner sources of energy.
- “what goes on in Pakistan will not stay in Pakistan”, Slogan
- Around \$9 billion plus were pledged

Pakistan’s Commitment’s to International Efforts & Environmental Governance

1. **Pakistan became signatory of;**
 - UNFCCC in 1994
 - Ratified Kyoto Protocol in 1997, implemented in 2005.
 - Montreal protocol in 1992
 - Stockholm conference in 2008
 - UNCLOS in 1997
2. Ministry of Environment formed 1975, following Stockholm Declaration 1972
 - Ministry prepared framework for Pakistan Environmental Protection Ordinance (PEPO) 1983.
3. First Pakistan National Conservation Strategy (NCS) was prepared in 1992 soon after Earth Summit
4. In 1993, under PEPO, NEQS were notified
5. In 1997, Pakistan Environmental Protection Act (1997).
6. After 18th amendment, Punjab adopted Punjab Environmental protection amendment act 2012.
7. The country passed its first ever [National Climate Change Policy](#) in 2012 and ratified the Paris Agreement in 2016. The commitment of the current government to the [Billion Tree Tsunami programme](#), Clean and Green Pakistan initiative, Protected Areas Initiative and Ecosystem Restoration Fund are also laudable.
8. Pakistan ratified Paris Agreement on November 11, 2016, committed to reduce up to 20% by 2030. (Pakistan INDC)
9. Formation of Special SDG – unit in Planning Commission
10. Pakistan adhering to Minamata Convention on Mercury Reduction by 2020.

Issues with Environmental Governance in Pakistan

1. Disappointing political culture
2. Non-seriousness in strengthening country’s domestic shoulder against climate change
3. Issue of Transparency



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4. Only 2% forest cover
5. Incompetency of a country having nuclear weapon but unable to do self-help when it comes to climate change
6. Blaming the coal and other hydrocarbon emissions of industrialized states, while increasing your own dependence
7. Population growth rate of 2.4%
8. Uneven industrialization
9. Governance related
10. Failure to Own the issue
 - Pakistan missed all MDGs
11. Constitutional uncertainty
12. Unfolded Policies
13. Absence of vertical and horizontal coordination for climate change
14. Institutional isolation and data sharing issue
15. Implementation of laws & judgments is the biggest challenge
16. Illegal structures on Pakistan's riverbeds.
17. The state is politically divided in the wake of a national emergency

Recommendations for Global Community

1. Penalizing climate injustice & violations of climate change commitments
2. Improve COPs fragile implementation system
3. The nature of green financing must change
4. Mobilize climate financing and find ways to reset the climate model of negotiations at the global level.
5. Current bargain between the Global North and Global South is not working.
6. The goal of keeping the Paris commitments of 'keeping 1.5 C alive' is almost dead.

Recommendations for Pakistan

1. Replace random plantation with well-researched plantation
2. Pakistan has met SDG – 13 on climate action.
3. Environmental security shall be considered as strategic security
4. Global community needs to reduce emissions by 40-70% by 2050, considering 2010 as a baseline.
5. Political instability cannot stop the track of recovery and development.
6. Let's not dilute the case of bad management and governance.
7. Green project investments include managing biodiversity and coastal areas, fostering ecotourism, and addressing environmental health hazards.
8. Climate Diplomacy – foreign policy agenda.



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9. Existing laws in the provinces have to be enforced along with a huge injection of climate governance capacity enhancement at the local and district levels.
10. Pakistan is more concerned about Mitigation at multilateral forums, not adaptation
 - National Adaptation Plan was introduced in 2023
11. Need for climate justice at home
12. Need for climate democracy
13. Enhance Forest cover
 - 5.7% of total land (WWF)
 - Punjab 2.7%, Sindh 4.7%, KPK 11%, Balochistan 1.4%
 - Global average of forest cover 31% (UNFAO)



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Pakistan-China Relations & CPEC

Belt & Road Initiative

- China's BRI is a strategic move to attain a permanent road into Eurasia and dominant presence in its sea-based lines of supply. To make it a reality, China has engaged more than 150 countries, with a population of 5 billion people, building six economic corridors connecting China with other economies.
- Corridors of BRI are
 - i. China–Mongolia–Russia Economic Corridor (CMREC)
 - ii. New Eurasian Land Bridge (NELB)
 - iii. China-Central Asia-Western Asia Economic Corridor (CCWAEC)
 - iv. China–Indo–China Peninsula Economic Corridor (CICPEC)
 - v. China– Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)
 - vi. Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor (BCIMEC)
- “The Silk Road Economic Belt focuses on bringing together China, Central Asia, Russia and Europe (the Baltics); linking China with the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea through Central Asia and West Asia; and connecting China with Southeast Asia, South Asia and the Indian Ocean. The 21st-century Maritime Silk Road is designed to pass from China's coast to Europe through the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean in one route, and from China's coast through the South China Sea to the South Pacific in the other.”
- In contrast to Chinese statements, an American consulting firm ‘Booz Allen Hamilton’ referred Chinese connectivity plan to ‘string of pearls’.
- The CPEC is one of the connecting dots in BRI's string



China's BRI roadmap



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CPEC - Background

- The bilateral economic cooperation began to deepen in the early 1990s but the official joint declaration was signed in 2003 by the Chinese President Hu Jintao and his Pakistani counterpart President Pervez Musharraf, which emphasised on different areas of collaboration for future understanding.
- In 2006, a mutual announcement became a source of strength and cooperation when the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) was signed by President Hu Jintao during his official visit to Pakistan.
- The main breakthrough was achieved in 2013 when an official agreement was signed resulted into creation of the CPEC for greater economic partnership. The agreement of the CPEC was initially signed in 2013
- After President Xi Jinping's visit to Pakistan in 2015, CPEC came into implementation
- The CPEC, which began as a US\$ 45 billion project has grown to over US\$62 billion.
- The 15-year CPEC plan is being executed in four phases.
- Joint Cooperation Committee (JCC) of Pak-China Economic Corridor established head by Minister for Planning & Reforms from Pakistani side and Vice Chairman, Chinese Development Reforms Commission from Chinese side. 1st JCC conducted in 2013 and 12th JCC 2023. Also, 10 years of project celebrated in 2023.

Routes of CPEC

At present, there are three routes, western, central and eastern, which will link the whole Pakistan with western China.

1. **Western Route:** The Western route starts from Gwadar crosses through Turbat, Panjgur, Nag, Basima, Sohrab, Kalat, Quetta, Qila Saifullah, Zhob and reaches Dera Ismail Khan before leading to Islamabad.
2. **Central Route:** The Central route originates from Gwadar, Quetta and reaches Dera Ismail Khan via Basima, Khuzdar, Sukhar, Rajanpur, Layyah, Muzaffargarh and Bhakker
3. **Eastern Route:** The Eastern route will start from Gwadar, Basima, Khuzdar, Sukhar, Rahim Yar Khan, Bahawalpur, Multan and Lahore/Faisalabad and then reach Islamabad.



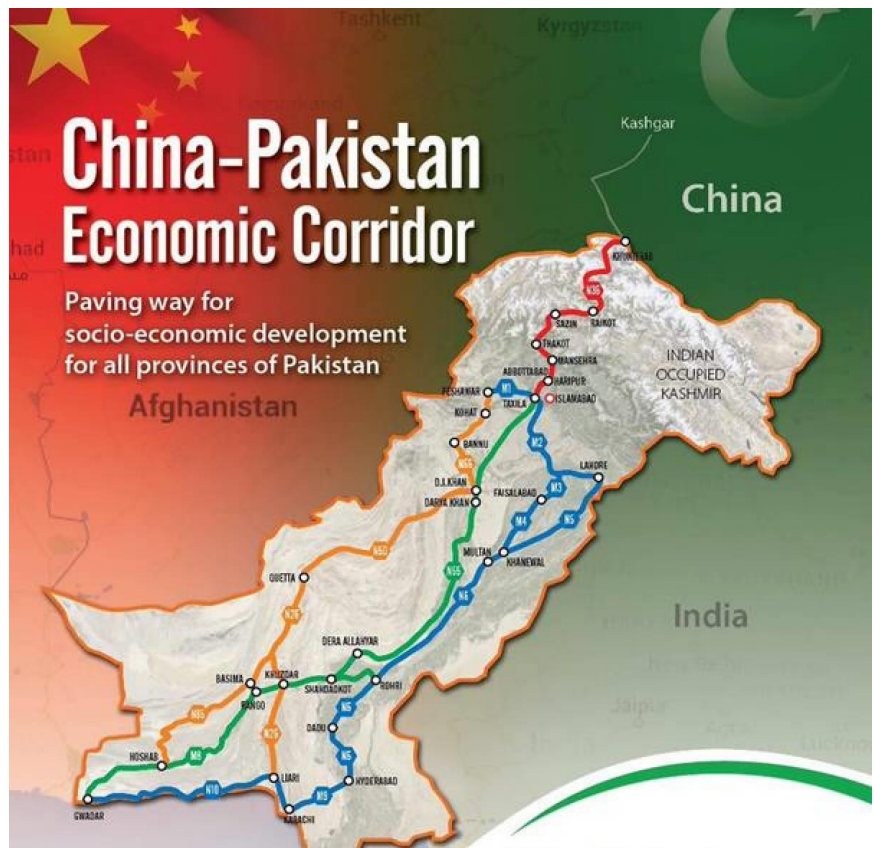
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Phases of CPEC - The likely period of completion of the project is 15 years and it has four phases.

1. The first phase of the project was completed in December 2017, which is about the “Early Harvest” scheme of the project. This phase focuses on the energy and infrastructure related issues. Here, the provinces will be linked through roads, besides aiming at infrastructures required for development and trade and address the energy crisis.
2. The second phase of the CPEC project was to be finalised by 2020, with a focus on building the cross border optical fibre cable system between the two countries. The optical fibre cable system between China and Pakistan includes federal capital, Gilgit-Baltistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab. Further, various energy-related projects such as hydel, coal and wind as well as solar and nuclear projects are part of this phase. The construction of the new Islamabad airport, Eastbay expressway, hospital, technical training institutes and export-processing zones are also part of this phase.
3. The third phase — 2025, is to upgrade the railway system of Pakistan. The main line of Pakistan railway between Karachi and Peshawar is currently handling 70 per cent of Pakistan’s railway traffic. Besides upgrading the main line, the phase emphasise on expanding and making an additional one or two railway lines from Peshawar to Karachi.
4. The fourth phase is planned to complete a rail link to Khunjerab Pass by the year 2030. This is a 682 kilometres long railway line, which will link the Pakistani city Havelian to the Chinese city Kashgar. The total cost of this railway line is estimated at US\$12 billion. This railway line will provide access for the Chinese and East Asian goods to Gwadar and Karachi seaports in Pakistan.





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Major Components & Projects of CPEC

1. The major components of the CPEC involve energy projects on a priority basis as the first phase of the CPEC construction is related to infrastructure and energy production, therefore
2. The second important component of the CPEC is roads and railways networks.
3. Third key component of the CPEC is the expansion and development of the Gwadar port
4. The fourth important component of the CPEC is establishment SEZs

Establishment of Special Economic Zones (SEZs)

It was decided, during the eightieth Joint Coordination Committee meeting held in Beijing, that following nine exclusive SEZs to be established across Pakistan:

- i. Rashakai Economic Zone located at Nowshera, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and its covered area will be 1000 acres.
- ii. China SEZ, Dhabeji located at Sindh and its covered area will be 1000 acres.
- iii. Bostan Industrial Zone in Balochistan, its area will be 1000 acres.
- iv. Allama Iqbal Industrial City Faisal Abad in Punjab will be a 3000 acres zone.
- v. Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT) Model Zone located and its covered area will be 200 to 500 Acres.
- vi. Development of Industrial Park (On Pakistan Steel Mills land) at Port Qasim, Karachi Sindh, will be a 1500 acres zone.
- vii. SEZ at Mirpur in AJ&K with a covered area of 1078 acres.
- viii. Mohmand Marble city at erstwhile FATA. Its covered area and location have not been defined.
- ix. Moqpanasspe SEZ at Gilgit-Baltistan.

Significance for Pakistan

- Bottom of Regional economic funnel & Enhanced Regional Standing: CPEC positions Pakistan as a bridge between South Asia and Central Asia, potentially increasing its political leverage
- Flagship project of BRI
- Strengthened China-Pakistan Ties to new heights: longstanding alliance
- Counterbalancing India
- Gwadar Port – geo-strategic & geo-economic significance
 - Maritime surveillance hawk
 - Proximity to choke points
 - The construction of the port is less costly for Pakistan
- Reduction in unemployment: CPEC has already generated 236,000 direct jobs
- Energy Security: Addressing Pakistan's chronic energy shortages
- Security through Economic Development
- 1 plus 4 strategic layout
- Opportunities for Shipping Industry



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Significance for China

- Enhanced Regional Influence: CPEC allows China to build stronger ties with countries in Central Asia and the Middle East
- Alternative to long sea route – securing trade
- Gwadar Port Access – a crucial strategic point
- A bypass to Malacca Dilemma
- Proximity benefit
- The seven provincial areas of China, and especially Xinjiang, are far away from the coast of China.
- String of pearls strategy





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Barriers/Hurdles

- Despite its phenomenal benefits, there are few factors that are obstructing the CPEC completion such as;
 - Political instability in Pakistan
 - Delayed decision making in few projects, particularly ML1
 - Bad governance and corruption
 - Resurgence of militancy
 - The COVID-19 pandemic
 - Among all, the new wave of militancy is the most worrisome issue both for Beijing and Islamabad. Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Baloch Liberation Front (BLF) and Baloch Nationalist Army (BNA) are also involved in militant attacks on LEAs, state infrastructure, CPEC projects, civilians, both Pakistani and Chinese.
- Pakistan sandwiched between the expansionist and containment policies

Western Criticism

- West see CPEC nothing more than Chinese strategic and military expansionist strategy, blaming Pakistan as a collaborator.
- Terming it a debt trap
- Washington sees BRI as Chinese expansionist desire
- West perceives CPEC as BRI's Westward expansion
- The China-Pakistan joint venture is not welcomed in Washington and New Delhi.
- Formation of IMEC



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Pakistan-Russia Relations

Historical perspective:

- Despite joining the Western camp, diplomatic relations with the then-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) were established in 1948.
- In 1965, President Ayub Khan visited the USSR for the first time.
- Tashkent Agreement (1966), which ended the Indo-Pak war.
- This was followed by the first ever visit of Prime Minister Kosygin to Pakistan on April 17, 1968.
- During the 60s, Pakistan was offered to join Kosygin's plan and Breznev's idea of an Asian Collective Security arrangement.
- State visit by Bhutto in 1974, recorded as the first Pakistani Prime Minister to visit Moscow. However, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 terminated this short-term improvement of relations, dragging Pakistan into the proxy war of the US against the former USSR.
- Pressler and Glenn Amendments forced Islamabad to reconsider its view of Moscow.
- An important visit in this regard came in April 1999 of former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to Moscow after nearly 25 years.
- President Musharraf met Vladimir Putin at the multinational security summit in Almaty on June 4, 2002.
- Subsequently, in 2009, the Pakistan-Russia Intergovernmental Commission (IGC) on Trade, Economic, and Scientific and Technical Cooperation was formed, followed by the Business Council for Promotion of Trade with Pakistan in 2011.
- It was in 2013 when both countries launched an all-inclusive collaboration, and celebrated 65 years of diplomatic relations on initiating the first strategic bilateral dialogue.
- Islamabad accepted Moscow's proposal to enter into a FTA during the former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's visit to Astana during the 17th meeting of the Heads of the State Council of the SCO on June 7, 2017.
- Major progress in defence relations was observed when the Russian Defence Minister Sergei Shoigu visited Islamabad to conclude the Defence Cooperation Agreement in 2014.
- Consequently, when Moscow lifted its arms embargo against Pakistan, the agreement for the sale of gunship helicopters was signed, and four Russian Mi-35M Hind-E attack helicopters were delivered on August 29, 2017, with Islamabad showing interest in buying 20 more attack helicopters.
- Arabian Monsoon naval drills (2014-2015), military exercises in 2016 and 2017, Naval AMAN exercise 2017, Friendship-2017 military exercise.



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Significance of 'Pakistan' for Moscow

- i. Multi-Vectored Pursuits In South Asia
- ii. Pakistan a potential buyer of Russian military hardware
- iii. Moscow's grand strategic vision of EurAsEC (Eurasian Economic Community)
- iv. Russia's Balancing Act in South Asia
- v. New Geopolitical Realities and Regional Fragility

Russia's Strategic Calculus in South Asia

- i. The Common Wealth of Independent States (CIS), the Eurasian Economic Union (EEU), SCO and the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) are the important vectors in the budding multi-centric world.
- ii. The erosion of the neo-liberal world order
- iii. Moscow's foreign policy goals are driven by the following objectives
 - To maintain the Russian influence in its immediate neighborhood
 - To ensure its sovereignty and territorial integrity
 - To localise those conflicts which can spread to its borders
 - To undermine the US influence at the global and regional level
 - To work with the regional countries for building a multipolar world
 - To foster economic cooperation with other countries
 - To undermine the US influence and particularly reduce Washington's leverage in the Afghan peace and reconciliation process
 - To find alternatives markets for the Russian oil and gas (products and services)
 - To materialise its vision of the Pan-Eurasian integration in order to resurge as a great power
 - To work in close collaboration with China and build a regional political and economic order, dominated by Beijing and Moscow.
 - To synergise EAU with SCO and materialise the vision of 'Greater Eurasia.'

Potential Areas of Convergence

- i. **Russia, China and Pakistan - An Emerging Axis: BRI**
- ii. **Eurasian Region's Security:** Russian role in regional conflict resolution
- iii. **Defense Cooperation & Weapon Trade**
 - Embargo on arms sales was lifted in 2014
 - Mi-35 helicopters (2017)
- iv. **Nuclear technology & membership of NSG:** changing tone in Moscow
- v. **SCO:** Pakistan's membership
- vi. **Afghanistan Conundrum**
 - Policy & ideological shift in Moscow's stance towards the Afghan Taliban
 - Threat from radical Islam



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- vii. **Counterterrorism:** Despite New Delhi's opposition, a joint counterterrorism exercise Druzhbha (Friendship) was held between Russian and Pakistani Special Operations Forces in Cherat in September 2016.
- viii. **Dedollarization:** finding alternatives to dollar
- ix. **Energy:** North-south gas pipeline.
- x. **Russian market:** for agriculture, energy, weapon
- xi. **Social and Cultural**



Pakistan's Concerns/ potential divergences/challenges

- i. Bitter realities of past
- ii. U2 crisis
- iii. Simultaneously, Moscow's traditional support of India for permanent membership of the UNSC, NSG and the Nuclear Elite Club could have serious implications for Pakistan's strategic calculus.
- iv. US' with-us-or-against-us diktat.
- v. No major economic breakthrough: talks about talks
- vi. US and western sanctions
- vii. Indian Factor
 - S-400 missile system
 - Diplomatic leverage of India on Russia



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Recommendations

- i. “pick a major power and wear it like an armour” won’t work
- ii. Geostrategic location of Pakistan
- iii. Regional recalibration of its foreign policy towards Moscow and Beijing
- iv. The potential to interlink the EurAsEC initiatives with the BRI.
- v. Islamabad has to attract Moscow’s commercial interests into CPEC’s special industrial zones (SEZs).
- vi. Connecting Gwadar Port to Moscow?
- vii. A Joint Pakistan-Russia Commission on Defence Cooperation
- viii. Benefit from changing regional power dynamics
- ix. Development of a knowledge corridor



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The United Nations

History

- 19th century Europe: Militarism, Alliances, Imperialism, Nationalism
- “War is good for nations” mentality added fuel
- Till 1914, two effective military camps formed. Triple Entente & Triple Alliance
- Nationalism got coupled with militarism
- Armistice treaty 1918
- Woodrow Wilson speech 1919
- Treaty of Versailles 1919
- LON was formed, January 1920.
- Purpose
 - i. End armed agitation
 - ii. Focus on public health
 - iii. Focus on refugee welfare
 - iv. Labor welfare
- Causes of Failures – rapid state withdrawals
- Ultimately led to WWII
- 40 million killed, 21 million homeless
- Once again, peace was need of the hour.
- Formed on October 24, 1945.
- Pakistan joined September 30, 1947

Evolution

- London Declaration 1941
- August 1941 Atlantic Charter.
- Declaration of the United Nations 1942
- Moscow conference 1943
- Tehran Conference December 1943
- Dumbarton Oaks Conference
- Yalta conference February 1945
- San Francisco conference 1945

Purpose

- To maintain international peace and security
- To promote economic & social development
- To promote human rights



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Official languages

- Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, Spanish
- Working languages are used for internal communications among staff. English and French are the working languages of the Secretariat.

Principle Organs

- General Assembly
- Security Council
- International Court of Justice
- Secretariat
- Economic and Social Council
- Trusteeship Council

Important articles

- Principle of equality Article- 2 (1): principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.
- Principle of non-intervention: Article – 2(4), Article – 2(7)
- Chapter VI Pacific Settlement of Dispute (33-38)
- Chapter VII: actions with respect to threats to peace, breaches of peace, acts of aggression)

LON vs. UN

- Preemptive strike
- Definition of armed attack

Successes

- Universal recognition
- Forerunner of LON
- Diversification of subject matters
- Montreal Protocol
- COVAX program
- Material Assistance to developing world
- Human Rights
- Global Decolonization
- Ending famine
- Nuclear Non-Proliferation

Principal Organs of the United Nations





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Failures:

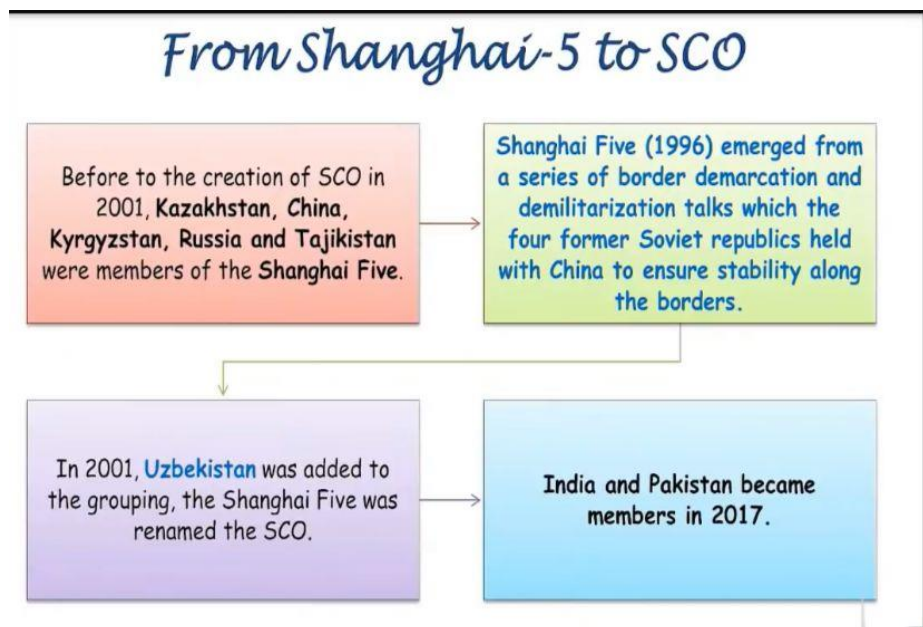
- Globally, anarchy still prevails
- Ukraine war
- Security Council inactions
- Neo-imperialistic structure
- Western domination of UN institutions
- Armament & Disarmament
- Failure to control Genocides, rapes, sex abuses, and spread of diseases

Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)

(Asia for Asians)

History

- Founded in Shanghai on 15 June 2001.
- The SCO is the successor to the Shanghai Five, formed in 1996
- The SCO currently comprises Nine Member
- In 2021, the decision was made to start the accession process of Iran to the SCO as a full member
- The SCO has been an observer in the UN General Assembly since 2005



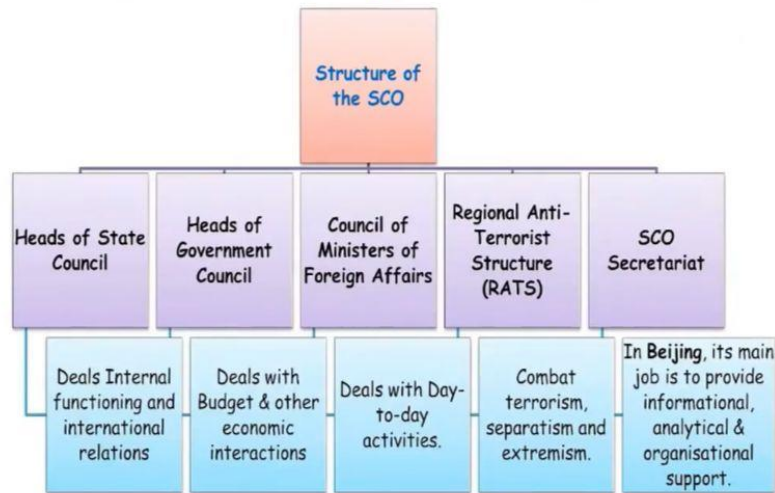


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From Shanghai-5 to SCO



Significance

1. Half of world's population
2. After 22 years of development, the SCO has evolved into a "big family" with nine member states, three observer states, and 14 dialogue partners, totaling 26 members.
3. Pan-Eurasian institution
4. Heart of Eurozone
5. Political & Strategic standing
6. a combined GDP exceeding \$23 trillion
7. Security structure
8. Recognizes three evils: Terrorism, Extremism, and Separatism
9. Counterweight to NATO
10. Balancing Western world order since 2014
11. BRI nations becoming part of it
12. Principle of sovereign equality
13. Expansion to the middle east: membership of Iran
14. Growing influence on global energy politics
15. Perfectly aligned with the new regional realities and ambitions
16. Epicenter of both Russian and Chinese ambitions
17. Expansion of SCO both Numerically & Thematically
18. Leading the charge on Dedollarization
19. Gradually developing an alternative economic system
20. Asia needs transit corridors



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What is Pakistan doing in it?

- Potential Transit Corridor
- Anti-drug trafficking
- Refuge to Pakistan
- Pakistan's cyber security paradigm
- Market for agricultural products
- Educational, scientific, and technological advancements.
- Kashmir issue
- Pivot to geo-economics
- What Pakistan brings to the Shanghai table?
- Pakistan has joined Russian-led International North-South Transport Corridor



Challenges

- Realistically, the SCO cannot replace bilateral negotiations
- India Pakistan Standoff
- Western suspicious eyes: perceives it as a threat
- Dedollarization
- Afghanistan conundrum
- China pushing it up as organization
- Establishment of financial institutions





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Saudi-Iran Rapprochement

Timeline of Middle East Crisis

- **2011 – Arab Spring:** The Arab Spring saw protest movements against the status quo across the Middle East. [Saudi Arabia accused Iran](#) of inciting protests in Bahrain against the royal family and sent more than 1,000 soldiers to stop the demonstrations. Iran denied the accusation.
- **2011 – Syrian war:** The rivals squared off again after the [Syrian war](#) erupted in 2011. Shia-ruled Iran backed President Bashar al-Assad and provided him with military forces and money to battle Sunni rebels. Sunni-majority Saudi Arabia backed the rebel groups but later joined a US-led coalition formed to fight ISIL (ISIS) from 2014.
- **2015 – War in Yemen:** When the civil war in Yemen began in 2015, Saudi Arabia backed its internationally recognised government and [targeted Houthi rebel strongholds](#). The Houthis are aligned with Iran.
- **2015 – Mecca stampede:** [A stampede in Mecca](#) during the annual Hajj pilgrimage in 2015 further inflamed tensions. Iran accused the Saudi government of mismanaging the most important event in the Muslim calendar. About 2,000 pilgrims were killed in the crush, [more than 400 of them Iranians](#).
- **2016 – Saudi Arabia cuts ties:** Four months after the stampede in Mecca, Saudi Arabia executed prominent Shia leader Nimr al-Nimr, a critic of the Saudi government. Protesters in Tehran stormed the Saudi embassy, and Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, warned of "divine vengeance" for Nimr's execution. Riyadh then [cut ties](#) with Tehran.
- **2016 – Iran suspends Hajj participation:** That same year, Iran suspended participation in the Hajj, and Saudi Arabia launched a Persian-language television station covering the pilgrimage. Riyadh said the 24-hour satellite channel would cover Hajj rituals and prayers from the Grand Mosque in Mecca. Khamenei slammed Saudi Arabia over how it runs the Hajj and suggested Muslim countries think about ending Riyadh's control of the pilgrimage.
- **2017 – Qatar blockade:** Another regional rupture took place in June 2017 when Saudi Arabia and its allies in the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Egypt imposed a blockade on Qatar. They said Qatar was too close to Iran and supported "terrorism", allegations that Doha denied. Those ties were mended in January 2021.
- **2017 – Lebanese PM resigns:** The prime minister of Lebanon, Saad Hariri, [resigned unexpectedly](#) on November 4, 2017 and bizarrely from Riyadh, citing Iran's "grip" on his country through Hezbollah. He later [withdrew his resignation](#). The move plunged Lebanon into a political crisis seen as part of a Saudi effort to counteract Iran's influence in the country.
- **2017 – Missile intercepted over Riyadh:** Hours after [Hariri's resignation](#), Saudi Arabia intercepted a [ballistic missile](#) over Riyadh International Airport. It asserted that the missile was supplied by Iran and launched from territory held by Houthi rebels in Yemen. In comments reported by the state-run Saudi Press Agency, the crown prince told then-British Foreign



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Secretary Boris Johnson that Iran's actions "may be considered an act of war against the kingdom".

- **2018 – US pulls out of Iran nuclear deal:** In May 2018, President Donald Trump [unilaterally withdrew](#) the United States from the Iran nuclear deal, a move praised by both Saudi Arabia and Israel. Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman warned in a US television interview that if Tehran gets a nuclear weapon, "we will follow suit as soon as possible." The prince also referred to Iran's supreme leader as "the new Hitler".
- **2019 – Attacks on Saudi targets:** A year later, Saudi Arabia blamed Iran for a series of attacks on targets in the kingdom, including one that struck the heart of the country's oil industry, temporarily halving the kingdom's crude production. Iran denied involvement. Yemen's Houthi rebel group claimed responsibility for the attacks.
- **2020 – Qassem Soleimani killed:** When the Iranian military commander Qassem Soleimani was killed in a US drone strike in Baghdad, official Saudi media celebrated the attack.
- **2021 – Iran and Saudi Arabia hold talks:** In April 2021, Iran and Saudi Arabia held their first direct talks since they cut off official ties. Baghdad was the host.
- **2022 – More talks:** Between April and September last year, four rounds of talks were held, mostly mediated by Iraq and Oman. After Iran and Saudi Arabia held a fifth round of talks, a top adviser to Khamenei called for Saudi and Iranian embassies to be reopened. Chinese President Xi Jinping visited Saudi Arabia for talks with Mohammed bin Salman.
- **2023 – Agreement to restore ties:** Iranian President Ebrahim Raisi visits China to meet Xi in February. The following month, Riyadh and Tehran announce they have decided to re-establish ties.

Significance of deal

- China is the architect of this rapprochement.
- The deal will transform Middle East
- Peace process in Yemen has already been initiated
- Normalization of Syria-Gulf relations
- A move welcomed by the global community, Muslim world, and middle east

What is in it for KSA?

- To advance its economic diversification agenda: more focus on diversifying and reforming its economy if risks of confrontation with Iran reduce significantly.
- Beijing's foray in the Middle East can help Riyadh reduce its reliance on the U.S. and modernize its economy through the transfer of technology.
- Ideological Change
- A Saudi Self-Help Strategy
- A balancing act with Iran against Iran



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What is in it for Iran?

- Diplomatic breakthrough amid crippling sanctions
- Strengthening of its ties with China
- The deal could help end its isolation and stave off pressure from the West.
- Tehran, by committing to the said deal in good faith, could signal its willingness to play a more constructive role in the Middle East.

What is in it for China?

- Changed balance of power in the region
- Further deepened its political influence in middle east
- Role as a mediator
- To further its economic agenda
- SCO – a point of convergence for all

Challenges

- Nuclear proliferation
- Remains of proxies
- Gaza War
- Iran – Israel attack.

On-going Israel-Palestine Conflict

How it happened?

- "Operation Al Aqsa Flood" on next day of youm e Kapoor
- Started with paralyzing Iron Dome
- Fighters entered from at least 80 places of border
- A massive intelligence failure
- Around 200 people kidnapped by Hamas

Israel's response

- Israel starts Operation "Iron Swords" with unprecedented target of
- Hamas' military wing – alqasim brigade also threatening to be ready for a counter-offense





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The US' Response

- Ended the diplomatic impasse
- USA has sent an aircraft carrier to Mediterranean Sea. UK has also followed the same path.
- Historical USA – Israel partnership
- Fading US iron clad support as war prolongs

Russian Response

- Maintains close ties with Hamas.
- Never considered Hamas as an extremist organization
- Russia will try to get maximum leverage from it
- “We can fought both fronts, Ukraine and Israel” American Defense Minister Lloyd Austin
- Can Russia mediate?
- Getting even with Israel over Ukraine?

Chinese Response

- “Israeli response has crossed the red lines of self-defense. Do not punish the people of Gaza for what Hamas did” Chinese FM
- China did not name Hamas or declare it the real responsible for war.

Iranian Response

- Endorsed and praised Hamas' operation
- Threatened Israel with the response of **The Axis of Resistance**

Previous Efforts for Peace

- Oslo Accords (Oslo Accord I in Washington 1993, Oslo Accord II in 1995 in Egypt)
- Efforts by Obama Administration (2007-2008)
- Deal of the century by Trump (2020)
- Now Biden facilitating Israel-KSA normalization deal

Abraham Accords

- Signed between Israel and the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain On September 15, 2020.
- In December 2020, the [Israel–Morocco normalization agreement](#) was signed.
- On January 6, 2021, following up on the [Israel–Sudan normalization agreement](#) (signed in October 2020), the government of [Sudan](#) signed the "Abraham Accords Declaration" in [Khartoum](#),



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Saudi-Arabia & Israel Normalization Efforts

- KSA demanding for Security guarantees from USA in return of recognizing Israel
- Timing of attack has shut the doors of negotiations, at least for now.
- Two-sided aggressive statements, exposed divergence of interests before normalization

Saudi – Israel Convergence of Interests

- Both countries share larger security concerns
- Both countries seek to benefit from stronger economic ties

Palestinian demands

Leaked documents identifies following demands

- i. A complete full stop to Israeli settlements in west bank
- ii. The Area-C in the west bank, which is currently under Israeli control, to be given back to Palestine
- iii. Resume 200 million dollar Saudi aid to Palestine
- iv. American consulate to be reopened in Eastern Jaresulam, previously shut by Trump
- v. Restart negotiations b/w Israel and Palestine

Challenges

- If Iron Sword is successful, who will fill the political vacuum in Gaza?
- Leverage of Hamas in asymmetric warfare.
- Hamas can't be eliminated with a sudden operation.
- Won't be easy for KSA to resume negotiations
- Human rights voices within democratic party

Implications on Gulf - Hamas Has Fractured the Arab World

- Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates have issued statements clearly condemning Hamas.
- Qatar has adopted language very similar to Hamas
- Qatar also facilitating ceasefire agreement between he parties along with Egypt.
- Jordan and Egypt have remained cautious
- Saudi Arabia was making progress on historic, U.S.-brokered talks with Israel at the time of the attack.
- Egypt supported genocide case in ICC



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Case in ICC & ICJ

- South Africa has filed a referral to the International Criminal Court for an investigation into alleged war crimes committed by Israel in Gaza, South African President Cyril Ramaphosa said. (November 16, 2023)
- US threatened ICC for investigating war crimes against Israel.
- South Africa's genocide case against Israel was brought before the [International Court of Justice](#) (ICJ) on 29 December 2023 by [South Africa](#) regarding [Israel's](#) conduct in the [Gaza Strip](#) as part of the [Israel– Hamas war](#).
- The Court issued an Order in relation to the provisional measures request on 26 January 2024, in which it ordered Israel to take all measures to prevent any acts that could be considered genocidal according to the Convention. The court said that at least some of the acts alleged by South Africa appear to fall under the provisions of the Genocide Convention. The Court did not order Israel to suspend its military campaign in the Gaza Strip, which South Africa had requested. Both South African and Israeli officials welcomed the decision, with each considering it a victory. Later, [Human Rights Watch](#) stated that Israel had failed to comply with the ICJ's provisional measures. Egypt's formal joining of South Africa's case against Israel at the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Egypt, along with Turkey and Colombia, will request to join South Africa's case against Israel.
- ICJ has asked Israel to halt its operation in Rafah, decision came with 13-2 majority. Israel categorically refused to comply with the operation. (late may)
- ICC prosecutor seeks arrest warrants for Netanyahu and Hamas leadership, creating a widespread outrage.
- “Are powerful states sincere when they say there’s a body of law or is this a rules based world order? All that is nonsense, simply a tool of NATO and a post-colonial world with no real intention of applying law equally” Karim khan ICC prosecutor.

Disagreements b/w Israel & its Iron-Clad Allies on war conduct and operation in Rafah

- After 7 October, Biden visited Israel to show the support, also said “be careful in your operation and do not repeat our post-p/11 mistakes”.
- First turning point. The US didn’t veto resolution in UNSC calling for a ceasefire in late march. US decision caused loud cries in Tel Aviv.
- Second turning point. April 2 “IDF strike takes the lives of 7 World Central Kitchen aid workers”.
- 4 April, “Biden made it clear to Israeli PM on call to announce a series of specific, credible and measureable actions to minimize civilian casualties, stabilize overall situation, and protection of aid workers. An immediate ceasefire is essential.” – Blinkon
- Israeli airstrike that caused a huge blaze at a tented area for displaced people in Rafah has killed 45 people 26th may, prompts international outcry. Natenyahu called it a mistake.



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- Biden administration making hard efforts to ensure a long-lasting ceasefire between parties. Hamas gave diplomatic surprise and accepted ceasefire plan architected by Egypt and Qatar. Israel refused the plan and made invasion in Rafah.
- Strategic Significance of Rafah for Israel
- US threatened to stop certain weapon supply to Israel if it attacks Rafah. Then US offered military intelligence on Hamas leadership if Israel doesn't attack on Rafah. All in vein, Israel attacked Rafah in May.
- [“I’m not supplying the weapons,”](#) Biden
- Natenyahu said, “We will fight without your weapon, we will fight with our nails even if we have to. We did so in 1948 when we didn’t have weapons or support but defeated a way bigger enemy than of today”
- Late April, The US state department has found five units of the Israeli military responsible for gross violations of human rights in individual incidents, but says they will continue to receive US military backing.
- House divide in the USA over conflict.
- Nonetheless, The United States Senate has overwhelmingly passed (79-18) a \$95 billion foreign aid package with funds earmarked for Ukraine (\$61B), Israel (\$26B) and Taiwan (\$8 billion).
- US put a “pause” on an arms shipment to Israel - just one consignment of 2,000-pound and 500-pound bombs.
- “Israel has no “credible plan” for protecting Rafah's civilians during a full-scale invasion” Blinkon
- Internal disagreements, war cabinet of Israel is divided on war now.





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Voting at UNGA for permanent membership of Palestine at UN - UN backs Palestine's bid for membership

- Then voting occurred in UNGA. 143 votes in favor. 9 against. 25 abstentions.
 - i. Favoring vote: France, China, Russia, Australia, Greece, Spain, Belgium, Portugal, New Zealand, Norway, India, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Japan, Jordan, North Korea, Turkey,
 - ii. Against: Argentina, Czech Republic, Hungary, Israel, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, United States
 - iii. Abstentions: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Finland, Georgia, Germany, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, United Kingdom
- The current resolution does not give Palestinians full membership, but recognizes them as qualified to join, and it gives Palestine more participation and some rights within the UNGA.
- 28th May, Ireland, Spain, and Norway formally recognized Palestine as a state.
- “A two-state solution is the only hope to break the endless cycle of violence, Australia to consider recognizing Palestinian state”, foreign minister
- “Israel’s own security and existence depends on the creation of a Palestinian state. There would be no Israel if there is no Palestine” Saudi FM

Israel – Iran Conflict amidst Gaza War

- Iran welcome Hamas’ attack on Israel
- “If the crimes of the Zionist regime continue, Muslims and resistance forces will become impatient, and no one can stop them,” Khamenei warned on 17 October. “The bombardment of Gaza must stop immediately.”
- November 19: Yemen’s Houthis seize a Red Sea ship
- Houthis make multiple attacks on ships in coming days.
- U.S.-UK-led coalition known as Task Force 153 bombed Houthi positions
- December 18: Iran accuses Israel of cyber attack
- December 25: Israeli strike kills top Iranian general in Syria
- January 20: Iran accuses Israel of bombing a Damascus building, killing five IRGC members.
- January 15: Iran strikes ‘Mossad center’ in northern Iraq by ballistic missiles
- February 10: Iran warns against a full-scale Israeli attack on Lebanon
- February 21: Iran blames Israel for gas pipeline explosions
- March 1: IRGC commander, two others killed in suspected Israeli attack in Syria
- April 1: Israel attacks the Iranian consulate in Damascus
- April 13: IRGC seizes Israel-linked ship near Strait of Hormuz



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- April 13: Iran launches hundreds of missiles, drones at Israel in a first, including ballistic and cruise missiles. The attack included 170 drones and 30 cruise missiles and at least 110 ballistic missiles.
- Iran warned it will change nuclear doctrine if 'existence threatened'.
- Iran also threatened Jordan for intercepting Iranian strike

The network of pro-Iranian militant groups

♦ Areas where Iranian-backed armed groups operate



Source: Council on Foreign Affairs

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NATO Enlargement

Date	Enlargement	Country
18 February 1952	First	 Greece &  Turkey
9 May 1955	Second	 West Germany
30 May 1982	Third	 Spain
3 October 1990	—	 German reunification
12 March 1999	Fourth	 Czech Republic
		 Hungary
		 Poland
29 March 2004	Fifth	 Bulgaria
		 Estonia
		 Latvia
		 Lithuania
		 Romania
		 Slovakia
		 Slovenia
1 April 2009	Sixth	 Albania &  Croatia
5 June 2017	Seventh	 Montenegro
27 March 2020	Eighth	 North Macedonia
4 April 2023	Ninth	 Finland
7 March 2024	Tenth	 Sweden



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Analyzing NATO expansion in Post-Cold War Era

- The Clinton administration evidently thought to expand NATO in mid-1990s
- The first round of enlargement took place in 1999 and brought in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland. The second occurred in 2004; it included Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia.
- Russia's invasion of Georgia in August 2008
- Moscow complained bitterly from the start. Despite clear warnings, NATO never publicly abandoned its goal of bringing Georgia and Ukraine into the alliance. And NATO expansion continued marching forward, with Albania and Croatia becoming members in 2009.
- Western ambitions to liberalise and westernize Ukraine
- The tussle between ambitions between liberals of west and realists of Moscow marked the birth of conflict



An Analysis of Ukraine War

- **Russian Concerns**
 - i. Western efforts to bring Ukraine into NATO
 - ii. Western violations of promises and sureties
 - iii. Liberalization of Ukraine
 - iv. West unnecessarily carrying containment policies



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- **Western Concerns**

- When the Ukraine crisis broke out in 2014, the West began portraying Russia as a dangerous foe that had to be contained if not weakened.
- Losing the war would have hugely negative consequences for Washington & NATO.
- A strengthened Russia on Europe's border could threaten neighboring countries and challenge NATO's influence.
- West's view of Ukraine's struggle as a fight for democracy and human rights, values they see under threat from Russia's authoritarian regime.

- **Ukraine's Threat Environment and Goals**

- Ukraine facing an existential threat
- "There can be no peace that is based on territorial compromises." President Zelensky told President Xi Jinping



Source: ISW (21:00 GMT, 20 February)

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- **Russia's Goals**

- i. Russia must win this war
- ii. “de-Nazifying” Ukraine, “demilitarizing” it
- iii. Moscow has officially annexed Crimea and four other Ukrainian oblasts – Donetsk, Kherson, Luhansk, and Zaporozhe – which together represent about 23 percent of Ukraine’s total territory before the crisis broke out in February 2014.
- iv. Regaining Sphere of Influence

- **The West's Goals**

- i. Maintaining rules based world order and defense of Ukrainian Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity
- ii. Staunchly committed to defeating Russia.
- iii. “Ukraine will never be a victory for Russia. It must end in “strategic failure for Russia”. Biden
- iv. the West remains committed to bringing Ukraine into NATO

Analyzing the war of attrition among parties to the conflict

- analyzing Ukrainian strengths: massive western economic and military aid
- analyzing Russian strengths: size of military, maintaining the deterrence, bypassing the sanctions

How military control of Ukraine has changed

Feb 2022: Before the invasion



Mar 2022: Russia's rapid advance



Nov 2022: Ukraine regains ground



Feb 2024: Stalemate on front line



■ Russian military control

■ Limited Russian military control

■ Russian-backed separatist-held areas

■ Held or regained by Ukraine

■ Russia annexed Crimea in 2014

Note: Areas held or regained by Ukraine were reset by the Institute for the Study of War (ISW) on 12 May 2023

Source: Institute for the Study of War

BBC



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Future Course of Conflict

- The West will remain committed to bringing Georgia and Ukraine into NATO
- U.S. and European elites are committed to any possible regime change in Moscow
- Deployment of significant NATO forces in Eastern Europe.
- A nuclear breakout?
- Or a frozen conflict?
- Middle east – a turning point

What's happening in Moldova?

- Pro-Anti political hedging among political stakeholders
- Elections 2024
- Western readiness for a conflict
- Russian support for Transnistria
- Strategic significance for Russia?
- Threat to NATO?

Transdnistria and Gagauzia - Moldova's restive regions



Source: Google Maps



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Politics Indo-Pacific Ocean

History

- Former Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe is the key proponent of the concept of Indo-Pacific.
- US-led status-quo prevailed for almost 70 years
- China started exploring and expanding its influence in 2008
- Speaking of BRI
 - China's President and party leader Xi Jinping announced the BRI 2013 under its original name "One Belt, One Road" (OBOR), first in Kazakhstan (September), then in Indonesia (October).
 - The official document *Visions and Actions* presented the following pillars of OBOR in 2015: Policy coordination, connectivity of institutions (infrastructure and standards), trade connectivity, financial integration and people-to-people links. In 2017, BRI was enshrined in the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party, and Xi Jinping hosted the first Silk Road or "Belt and Road" summit in Beijing. A second summit followed in 2019
 - China describes the BRI as "open", "inclusive" and "win-win" cooperation,



China's BRI roadmap

Significance of Indo-Pacific

- Geo-economics & Geo-politics
- a region of growing strategic challenges
- Home to three of the world's largest economies (China, India and Japan), as well as seven of the world's largest military forces.
- Over the last few years, with China's rise as a military power, the United States (US) has expressed concern regarding the region

Significance of Indo-Pacific for South-East Asia

- Southeast Asia is arguably the most contested region amongst the great powers. There are a few key factors that shape geopolitical development cooperation in Southeast Asia more than other regions.

THE REGION BY THE NUMBERS



- **POPULATION:** Over half the world's people, including 58% of youth
- **ECONOMY:** 60% of global GDP
- **GROWTH:** 2/3 of global economic growth
- **GEOGRAPHY:** 65% of the world's oceans and 25% of its land



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- i. First, while the region is not aid dependent, the demand for infrastructure is high, estimated at approximately USD 200 billion annually till 2030
- ii. Second, the region's robust regional architecture, ASEAN has been critical in navigating geopolitics.
- iii. Third, the region is truly multipolar and countries of the region want to keep it that way.

Significance of Indo-Pacific for South Asia

- Smaller countries in the region (Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, the Maldives) tend to pursue a hedging strategy, playing India and China off each other to gain economically from each. Hedging involves simultaneously engaging with multiple powers or actors in the region
- Pakistan – closest ally to China
- India – shares complex interdependence and rivalry

Significance of Indo-Pacific for The Pacific Islands

- The Pacific Islands region is home to many small island developing states (SIDS) that are highly vulnerable to climate change, natural disasters, and economic shocks. Australia and New Zealand consider the PICs their neighbourhood and Australia continues to play a dominant role and is by far the largest aid donor.
- Security is the main concern in the Pacific Islands region and in 2022 it was “game on” amongst competing powers.
- India stepped up its diplomacy with a recent visit to Fiji by Indian Foreign Minister S. Jaishankar, the launch of a USD 1.3 million solar power project, and an impending visit by PM Modi to Papua New Guinea in 2023.

Solomon Island – China security deal

- Chinese dependence on Canberra's iron-ore and minerals
- Solomon island-china security deal
- Good bargaining position for Island

Significance of Indo-Pacific for Australia

- US-Australia joining allinaces
 - Five eyes, QUAD, AUKUS, ANZUS
- Australian counter to BRI: Pacific Step Up Program

Chinese Standing

- “China has the biggest navy in the world today, with 355 vessels. By 2025, the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) is expected to gradually increase its size to 420 ships, and in 2030 to 460 ships.
- Submarine-launched ballistic missile capability



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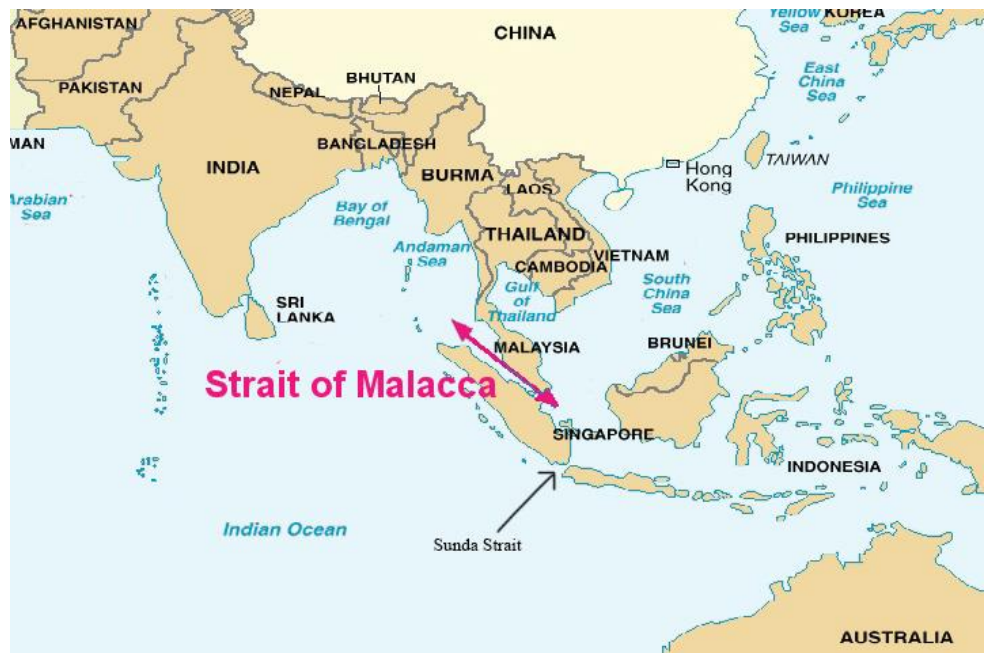
- Chinese operated maritime militias in the South China Sea
- China's leap in innovation, which is gradually leading it towards gaining potential technological leadership in some areas.

Chinese Interest

- China sees the danger of regional isolation

- The Energy Dimension:
In 1993, China became a net importer of crude oil, and in 2013 turned into the world's largest net importer of crude oil.

- China connected itself to Myanmar circumventing the Strait of Malacca. (Malacca Dilemma)
- In 2021, the Pakistan government granted the strategic Pakistan-China oil pipeline contract to a Chinese company.



- Moreover, the China-Central Asia Gas Pipeline
- Naval Presence - China's 'string of pearls strategy' strategy through development of dual-use maritime infrastructure.
 - Hambantota Port, Sri Lanka
 - Gwadar Port, Pakistan
 - Kyaukpyu Port, Myanmar
 - Ream Naval Base, Cambodia
 - Laem Chabang Port, Thailand
 - Dar es Salaam* Port, Tanzania
 - Logistics Facility, Djibouti

Indian Response to Chinese BRI & SCS Aggression

- marks a shift from a 'nationalist' non-aligned nation to a 'pragmatic' country
- India has reinforced its participation in the United States-led Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) and in the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA).
- India has developed its own strategy, the 'necklace of diamonds strategy', in response to China's 'string of pearls' strategy.



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- A US-India joint strategic vision for the Asia-Pacific
- India has access to the Changi Naval base in Singapore
- In 2020, India and Japan signed an Acquisition and Cross-servicing Agreement
- Military expenditure of US\$81.4 billion in 2022
- US waived the Countering America's Adversaries Sanctions Act (CAATSA) sanctions

US Response to Chinese policies

- Donald Trump has attempted to respond directly to the perceived Chinese challenge by presenting a strategic concept called the “*Free and Open Indo-Pacific*” (FOIP)
- The US has not only expressed these concerns at the bilateral level, but also at the international level, for example through NATO's Strategic Concept.
- The Biden administration's Indo-Pacific strategy focuses on five core objectives:
 - i. a free and open Indo-Pacific
 - ii. building connections within and beyond the region
 - iii. driving prosperity
 - iv. bolstering security
 - v. Building regional resilience.
- The US also seeks to ensure the safety of Taiwan.
- Formation of QUAD in 2004, Since its revival in 2017, the Quad has been elevated to a **leader-level dialogue**





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- United States' bases in the region include
 - i. **Naval support facility in Diego Garcia, British Indian Ocean Territory and a drone base in Seychelles** – providing the USN with a strong, central position in the Indian Ocean and close to the Mozambique Channel.
 - ii. **Naval base in Djibouti** – Giving the USN control of the Strait of Bab el-Mandeb and a foothold in the Gulf of Aden.
 - iii. **Airbases in Saudi Arabia and Oman, airbase and naval support facility in Bahrain, airbase in Qatar, airbase and access to a port in the United Arab Emirates** – All these facilities provide the US with a foothold in the Persian Gulf, the Gulf of Oman and, most importantly, proximity to the Strait of Hormuz
 - iv. **Naval and airbase in Singapore** – As opposed to PLAN, the USN has bases located close to the Strait of Malacca, arguably the most important strongpoint in the region.
 - v. **Naval base in Thailand** – During the Iraq and Afghanistan wars in 2003, Washington rented part of the base for logistics support from a private contractor; media report that Thailand continues to give the United States access to its bases in Sattahip and U-tapao.
 - vi. **Four airbases in the Philippines** – In 1951, the US and the Philippines signed a Mutual Defence Treaty. They have since reinforced this commitment with the 2014 Enhanced Defence Cooperation Agreement. As of February 2023, this agreement has granted the US access to four more military bases in the Philippines. These bases are critical for the USN deterrence strategy in the South China Sea.
 - vii. **Naval and air force base in Guam** – The US base in Guam is one of the biggest US Pacific fleet support bases. It provides the US with a strong foothold in the Philippine Sea. In February 2022, the US deployed B-52 nuclear-capable bombers to Guam, as Guam is the hub of US military operations in the Second Island Chain
 - viii. **Three airbases and three naval Stations in Japan** – The US and Japan have a strong military cooperation based on the 1960 Security Treaty. The US base in Okinawa, Japan, is of immense geostrategic relevance due to its proximity to Taiwan. A military presence in this location contributes to the US's strong power projection and therefore its strategy of deterrence. Furthermore, it allows the US to carry out numerous surveillance operations in the East China Sea. Okinawa – like Taiwan itself is central to the First Island Chain, the barrier that constrains China's access to the western Pacific.
 - ix. **Two military bases in South Korea** – These are the largest overseas US military bases in the world, with a combined US military-civilian population of approximately 36 500. Their location allows the US to counter any attack in the Yellow Sea, as well as the East and South China Sea. In December 2022, the US deployed B-52 nuclear-capable aircraft for joint military drills with South Korea. In addition to deterring China, these bases also provide the US with a strong deterrent position over North Korea, thereby undermining its threats.
 - x. **Air and naval base in Australia** – These bases currently serve as support bases. The US recently announced that it would deploy nuclear-capable B-52 aircraft. This type of aircraft is capable of carrying out both ocean surveillance and anti-ship operations. The Australian government intends to increase interoperability with the US amidst China's increased presence in the Indian Ocean.



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Biden's Indo-Pacific Policy

"The future of each of our nations—and indeed the world—depends on a free and open indopacific enduring and flourishing in the decades ahead. We will focus on every corner of the region, from northeast asia and southeast asia, to south asia and oceania, including the pacific islands."
JOE BIDEN QUAD LEADERS' SUMMIT SEPTEMBER 24, 2021

The United States will pursue five objectives in the Indo-Pacific:

- i. Advance a free and open indo-pacific
 - ii. Build connections within and beyond the region
 - iii. Drive regional prosperity
 - iv. Bolster indo-pacific security
 - v. Build regional resilience to transnational threats
- G-20 Summit : India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC)
 - Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman unveiled the signing of a memorandum of understanding to establish an economic corridor connecting India with the Middle East and Europe.
 - The idea of the network initially emerged at the I2U2 Business Forum, launched in 2021 by the US, India, Israel and the UAE to discuss infrastructure projects in the Middle East.
 - "The project has arrived at a time when Biden wants to give a counter of BRI" The Wilson Centre

G-20 Summit: India-Middle East Europe Economic Corridor - a multicontinental corridor

Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman unveiled the signing of a memorandum of understanding to establish an economic corridor connecting India with the Middle East and Europe at G-20 session in 2023. IMEC is exploring many different routes connecting several ports along the way, including Haifa in Israel, Piraeus in Greece, and three ports on the west coast of India: Mundra (Gujarat), Kandla (Gujarat), and Jawaharlal Nehru Port Trust (Navi Mumbai). There are five ports in the Middle East that will link up with the Indian ports and these include Fujairah, Jebel Ali, and Abu Dhabi in the UAE as well as the Damman and Ras Al Khair ports in KSA.



INDO-PACIFIC STRATEGY ELEMENTS



- ♦ **STRATEGIC ENDS:**
Advance a free and open Indo-Pacific that is more connected, prosperous, secure, and resilient.
- ♦ **STRATEGIC WAYS:**
Strengthen the U.S. role and build collective capacity with allies and partners and with regional institutions.
- ♦ **STRATEGIC MEANS:**
Modernized alliances; flexible partnerships, including an empowered ASEAN, a leading India, a strong and reliable Quad, and an engaged Europe; economic partnership; new U.S. defense, diplomatic, development, and foreign-assistance resources; sustained focus on and commitment to the region at all levels of the U.S. government.



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EU's Response to Chinese policies

- The EU presented its first strategy for the Indo-Pacific on 16 September 2021.
- The strategy recognizes China's assertiveness, but doesn't develop further arguments.
- However, the Indo-Pacific strategy is complemented by the 2022 Strategic Compass.
- The EU 'military' capabilities in the region include maritime cooperation through the Critical Maritime Routes Indian Ocean (CRIMARIO)

Chinese Weaknesses

- China's strategic ambitions remain cryptic.
- Regional resentments
- Comparative technological edge of the US

US Weaknesses

- The divergences among western allies
- Trumponomics and his potential come-back
- Too little, too late counter of BRI
- Dormant utility of QUAD in terms of strategic partnership



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Globalization

"the closer integration of the countries and peoples of the world which has been brought about by the enormous reduction of costs of transportation and communication, and the breaking down of artificial barriers to the flow of goods, services, capital, knowledge, and (to a lesser extent) people across borders."

(Joseph Stiglitz)

Emergence of Globalization

1. **Technological Advancements in the late 19th and early 20th centuries:** saw significant advancements in transportation (steamships, railways), communication (telegraph, telephone), and production (mass production). These advancements lowered transportation costs, facilitated communication across borders, and increased manufacturing efficiency, laying the groundwork for global interconnectedness.
2. **Adam Smith's Capitalism & Liberal Economic Ideals:** The proliferation of the idea of free-market capitalism
3. **Retrenchment under WWI:** The outbreak of World War I disrupted global trade and investment flows, leading to protectionist policies and the breakdown of pre-existing international cooperation.
4. **Woodrow Wilson's Speech and Formation of LON:** Seeds of liberal internationalism and institutionalism.
5. **Interwar period:** persistence of nationalism and sufferings from Great Depression
6. **Outbreak of WWII:** downfall of cooperation internationally
7. **Post-War Reconstruction:** Formation of the UN and Bretton Woods institutions
8. **Technological Revolution:** The second half of the 20th century witnessed rapid advancements in transportation (containerization, jet airplanes), communication (satellites, computers), and information technology. These advancements dramatically reduced communication and transportation costs, further accelerating globalization
9. **Cold War Dynamics:** The Cold War rivalry between the US and the Soviet Union spurred competition in economic and technological spheres, indirectly contributing to the expansion of global trade and technological innovation.
10. **Trade Liberalization:** The latter half of the 20th century saw a wave of regional trade agreements (e.g., NAFTA, EU) and the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1994.
11. **Rise of Multinational Corporations (MNCs):** significant role in global production and trade networks.
12. **Turning Points in the 21st century:** Climate Change, Covid-19, Changing world order



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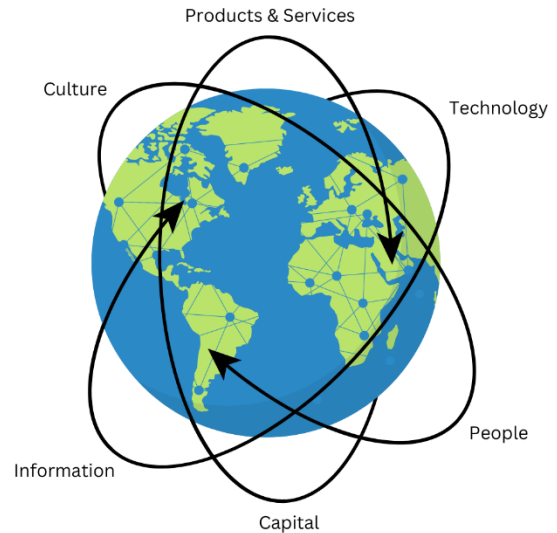
"The World Is Flat": The ten "flatteners"

- Friedman identifies ten forces that he believes are flattening the world, including the personal computer, the internet, open-sourcing software, workflow software, digital outsourcing, supply-chaining, in-sourcing, offshoring, and the rise of new markets like China and India.

Pros of Globalization

1. **Increased Economic Growth:** Globalization has facilitated international trade and investment, leading to overall economic growth for many countries. between 1990 and 2015, the extreme poverty rate (living on less than \$1.90 a day) declined from 36% to 10% (World Bank)
2. **Free trade:** Free trade is supposed to reduce barriers such as tariffs, value added taxes, subsidies, and other barriers between nations. It promotes global economic growth; creates jobs, makes companies more competitive, and lowers prices for consumers.
3. **Poverty Reduction:** Increased trade opportunities and foreign direct investment (FDI) in developing countries have contributed to poverty reduction. the number of people living in extreme poverty fell from 1.9 billion in 1990 to 679 million in 2017 (World Bank's Global Economic Prospects report for June 2023). Competition between countries is supposed to drive prices down.
4. **Enhanced Efficiency and Innovation:** Competition in the global market incentivizes companies to innovate and adopt more efficient production methods, leading to cost reductions and improved product quality.
5. **Greater Product Variety and Choice and Lower-Cost Goods:** Globalization exposes consumers to a wider range of products and services from around the world, increasing their choices and potentially lowering prices due to competition.
6. **Faster Diffusion of Technology:** Globalization facilitates the rapid transfer of technology across borders, enabling developing countries to access and adopt advancements more quickly.
7. **Collaboration and Knowledge Sharing:** Globalization fosters international collaboration in research and development, leading to faster scientific breakthroughs and innovation.
8. **Cross-Cultural Exchange and Understanding:** Increased interaction between cultures through travel, communication, and media promotes understanding and appreciation of diverse perspectives.

Globalization





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9. **Improved Global Health:** Collaboration in healthcare research and the spread of medical knowledge across borders contribute to advancements in disease prevention and treatment.
10. **Promotion of Peace and Cooperation:** Increased economic interdependence between countries can create incentives for peaceful conflict resolution and cooperation on global challenges.
11. **Environmental Awareness and Collaboration:** Globalization facilitates international cooperation on environmental issues like climate change and resource management, leading to potential solutions with broader impact.
12. **Employment creation** While some jobs may be displaced due to globalization, new opportunities are created in sectors like services, technology, and international trade.
13. **Symbiotic relation between globalization and democracy:** globalization and democracy should go hand in hand. It should be pure business with no colonialist designs.

Cons of Globalization

1. **Job Displacement:** Increased competition from countries with lower labor costs leads to job losses in developed nations, particularly in manufacturing and labor-intensive industries. The problem for developed countries is that jobs are lost and transferred to lower cost countries. The US lost over 700,000 manufacturing jobs due to trade with China between 1999 and 2011.
2. **Deepening Rich-Poor Gap:** globalization is that it has made the rich richer while making the non-rich poorer. "It is wonderful for managers, owners and investors, but hell on workers and nature."
3. **Widening Income Inequality:** Globalization has exacerbated income inequality within and between countries. While some individuals and businesses benefit significantly, others, particularly low-skilled workers, may face stagnant or declining wages, leading to wealth concentration in the hands of a few.
4. **Exploitation of Labor:** Multinational corporations (MNCs) seeks to exploit lax labor regulations and lower wages in developing countries, leading to potential human rights abuses and unsafe working conditions.
5. **Neo-Imperialism:** hegemonic designs of international governance institutions and deepening inequality among states
6. **Cultural Homogenization and Cultural Imperialism:** The spread of Western culture through media, consumer goods, and global brands has caused the erosion of local cultures and traditions, potentially creating a sense of cultural homogenization and loss of diversity.
7. **Environmental Degradation:** Increased global trade and production often lead to higher levels of pollution, resource depletion, and environmental damage.



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8. **Erosion of National Sovereignty:** The power and influence of MNCs and international organizations sometimes challenge the autonomy of nation-states, potentially limiting their ability to implement policies that prioritize local needs over global market demands.
9. **Failure of institutions to establish a truly rules based order:** Might is right prevails
10. **Proliferation of tax havens:** Large multi-national corporations have the ability to exploit tax havens in other countries to avoid paying taxes.
11. **Exploitation in the hands of Multinational corporations:** Multinational corporations are accused of social injustice, unfair working conditions (including slave labor wages, living and working conditions), as well as lack of concern for environment, mismanagement of natural resources, and ecological damage. Multinational corporations, which were previously restricted to commercial activities, are increasingly influencing political decisions. Many think there is a threat of corporations ruling the world because they are gaining power, due to globalization.
12. **Unequal benefits of globalization:** The anti-globalists also claim that globalization is not working for the majority of the world. “During the most recent period of rapid growth in global trade and investment, 1960 to 1998, inequality worsened both internationally and within countries. The UN Development Program reports that the richest 20 percent of the world's population consume 86 percent of the world's resources while the poorest 80 percent consume just 14 percent.”

Changing Trends of Globalization: What went wrong?

- Powerful States ensure and misuse unequal Interdependence for Strategic Gain
- Dissatisfaction of Global South: widening north-south gap
- Deglobalization or Slowbalization?
- Changing world order creating a leaderless world
- Wave of nationalism – political, economic, technological
- Rise of alternative global institutions
- Promotion of regionalization
- Growth of regional organizations
- Changing meaning of reality
- Covid-19 exposed globalization
- Absence of reforms in international institutions
- Globalization not producing a flat world but a complex system
- Somehow stagnant Supply chain cost
- Failure of global community to address resentment of labor force
- The Trumpification of Globalization
- Unprotected multilateralism



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Changing World Order

“There is nothing permanent except change.”

History

- Treaty of Westphalia 1648
- Loose polarity till WWI
- Tight multi-polarity till WWII
- Bipolarity during cold war
- Uni-polarity till 2005
- A slight bipolarity after rise of China 2005
- Rising multi-polarity after 2014
- “No truly ‘global’ world order’ has ever existed,” Kissinger

Actors of World Order

- States
- International & regional organizations
- MNCs
- Individuals
- Non-state actors

Power Poles in Asia

- India & Necklace of diamond
- China & String of pearls
- SCO – counter weight to NATO
- ASEAN – committed to keep itself purely geo-economic

Power Poles in Middle East

- Israel – rivalry with Iran and its proxies
- KSA – historical rivalry with Iran, but recent rapprochement
- Qatar staying independent

Power Poles in Africa

- Chinese interest: China has four overarching strategic interests in Africa.
- Russian interest: keeping diplomatic and strategic influence
- Indian interest: Necklace of diamond
- European interest: natural resources in the former colonies
- Agriculture: Africa has 60 percent of the world's uncultivated arable land



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Contours of Changing World Order

1. Declining western geopolitical influence

i. UNGA Resolution on Russian annexation of Ukrainian regions - 2022

- 143 votes in favor
- GCC voted in favor
- Out of 35 states with restraint policy, India China Pakistan South Africa are included. They also include 19 African countries.

ii. Voting at UNGA for permanent membership of Palestine at UN - UN backs Palestine's bid for membership

- Palestine is an “non-member observer state” at UN since 2012
- US vetoed the resolution for permanent membership of Palestine in UNSC.
- Then voting occurred in UNGA. 143 votes in favor. 9 against. 25 abstentions.
 - Favoring vote: France, China, Russia, Australia, Greece, Spain, Belgium, Portugal, New Zealand, Norway, India, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Japan, Jordan, North Korea, Turkey, and so.
 - Against: Argentina, Czech Republic, Hungary, Israel, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Papua New Guinea, United States
 - Abstentions: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Finland, Georgia, Germany, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, United Kingdom

iii. Ukraine Peace Summit - 2023

- After china, Pakistan also refrained from participating in Ukraine peace conference occurred in 2023 in Switzerland.
- key players like Brazil, India, Saudi Arabia, south Africa, Thailand, Indonesia, UAE, Mexico avoided signing the declaration

2. Strengthening & Growing U.S.-India alliance

- American and Indian national interests call for closer convergence across economic, political, and security domains which are driven by mutual concerns over China and shared international interests and policies. Without India, the U.S. Indo-Pacific strategy reduces to a Pacific strategy, and without the U.S., India's ability to act as a counterweight to China and the rest of the world are substantially diminished.
- Mutual Alliances: QUAD, B3W, IMEC, I2U2, IPEF
- Defense Agreements: BECA, LEMOA, CAMCASA



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3. Expanding Sino-Russian Foot in African Continent

- China and Russia have surpassed the approval ratings of America in Africa. While the US had a 56% approval rating in 2023, China had 58%, and Russia; 64%.
- “They are not producing, they are printing money. Global monetary and financial system is controlled by dollar and euro has been used for their dominance. Sanctions here, Sanctions there. This is not going to work indefinitely. We need a new financial architecture, not controlled by dollar, euro, or any other currency” Eritrean president’s live meeting with Putin
- US likely to name Kenya as major non-NATO ally.
- Nuclearization in Africa: Ghana will choose a company by December to build its first nuclear power plant. Among its contender are the USA, Russia, China, France, South Korea.
- Russo - African Trade: "We note the growth of Russian-African trade. It grew by 30% and amounted to about \$25 billion last year," Lavrov said at a reception on the occasion of Africa Day.

4. Global Energy Politics’s interplay with changing world order

i. Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)

- Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries founded on 14 September 1960 in Baghdad by the first five members (Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela). The 13 member countries account for an estimated 30 percent of global oil production^[2] and 80 percent of the world's proven oil reserves.
- Saudi Arabia is by far the largest and most-profitable oil exporter in the world, with enough capacity to function as the traditional swing producer to balance the global market, it serves as "OPEC's *de facto* leader".
- In 2016, largely in response to dramatically falling oil prices driven by significant increases in U.S. shale oil output, OPEC signed an agreement with 10 other oil-producing countries to create what is now known as OPEC+
- Opec+ is a group of 23 oil-exporting countries which meets regularly to decide how much crude oil to sell on the world market.
- Non-OPEC oil producers are crude oil-producing nations outside of the OPEC group and shale oil producers. This includes the United States of America as well as Canada and China.

ii. Biden – MBS coldness over oil production

- Biden’s decision to release an “unprecedented” 180 million barrels of crude from the U.S. Strategic Petroleum Reserve in April 2022
- Russia a new point of convergence between Iran and KSA.



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iii. Sanctions on Russian; decline in (direct) energy exports to Europe

- Global south bypassing western sanctions to purchase oil from Russia.
- Russian energy exports to Europe observing a gradual decline
- Between November 2021 and November 2022, German exports to Russia [fell by 1.29 billion euros](#) (a 51.3 percent decrease) and imports from Russia fell by 2.36 billion euros (a 59.4 percent decrease).
- Politics of Insurance of ships
- Energy Price Cap of G-20 didn't work
- Europe buying Russian oil via India at record rates in 2023 despite Ukraine war

5. Russia-Ukraine War at the crossroads of world order

- States are focused to find alternative ways of trade to reduce the dependency on dollar
- A new race of armament
 - Turkey supplying its drone to Ukraine, yet being neutral on the war and facilitating negotiations
 - Iran & North Korea supplying weapons to Russia
- “Most of the developing world in Asia and Africa, including the Middle East, has not viewed the Ukraine war as the kind of definitive, transformational moment in international relations that the West does,”
- Polling apart US-EU before Ukraine war are now showing rare unity
- NATO's Nordic Expansion
- Turkey Is NATO's Pivot Point Over Ukraine: Erdogan is trying to strike a balance of being pro-Ukraine but not anti-Russia.
 - Geopolitical interest: Turkey, with its unique geopolitical power as gatekeeper to the Black Sea, wants to keep the region from falling completely under Russia's control.
 - Two sided allegations of potential usage of a dirty bomb
- China Not favoring Russia openly
 - Declaring West responsible for the war
 - Opposed openly the threats of nuclear war

6. The Rise of Global South

- Xi and Putin are pivoting to the Global South.
- Modi in the row – “[India would be the voice of the Global South](#)”.
- China has been presenting itself as an alternative to a seemingly inflexible and unsympathetic US system.
- The West is perceived to perpetuate double standards on socio-economic challenges of global south
- ASEAN Neutrality and Centrality
- Global south aligning itself with SCO and BRICS - BRICS Expansion



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- Both organizations taking lead on dedollarization, esp BRICS
 - BRICS' proposal of new currency
 - The diminishing value of the U.S. dollar in an ever-evolving multi-polar world has been predicted since ages, however, Russia's invasion of Ukraine has fostered it
 - Joint Russian-Chinese efforts to dedollarize the global economy
 - Western weaponization of SWIFT
 - Expanding volume of global energy trade in non-dollar currencies
- 7. Technology at the centre of emerging world order**
- Race for semi-conductors
 - Competition over Data
 - Tug of war on digital communication technologies
 - Electric Cars – new avenue of tussle
 - Competition on space dominance
- 8. Analyzing the world order**
- Is it multipolar? Or multiplex?
 - Has multipolarity really arrived?
 - Or is it in the transition?
 - What's going to be future?
- 9. Summarizing: Decisive factors shaping the world order**
- Ukraine War
 - Gaza War
 - Taiwan Issue
 - Race for technological dominance
 - Decisive posture of global south
 - Mutual disputes of western allies
 - Foreseeable comeback of Donald Trump
 - Middle powers playing a decisive role
 - Declining western credibility in non-western world

Pakistan and changing global realities

- maintaining “credible minimum deterrence”
- Growing ties and energy trade with Russia
- Pakistan expresses ‘solidarity’ with Saudi Arabia after US criticism over oil cut
- Policy of restraint in voting against Russia at UNGA
- Trying to take the posture of being multi-aligned
- Opportunity to capitalize on Saudi-Iran Rapprochement