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Afghanistan: From US Occupation Towards Transition

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Abstract

This research work is an effort to analyze the Afghanistan peace process from a transition perspective. According to Aljazeera," after 18 months of talks and nearly 20 years of war, the Taliban and the United States of America have signed an agreement aimed at paving the way for peace in Afghanistan and the departure of foreign troops" Intra-Afghan negotiations followed the US-Taliban peace agreement after fulfilling the pre-conditions by both Taliban and the Afghan government. Previously, U.S. denied direct negotiations with the Taliban but in 2017 Trump Administration revised its Afghan policy and started direct negotiations with the Taliban. Similarly, the Taliban was not ready to negotiate with the U.S. until the full withdrawal of foreign forces. In the same fashion, Talibanwasn't ready to sit at the same table with a " puppe" government. If successful, the said process will initiate the transition from where Afghanistan either could transform itself or the history of the 1990s could repeat itself. Afghanistan has witnessed a transition in the 90s, which was featured by a destructive civil war.

Similarly, after 19 years of US-NATO intervention and war against the so-called terrorism in Afghanistan, the country is at the crossroad of its history once again. The paper argues that agreements are easy to conclude, but it is hard to live up to agreed rules and bargains. Therefore, Afghanistan could emerge as a regional connector in the changing regional geostrategic realities or a troubled and ungoverned country. In a nutshell, this research tries to answer how the currently expected transition could be different from the past? And that how a possible tug of war between and among various ethnic groups and factions be avoided? Furthermore, the importance of Afghanistan in changing regional and global dynamics is also multifaceted. This research work will try to answer these questions in detail.

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Introduction

Peace through dialogues seems the only way left in Afghanistan. For 19 years, the U.S. and her allies fought against the Taliban; however, they produced meager results, if not any. Since U.S. intervention in Afghanistan and toppling the Taliban government, several attempts were made to negotiate with the Taliban. Since these efforts have been launched, the Taliban have repeatedly denied negotiations with the Afghan government. According to the Taliban, the Afghan government is a " puppet government," lacking their well. Previous efforts somehow failed and did not produce any substantial results.

Similarly, United States (U.S.) had denied direct negotiations with the Taliban until the Trump administration. President Donald Trump ordered direct talks and negotiations with the Taliban. The development is seen as a major shift in American policy. (Baloch 2019) U.S. had declared that an intra-Afghan dialogue would follow the agreement between Taliban and U.S.. Peace talks between Taliban and U.S. continued for nine months and were near to a conclusion. In the meantime, Trump" called off" negotiations dueKabul's attack in which an American soldier was killed. However, backdoor diplomacy and negotiations continued and ultimately resulted in a peace agreement between the Taliban and the U.S., followed by intra-Afghan dialogues.

In February 1919, in the Kabul Process conference, President Ghani had offered a ceasefire, removal of sanctions, release of prisoners, and Taliban recognition as a political party. He also offered fresh elections and a review of the constitution. (Kaura 2018) This was a bold offer towards the transition, but initially, the Taliban denied negotiating with Kabul Government.

The success of negotiations depends on intra-Afghan dialogues and different stakeholders'""' approaches to the peace agreement. In the post-Soviet drawdown, Mujahedeen fighters started an anti-government offensive, and ultimately overththeSoviet's installed Najibullah government in Kabul. After overthrowing the government, Mujahedeen groups agreed to a power-sharing formula in Peshawar Accord and then in Islamabad Accord. Pakistan brokered these deals among different Mujahedeen groups. However, the transition did not proceed as it was proposed in these two accords, and ultimately Mujahedeen groups turned on each other to secure much of the war booty. Similarly, in the post-US intervention in Afghanistan, several efforts were made for a negotiated settlement but largely failed. Pakistan facilitates current talks.

This research work is an effort to investigate the current peace process and expected U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan in a futuristic perspective keeping in view the 1990s transition process. Before discussing the currently prevailing circumstances in Afghanistan, it is pertinent to provide a historical background of the post-Soviet transition and its results.

Background

On 27 December 1979, the USSR special forces started a military operation in Kabul to change the government before a temporary deployment of soviet forces to assist the transition and political leadership in keeping political stability. The Soviet Union was expecting that her forces will be

stationed in Afghanistan for three to six months. Still, as time passed, the situation deteriorated, and it took ten years to withdraw their forces. After the conclusion of the Geneva Accord signed by the USSR, U.S., Pakistan, Afghanistan's government, it only became possible. After years of warfare, Soviet Union pulled backed her forces and left a pro-Russian Pashtun president Muhammad Najibullah, installed in 1986. After their, withdrawal his government rested on Russian political, economic, and security assistance. As the USSR support dried up after her disintegratiNajibullah's government did not hold for long. It was forced from office by Mujahedeen fighters and a rebellious group of his army[5]. Several ethnic rival groups were fighting for control of Kabul. These groups had their support constituencies, including Iran, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan. (Sial 2013)

During the last years, USSR focused on the Afghan security forces' capacity building to lead the fight against Mujahedeen from the front. Furthermore, Soviet Union also started introducing reform to the people's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). Soviet Politburo was divided on the issue of the nature of Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. A section of Politburo believed that they can still win the war" through increased force or could be concluded through negotiations leading to a favorable outcome" Regarding the increased force, the Politburo members meant "increased quality" of troops and expansion of missions, not the number of troops. However, in 1986 the Soviet Politburo changed its policy from maintaining a friendly government in Kabul to a neutral withdrawal. (Vestenskov 2016)

After the Geneva Accords, USSR support to Najib's government remained continued in military assistance and economic development. Still, of Russia's disintegration, her attention got diverted, and she engaged in her internal matters. The said development led to the decreased support to the Kabul government. Furthermore, the rival factions were also busy increasing their power and holdings. In 1992, Najib control was constantly decreasing. His army revolted against him and, with the help of rival factions, ultimately forced from office. (Sial 2013)

It is important to mention that Afghan society is a tribal and multi-ethnic society proven to the tribal feuds. After Soviet withdrawal and Najib's government dismissal, these multi-ethnic Jihadist groups who played a vital role in the Afghan Jihad against the Soviet Union turned on each other. Key Jihadists had their private militias loyal to them (united on tribal connection). There were/are several warlords who had diverse support bases and ethnic composition like Pashtuns, Uzbek, and Tajiks. Jamiat-e-Islami of RabbaHikmatyar's Hizb-e-Islam, Hizbe-e-Islami of Younis, Ittihad-e-Islami of Sayyaf, Harkat-e-Inqilab of Nabi, Maha-e-Milli led Gilani, and Jabha-e-Milli led Mojaddad are groups who allied. They had their basis in Peshawar and Quetta. Pakistan supported them.[6] Several other militant groups had their support constituency in the Shia population living in the central parts of Afghanistan called Hazarajat (Iran also supported them). These Jihadi-ethnic groups are Shura-e-Ittefaq-e-Islami, Dawat-e-Ettehad-e-Islami, Nazhat-e-Islami, Sazman

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[5] Due to ethnic rivalries and decrease in the USSR financial and military support, his army generals had to secure their future in the post-Najibullah era, because the end of his government was inevitable.

[6] Hizb-e-Islami and Ittehad-e-Islami are considered fundamentalists while the remaining three i.e. Harakat-e-Inqilabi, Mahaze-e-Milli, and Jabha-e-Milli are considered moderates.

Nayroye-Islami, Harkat-e-Islami (Javed), Hizb Ullah and Jabha-e-Muttah and Muttahid-e-Islami. (Bazai 2008)

Similarly, to secure the booty of war in the post-Soviet withdrawal era, a coalition of non-Pashtun ethnic groups, primarily Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazara's called Northern Alliance[7] or United Islamic Front, was formed in 1992. Some Pashtun factions particularly joined the Northern Alliance in the leadership of Abdul Haq and Haji Abdul Qadir. The coalitiooverthrowNajib'sowNajib's government. Later on, when the Taliban got control of Kabul and the majority areas of Afghanistan, these groups became active and started their anti-Taliban activities. Burhan Uddin Rabbani (president of Afghanistan from 1992-1996), Ahmad Shah Masood, who was commanding the Northern Alliance forces until his assassination, Muhammad Fahim as group's intelligence head[8] and Rashid Abdul Rashid Dostum, leader of the Jombesh-e-Melli[9] who is ethnically and Uzbek were the main leader of the Northern Alliance.

Further, Northern Alliance had not played any role in electoral politics; however, later on in the post-9/11 and Geneva Acord turned to electoral politics. Hamid Karzai and Abdullah Abdullah had previously worked with the Northern Alliance. (PVC 2014)

Intra-Afghan talks were held in Peshawar and Peshawar Accord, followed by talks in Islamabad. All key stakeholders, particularly Pakistan, Iran, and Saudi Arabia, participated in these talks. On occasion, the Iranian deputy foreign minister Alauddin Broujerdi said about the presence of all stakeholders, "They recognize their problems can no longer be resolved through military means… Every group is a part of the Afghan scene…Hekmatyar too is a reality…Both we and Pakistan have told them that you are no longer fighting a jihad; you are fighting with your own brothers" However, the transition did not proceed as planned—Mujahedeen's groups fighting brook out on the power-sharing ethnic color. Despite having a power-sharing formula and settled way forward, once again, war broke out in Kabul between Hikmatyaar forces and Rashid Dostum, who had Ahmad Shah Mehsood. (Bazai 2008) In a nutshell, due to the internal feuds, the transition got off track, and a new group emerged, i.e., the Taliban, on the Afghan scene.

Current Prevailing Scenario in Afghanistan

After more than 18 years, Afghanistan is at the same crossroad facing the same problem. After years of war, major stakeholders are willing to show flexibility to further the peace process. This flexibility could be seen as a sign of recognition and acceptance that this long war could not be won through fighting anymore.

Karzai's government favored negotiations with the Taliban. The idea did not find any ground until the Barak Obama government in America amid growing Taliban activities since 2006 and

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[7] According to a BBC report the Northern Alliance was supported and funded by the Iran, Russia, India, Tajikistan, the United States. (Symon 2001, BBC 2001)

[8] When t Ahmad Shah Masood who was chief of the groups forces was assassinated in 2001 Muhammad Fahim was promoted the forces general of the Northern Alliance.

[9] He was honored the declaration of him as Marshal after the agreement between Asharaf Ghani and Abullah Abdullah in the post-2019 elections as result of the power sharing agreement.

consolidation of power as a major contestant since 2008. Furthermore, the growing financial and human cost of the war was an increasing concern for the western allies and the U.S. itself. (Setas 2013)

The first serious effort for negotiations in the post-9/11 era was made in the 2009 presidential elections in Afghanistan. These talks were brokered by Ahmad Wali Karzai, the Kandahar province's governor After a short while, Pakistan arrested Mullah Baradar (second in Command after Mullah Muhammad Omar) from Karachi in a joint intelligence operation conducted by ISI and CIA. The move was considered a response to the talks without Pakistan's concurrence and their conductbehindPakistan's back. Similarly, the Taliban and the Afggovernment's rapprochement process ended, and president Karzai accused Islamabad of sabotaging the negotiations (Setas 2013).

In November 2010, the New York Times revealed that NATO and the Afghan government had maintained contact with an individual they were supposed to be a Taliban representative. The person had also pocketed a substantial amount of money, which later proved to be an intelligence failure. It was also rumored that ISI might be involved in the affair to assess the U.S. and Afghan government position; however, it was not proven (Setas 2013). In November 2010, the German Intelligence Agency BND mediated between the Taliban representative Mullah Syed Tayyab Agha and U.S. representatives. These were four rounds of Talks held from November 2010 and August 2011. Representatives from BND and the Qatari Royal family also participated in these talks. At the end of the talks, several Taliban members and associated organizations were removed from the United Nations sanctions list on the U.S. request. Moreovprisoner's exchange and the agreement on establishing a permanent office for the Taliban at Doha in Qatar were also agreed upon and implemented. (Ahmed 2012)

US-Taliban Talks

The situation in Afghanistan is very complicated. Multiple stockholders in the Afghapeacetalks'" stacks differ entirely from each other. These stockholders, including the Taliban, the Afghanistan government, U.S. and NATO, Pakistan, Iran, and other regional states, have interests. Russia, China, and India are also actively engaged in the Afghan issue dueAfghanistan's geostrategic importance and location.

In July 2015, talks between the Taliban and America were arranged by Pakistan at Marri. However, these talks ended with the news leak of Mullah Omar's death. (Baloch 2019)

The flexibility in the U.S. behaviors towards the Afghan issue was the realization of the gravity of the situation that this war could not be won by mere use of force. However, previously, Hakim Ullah Mehsood[10] in a drone strandOsama's killing in a military operation conducted inside Pakistan without informing Pakistani authorities in Abbottabad had serious consequences for the dialogue

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[10] According to BBC, Hakimullah was loosely in control of the more than 30 militant groups operating in Pakistan's north-west…and had a $5m on his head as well as a small bounty offered by Pakistan."

process increased the trust deficit between Pakistan and America. (Craig 2013) Similarly, the Raymond Davis shooting in Lahore, Osama Bin Laden raid, and the Salala incident compelled Islamabad to close NATO supply routes through its territory. However, the standoff was resolved through cautious diplomacy. The strategic dissonance between Pakistan and America span over the past three decades. In the post-9/11 era, U.S. has/had used the"Do More" mantra regarding Afghanistan constantly; however, Pakistan had steadfastly pursued its national security interests. (Faisal 2018)

In August 2017, President Donald Trump announced what is called his new South Asian strategy. Many observers interpreted the policy as renewed U.S. commitment to the Afghan issue. In his policy statement, Trump announced expanded targeting authorities for U.S. forces in Afghanistan, increasing pressure on Pakistan, and a modest increase in the U.S. and international forces. However, in July 2018, the administration ordered direct talks with the Taliban, excluding the Afghan government from negotiations. The move was against the previous stance" Afghan-led, Afghan-owned" of the U.S. government. (Thomas 2019)

Following the announcement, U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo appointed Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad as Special Representative on Afghan Reconciliation on 21 September 20Khalilzad's single job is the Afghan reconciliation process" be full-time focused on developing the opportunities to get Afghans and the Taliban to come to a reconciliation. That will be his singular mission statement" said U.S. Secretary of State Pompeo. (Kelemen 2018) Since Khalilzad has met with the Taliban representatives in Doha, Qatar, the Taliban has its political office. He also had consultations with the Afghan, Pakistani, and other regional states. (Thomas 2019)

Pakistan has a key role in the peace process in Afghanistan. U.S. and Afghan governments constantly blame Pakistan for their troubles against the Taliban, Al Qaida, and Haqqani Network. However, several times, they have formarecongnizedPaksitan's contribution to the war against terrorism and the Afghan cause. After 9/11, Pakistan took a"U-turn" in her foreign policy. Previously, Pakistan supported the Taliban regime, but when the U.S. embarked on its crusade against global terrorism, Pakistan joined the U.S. coalition and became a non-NATO ally. Furthermore, Pakistan has provided every possible assistance to the U.S. and NATO forces, ranging from using its land routes for logistical support to the use of its airfields. Pakistan has also shared intelligence information with America and its allies in Afghanistan.

Though Pakistan is assisting the U.S. in the war against terrorism, it has favoAfghanistan's negotiated settlement. Pakistan has several times reiterated its resolve to support an"Afghan led-Afghan own" peace process. On the occasion of AshaGhani's visit to Pakistan, the foreign minister of Pakistan Shah Mehmood Qurashi said," We will encourage and facilitate an intra-Afghan dialogue, which we feel is essential for reconciliation. We will try and each other's trust" Similarly, on his recent visit to Pakistan, Ashraf Ghani recognized the importance of Pakistan to the Afghan issue; he said," Pakistan has an important role, and there are strong interdependencies between [the] Taliban and Pakistan. We need to recognize this and arrive at programmatic approaches to move from conflict to cooperate". (Gul 2019)

In his August 2017 speech, Trump announced a new approach toward Pakistan. He said," We can no longer be silaboutPakistan's safe havens for terrorist organizations, the Taliban, and other groups that pose a threat to the region and beyond" He also valued the partnership with Pakistan against terrorism at the same time. (Thomas 2019) To forward the peace process, the US seeks Pakistan's help which was provided, and the Taliban were brought to the negotiation table.

Regarding the peace process and building trust with the Afghan government on the occasion of Ghani visit foreign minister of Pakistan Shah Mehmood Qurashi as quoted above," We will encourage and facilitate an intra-Afghan dialogue, which we feel is essential for reconciliation, and we will try and each other's trust" He emphasized the need for both the countries to open" a new chapt" in their bilateral relations. "Let this visit of yours be a watershed; let this visit of yours be a turning point so we don't accuse each other of quoting the past. We look towards the future with hope and encouragement" the foreign minister stressed (Gul 2019).

Mike Pompeo, after six days of negotiations in January 2018, declared," The Taliban have committed, to our satisfaction, to do what is necessary that would prevent Afghanistan from ever becoming a platform for international terrorist groups or individual" in return the immediate reduction of 5000 US troops and ultimate withdrawal of foreign forces. After a long series of talks, on 12 March 2019, Khalilzad announced that a draft agreement has been reached out on counterterrorism assurances and Utroop's withdrawal after a long series of talks. He said, after the agreement's finalization" the Taliban and other Afghans, including the government, will begin intra-Afghan negotiations on a political settlement and comprehensive ceasefire" (Thomas 2019).

Negotiations between the Taliban political wing and the U.S. reconciliation team led by Zalmay Khalilzad were continued for nine months and were almost concluded. On 07 September, President Trump had invited key Taliban leaders and President Ashraf Ghani to separately meet him at Camp David. In the meantime, the Taliban conducted an attack in Kabul and killed several people, including one American soldier. Trump immediately canceled the meeting and called off talks via Twitter in a series of tweets. According to him, the Taliban were doing so to get themselves in a little bit better negotiation position which he said," they cannot do it with m" (Aljazeera 2019).

The move surprised many, even senior White House officials, off guard and raised serious questions about the Trump administration's policy in Afghanistan's future. Following the development, secretary of state Pompeo said in an interview," we were close…Taliban failed to live-up to a series of commitments they had made" leading the president to walk away from the deal. (Thomas 2019)

The reasons given for the cancellation of talks by Trump and his secretary of state seem illogical. Because in 2019, 19 U.S. soldiers were killed in combat, further Taliban have conducted large-scale attacks on military and civilian targets along the Doha process. The following could be potential motivating factors for the decision

- Before signing a deal to end the longest U.S. war on any foreign territory, it is pertinent to think several times because the U.S. has given so much to this war in terms of finances,

human lives, and last, but not least, some would argue that the U.S. standing in the international relations is at stake.

Taliban spokesperson declared the move as astonishing. While talking to Aljazeera exclusively, Sohail Shaheen[11] said that the deal was finalized, and copies of the same document were given to the U.S., Taliban, and Qatari sides. According to Khalilzad Taliban have agreed to disassociated themselves from al-Qaida. (Aljazeera 2019).

US-Taliban Agreement

After 18 months of talks and nearly 20 years of war, the Taliban and the United States have signed an agreement to pave the way for peace in Afghanistan and the departure of the foreign troop," reported Aljazeera on 29 February 2020. (Aljazeera 2020) Zalmy Khalilzad, US special envoy, and Mullah Abul Ghani Baradar, the Taliban political office head, signed the agreement in international observers[12] , including" Pakistan, Qatar, Turkey, India, Indonesia, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan" (Qazi 2020). The comprehensive peace agreement consists of four parts (for detail see index), i.e., the guarantee and assurance from Taliban to prevent any individual or group from using Afghan soil against the security of the U.S. or her allies; secondly, guarantee and enforcement mechanism and the timeline for the withdrawal of all U.S. and allies forces from Afghanistan, thirdly, initiation of intra-Afghan dialogue and lastly a permanent and comprehensive ceasefire as on the agenda of the intra-Afghan dialogue and negotiations (Agreement 2020).

Agreement on the first two parts paves the way for the last two parts. The U.S. agreed in part first of the agreement to withdraw all of her and her allies' forces from Afghanistan within 14 months of the agreement starting from the agreement. In the first 135 days, the U.S. had to reduce her Afghanistan forces to 8,600 and approximate reduction in her allies and coalition forces. She had to withdraw her forces from five military bases. Similarly, the rest of the forces" withdrawal and military should be vacated in the prescribed time (Agreement 2020).

The political and combatant prisoners' release was made part of the agreement as a confidence-building measure. The consultation of the relevant sides was to release 5,000 Taliban prisoners. Still, at the same time, the Taliban give surety that after their release, they will not take part in the anti-US and her allies' activates. Taliban were also to release 1,000 prisoners of the other sides (Agreement 2020). Initially, Afghan president Ashraf Ghani denied 5,000 Taliban prisoners as a pre-condition for talks with the Taliban. He said Kabul's reports after a day of the agreement that his government was not part of any clause of the agreement and therefore had no commitment to release Taliban prisoners (Aljazeera 2020). Taliban responded to the Afghan government's stance that they would not negotiate without their release and accused the government of delaying the process. Ashraf Ghani called the gathering of on in a Loya Jirga[13], to discuss the issue of Taliban

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[11] Sohail Shaheen is spokesperson of Afghan Taliban.

[12] Stated in the actual agreement signed between the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan/Taliban and United States of America.

[13] Traditional gathering of the elder and prominent citizens.

prisoners. Taking to the Girga, secretary of state Mike Pompeo urged the gathering their release, although he acknowledged the move was unpopular (Dawn 2020, Dawn 2020).

The intra-Afghan talks were delayed due to the prisoner's release. Australia and France objected to the release of six prisoners of Taliban in the list of 5,000 who were involved in the killing of their nationals, but the issue was resolved as these six prisoners were transferred to Qatar where they will remain in prison. Talks started in Doha, Qatar on 12 September 2020 (Aljazeera 2020).

Abdullah Abdullah is leading the Afghan government negotiation team. He was appointed the chairman of the High Council for National Reconciliation after the power-sharing agreement in the post- September 2019 presidential elections[14] between Ashraf Ghani and Abdullah Abdullah (Aljazeera 2020).

Currently, intra-Afghan talks are in progress and both parties have visited various power centers. Currently, the Taliban delegation visited Islamabad. (Dawn 2020) Similarly, Abdullah Abdullah led a delegation to Islamabad, Iran (president.gov.af 2020) and even to India (Times 2020).

It was also agreed in the peace agreement which was signed between the Taliban and U.S. government that the U.S. will review its current sanction and reward list against the Taliban. In the same fashion, America will start a diplomatic engagement with other United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and Afghanistan to remove the Taliban from the sanctions list. Similarly, America and its allies will refrain to interfere in the internal matters of Afghanistan and the use of force. Taliban agreed in the agreement that Afghan soil will not be used by any individual or group including Al-Qaida against the U.S. and its allies' security and that Taliban will send a clear message to those who threaten the security of the U.S. and her allies that they will not cooperate with the. Last but not least U.S. will request the recognition and endorsement of this agreement from UNSC. (Agreement 2020)

Violence between the Taliban and the Afghan government continues despite negotiations. The Afghan government is trying to conclude a lasting ceasefire agreement with the Taliban (Dawn 2020) but till the writing of these lines with no results. Negotiations" major issue is to agree on the future political system of Afghanistan and an agreed explanation of Islam. Experts argue that signing an agreement with the U.S. was the easy part, but the intra-Afghan negotiations and implementation of the agreements will be the hardest part which will surely test the wits and nerves of different stakeholders in Afghanistan.

Intra-Afghan Talks

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[14] The September 2019 presidential elections were won by Ashraf Ghani but Abdullah Abdullah alleged them and declared himself president. Both Ashraf Ghani and Abdullah Abdullah sworn in as Presidents of Afghanistan in separated ceremonies. After a month political stalemate, the issue was resolved through a power sharing agreement between the two, in which Abdullah was appointed the Chairman of the High Peace Council to lead the intra-Afghan Peace talks, 50 percent in cabinet and 50 percent governors were to be also elected form his party or supporters.

According to Khalilzad, after the conclusion of the agreement between the U.S. and Taliban, intra-Afghan including the Afghan government will be conducted for a comprehensive cease-fire and political settlement. Afghan President Ashraf Ghani has shown his concerns about the US-Taliban talks which have excluded the Afghan government. He has warned in a televised address to the nation that any agreement to withdraw the U.S. forces which did not include the Afghan government could be catastrophic. He pointed to the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, followed by civil war and the rise of the Taliban. On the other hand, Taliban spokesperson has stated that they do not want hegemony in the entire country.

In contrast, another spokesperson has stated that the Taliban want to establish the Islamic Emirate in Afghanistan. (Thomas 2019) Currently, dialogue and war are going hand in hand. Still, largely there is uncertainty" Delegates of warring sides in Afghanistan announced Wednesday they had agreed on a framework for their peace negotiations aimed at the end the country's protracted conflict" reported by the voice of America on 02 December 2020, and that "the procedure, including its preamble of the negotiation, has been finalized. From now on, the negotiation will begin on the agenda." Furthermore, Khalilzad tweeted after this development that" as negotiations on a political roadmap and permanent ceasefire begin, we will work hard with all sides for serious reduction of violence and even a ceasefire during this period." (Gul, Vioce of America 2020) The peace process with development will enter into another phase and the agreement will provide a springboard to further the dialogue. It also reflects the will for dialogue or for "peace by peaceful means."

Challenges and Possibilities

There are various obstacles to the negotiations process including lack of full commitment and not the inclusion of all major stakeholders in the process, the trust deficit between/among U.S. and Pakistan and Afghanistan and Pakistan governments, lastly, the mad obsession of blaming each other for any incident occurs without investigations. Moreover, the nature of the Afghan society itself is a major obstacle to the establishment of lasting peace.

Afghanistan has faced a similar situation 30 years ago. After the withdrawal of the forces, Soviet Union continued financial assistance to their installed government which kept it going for three years. However, after the USSR disintegration, the government was overthrown by a coalition of Mujahedeen fighters. These Mujahedeen fighters agreed on power-sharing formula but later on turned on each other and started a bloody civil war. Taliban is the product of that uncertain situation. After almost thirty years, Afghanistan is at the same crossroad facing the same problem. The current Afghan government and its military who are fighting Taliban fighters are heavily dependent on U.S. financial assistance. Ashraf Ghani in a statement said, "[W]e will not be able to support our army for six months without U.S. [financial] support." (Thomas 2019) Therefore if the U.S. wants to preserve whatever she secured in the past 18 years, she and her allies need to continue their financial support to the Afghanistan government after their withdrawal.

A new hardliner terrorist group Islamic State (I.S.) established itself in Afghanistan in 2015. However, the group is facing multiple countervailing forces. (Felbab-Brown 2017) Initially, the

group occupied large swaths of territory in Iraq and Syria and expanded itself to different areas in South Asia. They declared Afghanistan as one of their province called "Wilayat Khorasan." Several dissident militants from different groups have joined and affiliated themselves with I.S. in Afghanistan. The organization has clashed several times with the Taliban fighters. It appears that I.S. has limited control but still its presence needs to be considered as a threat to future stability and peace.

Regional dynamics are fragile and are changing. Geo-strategically Afghanistan occupies an important place and has the potential to provide a connectivity corridor between Central Asia and South Asia and beyond. China has embarked on its regional ambitions and has planes for Afghanistan in her "One Built One Road Initiative (OBOR)".

Russia is an important regional and neighboring state of Afghanistan. In the past two decades, Russia has consolidated its power and improved its regional and international standing. Though in the post-1991 era, Russia has not shown any great interest in the Afghanistan issue, however, currently, she had brought changes to her regional outlook by active involvement in the ongoing peace process. Taliban negotiation team, the representatives of the Afghan government, and the U.S. negotiators have visited several times Russia for consultations.

Pakistan has serious concerns about the increasing role of India in Afghanistan with the help of the U.S. Despite Pakistan's security concerns, India is the largest contributor to the Afghanistan reconstruction. Trump did encourage India to play a greater role in the economic development of Afghanistan (Thomas 2019).

During the Afghan Jihad years, Iran took an active part in the war against USSR by supporting and sponsoring Shia Jihadist organizations. Similarly, in the post-Soviet Withdrawal era, she actively participated in the negotiations. Iran still has connections with several groups inside and outside the government. However, Iran does not pose any threat to the peace process in Afghanistan.

Deals could be signed and agreed upon, but their implementation process which follows the agreement is a critical and difficult phase. As discussed above a peace agreement has been signed between the Taliban and the U.S. government followed by intra-Afghan dialogue but the implementation of the agreement will be a challenge in the complex Afghan multi-ethnic, sectarian, and in the involvement of vested interests. Furthermore, uninterrupted economic aid and capacity-building programs for both civilian and military purposes need to be carried out. Therefore, the international community, major powers including U.S., Russia, China, and other regional and neighboring states should continue assistance to the Afghanistan government in both the short and long term in multiple sectors. They should take an active part in the rebuilding process of Afghanistan if they want to avoid another series of militancy for many unexpected years to come because the Afghan issue is an international issue affecting the world community.

Reforms in various sectors particularly regarding accountability and corruption need to be implemented.

Last but not the least, Afghans must take the responsibility for their nation and state-building and the creation of national cohesion. Blaming outside powers for their failures will bring nothing but misery and pain.

In the future, continued economic assistance is important to sustain the Kabul government, various expenses like military, economic development, and capacity building in various sectors.

Conclusion

The complexity of politics in Afghanistan and the Afghan issue resides in its social construct which has been shattered into pieces in the past several decades. Multiple actors are responsible for the said results. Currently, Afghanistan stands at a crossroads where no way, but one i.e. discussions could lead to political stability and socio-economic progress. It could be concluded from the discussion that there are certain similarities in the post-Soviet and current prevailing circumstances. To avoid the worst-case scenario, parties have shown significant flexibility to initiate direct negotiations after a prolonged war. U.S. President Trump initiated direct dialogues with the Taliban. Both parties signed a peace treaty on 19 February 2020. In this agreement, the U.S. agreed to a time-bound withdrawal of her forces from Afghanistan. In return, the Afghan Taliban agreed to start an intra-Afghan dialogue and to separate themselves from the Al-Qaida and other such outfits who are trying to target the U.S. and her allies' interests. Last but not the least, the researchers suggest that though talks are in progress still worst-case scenarios exist and the parties need to work together to avoid them.

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China-India Competition: An Appraisal

Authors

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Abstract

Both China and India are two ancient civilizations, great economic giants, military powers, and are the most populous countries globally, contributing considerably to the world's economy. In the pre-colonized South Asia era, both states had amicable relations that later were exacerbated in the post-colonization of South Asia. The prevailing rivalry of China and India, according to Chinese, statecrafts is the brainchild of the British Empire attributed to perpetuating its hegemony visa-e-vise China. The continuation of the British legacy to demoralize China, particularly in the 21st century, by all means, will not serve the Indian interests. Meanwhile, India can't be compared with China in the economy, military, politics, and diplomacy. China's robust economy has enabled her to expedite its economic, political, and military powers across the world. India, a next-door neighbor of China, is obsessed with countering the Chinese's influence and proving counterproductive for her. India, to counter China, has jumped on the U.S. bandwagon. As for the containment of China, the U.S. and Indian interests are concerned, witnesses a growing convergence.

Keywords: *Economy, Military modernization, Artificial Intelligence (A.I.) Population, GDP, Covid-19*

Introduction

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Both China and India are two economic giants and crucial international political players. Their skirmishes on the border in June 2020, in which 20 Indian soldiers were killed, caught the world's attention. Before that, both states also fought a war in 1962 on territorial issues growing tension over Tibet. In that brief war, India was humiliated ferociously. In the 1962 war, China made India accountable for interfering in its rule in Tibet, while India accused China of suppressing Tibetan autonomy. Tibet remains a bone of contention between them. C. Raja Mohan rightly explains that "When there is relative tranquility in Tibet, India, and China have reasonably good relations. When Sino-Tibetan tensions rise, India's relationship with China heads south." [3]

Consequently, India plays a "Tibet card" given asylum to Dalai Lama, a Tibetan spiritual leader, and Delhi is reluctant to throw him out, bringing China in a mounting pressure. Skirmishes on the border in June 2020, the 1962 war, and the presence of Dalai Lama in India deteriorate Sino-Indian relations; both states are unwilling to compromise on territorial issues, making them competitors in the emerging geopolitical landscape of the region. Regional and international issues hardly remain immune to Sino-Indian relations.[4] However, a question remains: Can India be compared with China economically, militarily, and politically? The prevailing ground realities show that India can't compete with China. India, which arguably had the potential to be compared with China in 1960, can't be compared currently with mighty China. According to World Bank, both states had similar GDP in the 1960s "in 1962, China's GDP was 46.464 billion dollars while India's GDP was 41.741 billion dollars."[5]

Most considerably, both states in the 1960s had a similar population. "China's population, 665.77 million, ranked first globally, and India ranked second with 454.58 million. These values were far higher than those of the third-largest country, the United States, with186.54 million."[6] Intriguingly, both states' military size and weapons were somewhat equal in 1962, "Until October 15, 1962, India had one group army, one division, four brigades, and twenty-one battalions along the east part of the entire border with China. Twenty-two thousand military personnel were present. At this same time, eighteen thousand PLA military personnel from two divisions and four regiments were in position on the other side of the border."[7] However, China's economic rise in the last 40 years paved the way for accelerating its geopolitical and geo-economical clouts across the world.

China's economy, before 1979, remained fragile, stagnant, inefficient, and centrally controlled isolated from the world moved from isolation and centrally controlled to opening up to foreign trade and investment and brought free-market reforms heralded its fastest world's growing economy that resultantly improved the gross domestic product with growth average of 9.5%. The

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[3]Ivan Lidarev, History's Hostage: China, India and the War of 1962, The Diplomatic September 08, 2020

[4] Ibid.

[5]"World Bank", "GDP in 1962 by country"
http://search.worldbank.org/data?qterm=GDP+1962&language=EN&format=.

[6]"Population in 1962 by country"http://www.nationmaster.com/graph/peo_pop-people-population&date=1962.

[7]Zhu Hua (The director of Institute of South Asia), The History of Sino-India Border Defense War, Military Science Press, December 1993, p. 137

world termed China's growth rate "the fastest sustained expansion by a major economy in history."[8] The remarkable economic growth of China changed its base. Changing of base ultimately altered China's behavior politically, economically, militarily, and diplomatically. India cannot be matched with China at the current juncture and lags far behind economy, politics, military, and diplomacy. In the succeeding paragraphs, different crucial aspects will be discussed.

China's robust economy

China's economic growth and its economic successes in the last 40 years have been impressive. China made economic progress by its state economic policies, but social policies in economic development also played a substantial role. China's economic success cannot be merely confined to any signal economic institution's effectiveness. Social factors, making accurate decisions according to changing circumstances also contributed massively to the zenith of its economic achievements.[9] The leadership of Deng Xiaoping in late 1978 gave a new outlook to China's economy by espousing an inclusive approach of opening door policy, introducing foreign capital and technology. It continued the norms of socialism in the country. Xiaoping intended to repair the damage caused to China's economy in Cultural Revolution by opening up the economy. To improve impoverished masses' per capita income, the government initiated special economic zones, allowed foreign investment, opened coastal cities, the delta open zones, technology development zones, and high-tech industry development zones. The establishment of the zones mentioned above embarked on economic prosperity, and a massive inflow of foreign investment expedited china's economic growth. China, meanwhile, maintained its socialist market economic concept. The overhauling of economic policies headed the country towards an entrepreneurial boom, created massive opportunities for venture businesses and entrepreneurs within China.[10]

Ostensibly, inflows of foreign capital, management know-how and technology, and vast labor resources played a catalyst role in China's rapid growth. An open-door economic policy in the 1980s witnessed high economic growth, and per capita income improved tremendously. The per capita income of China in 1990 remained $770 and was believed to be 14 times higher than in 1980. Improving per capita income demonstrates Xiaoping's prime goal of strengthening China's economy.[11]

Currently, the world in the history of humanity for the first time is more dependent on China in the realm of economy. As a result, countries are doing more trade with China and receiving more investment from Beijing. Countries such as Singapore, the Philippines, Malaysia, Vietnam, and South Korea are deeply connected to China in the global supply chain sphere. Pakistan and Egypt being emerging solely rely on China's investment. In his report, McKinsey argues that the increasing exposure of the rest of the world to China reflects China's increasing importance as a

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[8]China's Economic Rise: History, Trends, Challenges, and Implications for the United States,https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/RL33534.html September 15, 2020

[9]Performance Legitimacy, State Autonomy and China's Economic Miracle, Journal of Contemporary China

[10]The "Three Reforms" in China: Progress and Outlook, Japan Research Institute

[11] Ibid.

market, supplier, and provider of capital."[12] A recent strategic form meeting of quadrilateral Security Dialogue or Quad was held in Tokyo on October 06, 2020. Countries that participated in the meeting were the U.S., Japan, India, and Australia. The meeting aimed to discuss the general Asia-Pacific regional security issues and alluded to countering China. Considering the above four countries, they are more economically dependent on China, and China has lesser economic dependence. To bear in mind, the U.S., Japan, India, and Australia annual bilateral trades with China are $636 billion, $317 billion, $85billion, and $252 billion, respectively.[13]China is also committed to redrawing the global trade route by initiating Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). BRI is believed to be the first mega project in history to be accepted by 138 countries in which China is expected to be investing four trillion dollars accordingly.[14]

Covid-19, a pandemic that initially originated at the end of 2019 in Wuhan, China, was forecasted to damage China's economy badly. Through its technological advancement and its artificial intelligence (A.I.), China recovered spectacularly from the pandemic. Unlike India, China is the only economy to eschew economic recession this year as the pandemic crippled the business on account of strict lockdown. According to the World Bank, the world as a whole economy is prognosticated to be contacting 5.2%, while China's economy this year is expected to be expedited by 1.6%. The modus operandi of China in the containment of contagion was quite distinctive. Its relatively rapid recovery consisted of strict lockdown and population tracking policies that reduced the virus.[15]

Indian Economic Recession

There is no comparison of the Chinese economy vis-à-vis to the Indian one. Indian economy during Covid-19 has been continuously confronted with a rapid economic recession with a contracting rate of-23.9% till June is becoming the fastest contracting economy in the world. An intensifying contracting rate of the economy puts India in the most profound economic recession. The country, since independence, never faced such a dilemma. At Global Institutes, McKinsey forecasts that India should generate by 2030 nearly 90 million non-farm jobs to accommodate the younger generation. He maintains that creating 90 million jobs by 2030 with a prevailing -23.9% contracting rate makes it simply impossible. He further asserts that India needs to enhance its economic growth rate to 8 % to create 90 million jobs currently appears to be an uphill task with a deteriorating economic growth rate of 3.1% amid covid-19.[16]

Indian tourist sector contributes enormously to its economy has now been under deep stagnation amid Covid-19. Industry Chamber CII maintains that "The coronavirus pandemic has given a

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[12]Yen Nee Lee , McKinsey research finds the world becoming more exposed to China — but not the reverse, CNBC| September 20, 2020

[13] Dost Muhammad Barrech, Quad meeting: In context of theory of complex interdependence, Pakistan Observer , October 1, 2020

[14]China to spend four trillion dollars on BRI, https://dnanews.com.pk/china-spend-four-trillion-dollars-bri/ October 03,2020

[15]Laura He, CNN Business, China is winning the global economic recovery, October 15, 2020

[16]India's economic woes may have only just begun, BBC News October 03, 2020

crippling blow to the Indian travel and tourism industry...The entire value chain linked to Travel & Tourism is likely to lose around $65.57 billion, with the organized sector alone likely to lose $25 billion,"[17] Indian strict lockdown during the Covid-19 affected the daily wagers badly, particularly those who have been working in hotels and restaurants. India's National Restaurant Association estimates that 40% of the country's restaurants struggle to survive the pandemic. As a result, Indian trade and hotels encounter contraction rates at 47% resulting in surging unemployment. Indian economy in the pandemic, most alarmingly, has been predicted to be falling behind other South Asian counties such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka.

 Economic implications for the country have been increasing by leaps and bounds as the country is viewed as the hotspot of the virus with 5 million infections.[18] Its economy is at a low ebb. The GDP rate has been continuously shrinking. In March 2018, the Indian GDP growth rate remained 8.2% in August 2020has sharply declined to 3.1%. In the country's economy, consumption demand plays a pivotal role in strengthening the economy. In 2019-20 Private Final Consumption Expenditure (PFCE) contributed nearly 57 % to India's GDP, PFCE growth in March 2020 collapsed to nearly 2.7% quarter conceived to be the lowest since June 2012. Negative implications of the economy under exacerbating investment have long-lasting impacts on its economy.[19]

Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI) hosts the Indian Premier League (IPL) every year in India and is the biggest revenue earner for BCCI. Foreigner players playing in IPL are now reluctant to play in India due to surging cases of Covid-19. Consequently, IPL matches are currently being played in UAE. Shifting of IPL cricket matches from India to the UAE shows Modi's regime's utter failure and has also been causing damage of Rs. Four thousand crores to the Indian economy.[20]

To compare India with China in terms of GDP, India appears behind in the GDP race. India has a $2.9 trillion economy, while China has a $14 trillion economy. Most considerably, China is the second-largest trading partner of India after the U.S. having annual trade of approximately $85 billion. India cannot underestimate the growing Chinese ascendency in its economy. In this regard, Nataraj of the Indian Institute of Public Administration argues that "many industries in India — including electronics, pharmaceuticals and I.T. hardware — are heavily dependent on imports, particularly from China."[21]

Population

China's Population

Travel and tourism sector likely to lose Rs 5 lakh crore due to covid-19 crisis: Report, The Economic Times, October 05 , 2020

[18]Sohail Ahmad, Indian economy heading for double-digit plunge due to COVID and is set to fall behind Pakistan and rest of S Asia, the Newser October 04, 2020

[19]Roshan Kishore, India's economy was facing worst-ever deceleration before Covid-19 hit, Hindustan Times, New Delhi, October 08, 2020

[20] Dost Muhammad Barrech, "India Heads Towards Economic Recession Amid Covid-19" ISSI, October 19, 2020

[21] Dost Muhammad Barrech, India can't irritate China, NeoSpectacle, October 15, 2020

China has the world's largest population of 1.4 billion, considered a more productive population than India, contributing overwhelmingly to its economic growth. Per capita income, in reality, is conceived to be a more authentic metric in the measurement of a country's prosperity than GDP itself. Interestingly, China's per capita income in 2000 remained merely 1,000 USD has achieved a monumental milestone of reaching (10,276 U.S. dollars) in the last two decades. Improvement of per capita income, by and large, is reinforcing purchasing power that invariably contributes significantly to consumption and consumption, as a result, guarantees the strengthening of the economy. In the last 20 years, China's GDP per capita has risen exponentially. However, the World Bank maintains that China remains a middle-income country because its national income per capita is between 1,006-12,235$.[22]

China's success story of poverty reduction has bewildered the international community. Once perceived in the prism of extreme poverty, a country managed brilliantly to become a world leader in poverty alleviation. Its remarkable success in poverty reduction won admiration from both World Bank and the United Nations. Both admired China's monumental achievement by saying that China's poverty alleviation is "one of the greatest stories in human history."[23] China's successive leadership since 1978 espoused the trajectory of people-oriented policies that played a crucial role in uplifting healthcare, education, potable water, infant mortality, sanitation facilities, electricity, and housing safe housing conditions. The report of the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) of China sheds light on China's miracle of reducing poverty, says that "the number of impoverished people dropped from 770 million to 16.6 million, and the poverty rate dropped from 97.5 percent to 1.7 percent from 1978 to 2018".[24] Chinese leaderships are obsessed with poverty alleviation have pledged that the country under the 13th Five-Year Plan by 2020 will lift all impoverished rural communities out of poverty. In recent years, China gives a great deal of importance to three agro-related issues such as rural areas, agriculture, and farmers proving poverty alleviation.[25]

India's population

After China is a second-most populous country, India has a 1.2 billion population. Unlike China, India has an unproductive population where the world's 33 percent poor and destitute inhabit.[26] Indian per capita income cannot be matched with that of China. It was per capita income in March 2020 reached 2,139.222$. Currently, Covid-19 has been causing havoc to the Indian per capita income that is likely to be declining to 5.4 percent in Financial Year 2021.

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[22]China's GDP per capita just passed $10,000, but what does this mean?China Global Television Network, October 16, 2020

[23]China's success in poverty alleviation: Lessons for other countries, China Global Television Network, October 17, 2020

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

[26]David Lalmalsawma, Thirty-three percent of world's poorest live in

Indiahttp://blogs.reuters.com/india/2013/04/18/thirty-three-percent-of-worlds-poorest-live-in-india/ October 17, 2020

Meanwhile, the Indian middle-income share remained stagnant and unchanged. International Monetary Fund data unveils that China is the second-largest economy producing 16 percent of the world's all goods and services. However, Indian contribution to the world in all goods and services is a mere 4%. India's low production clarifies its sluggish economy, unskilled labor, and lack of science and technology.[27]

China made more headways than India in enhancing the middle income of the masses. It has the edge over India due to its earlier economic reforms in the late 1970s. India, at the same time, started its reforms in 1991. China's economic reforms are deeper and more pragmatic than that of India, proving well to consolidate its trade and investment outcomes.[28]

Military

China's Military Modernization

A Century ago, China remained a fragile and weak state humiliated by Japan and Western colonial powers. These defeats played a catalyst role in China's military modernization. As a result, China has been continuously modernizing its military to preempt external threats. An era of globalization proved instrumental for China's economic growth that buttressed its military power. In globalization, China's military modernization made progress in four attempts to preserve its national interest. Its growing military power ostensibly brought the western powers, including India, into consternation. However, China views that its military modernization is primarily attributed to self-defense and nullifying territorial disputes with neighboring countries and separatist movements. In the foreseeable future, China's military modernization counters Taiwan's independent movement. The country also has 56 ethnic groups. These ethnic groups are likely to be exploited by external forces to go for independent movements in the future. Presumably, China's obsession with military modernization will increase by leaps and bounds in the future.[29]

The bona fide objective of the People's Republic of China's (PRC's) strategy is to achieve "the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation" by 2049. PRC has categorically stated that China's military objective was based on active defense to follow active defense safeguarding its security, sovereignty, and interests. Chinese leaders are looking forward to military transformation set in 2020 and 2035 by making its military a world-class military power globally.[30]

China's military budget has been increasing exponentially. People's Liberation Army (PLA) is conceived as one of the dominating forces militarily across the world, making headways in spheres of sophisticated anti-ship ballistic missiles artificial intelligence (A.I.). International experts on the

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[27]China's middle class surges, while India's lags behind, Pew Research Centre, October 17, 2020

[28] ibid

[29]Xiaoli Jiang and Yihong Gong , The Global Studies Journal, Globalisation and China's Military Modernisation:Fear not China, October 18, 2020

[30] Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China, Annual Report of Congress, October, 19, 2020

security domain view that Chinese military modernization is attributed to enhancing its military clout in Asia Pacific, countering threats emanating from Taiwan, and preserving its interest in disputed islands in the East and South China Seas. When President Xi Jinping came into power in 2012, he became preoccupied with restoring China's great-power status looked forward to producing a "world-class force" [PDF] that could dominate Asia- pacific and be able to humiliate the enemy by 2049.[31]

Xi prioritized structural reforms in the army, bringing deep personnel cuts, joint theater commands, and improved military-civilian collaboration. He is committed to transforming PLA from a territorial force into a robust maritime power to thwart any rival state aggression. China's naval power is believed to be the largest naval force in the world in terms of ship numbers surpassing the U.S. China, in 2016, had commissioned eighteen ships. At the same time, the U.S. Navy had only commissioned five. According to RAND Corporation, the PLA's ship quality has witnessed a considerable improvement, and its 70 percent fleets [PDF] were more advanced in 2017 than that of less than 50 percent in 2010.[32]

Commentators perceive that China's growing 250,000 active naval service members make it a dominant force in sea power. It has also been steadily making progress in submarines and aircraft carriers. The country's air force in 2018 reached 395,000 active service members obtained advanced equipment, airborne warning bombers, control system, and unmanned aerial vehicles. China's air force has stealth aircraft, including J-20 fighters. RAND Corporation in 2105 maintained that China had sophisticated fighters and fighter-bombers.[33]

The Center for a New American Security, in its June 2020 report, says that China's military power poses a grave threat to U.S. supremacy, surpassing the U.S. in technological advancement due to its economic progress and military advancement. The report further unveils that China is keenly observing how to counter the U.S. battlefield system and has been building long-range weapons, overtaking the U.S. in Artificial Intelligence (A.I.) domain. Robert O. Work, former U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense, warns U.S. policymakers that "China is on the way to developing secretive weapons directed energy weapons, advanced space weapons, electromagnetic rail guns, high-powered microwave weapons or even more exotic arms." [34]

In its reports, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) discloses that the world's total military expenditure in 2018 reached $1822 billion. According to the report, in 2018, the biggest spenders were the US, China, Saudi Arabia, India, and France. After the U.S., China is the second-largest spender in the world since 2018, has enhanced military expenditure by 5.0 percent to $250 billion.[35]Above all, China, on account of its robust economy, has consecutively accelerated

[31]Lindsay Maizland, China's Modernizing Military, Real Clear Defense, October 19, 2020

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid

[34] Dost MuhammadBarrech,"Great Power Competition in the Post-COVID-19 Era", Modern Diplomacy, October 19, 2020

[35]World military expenditure grows to $1.8 trillion in 2018, STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE, October, 20, 2020

its military expenditure in the last 24 years. Ian, in this regards, says that 'Growth in Chinese military spending tracks the country's overall economic growth,'[36]

Indian Military

Unlike China since its inception, India paid less attention to its military. First Indian Prime Minister Nehru, though envisioned making India a great power without consulting the armed forces of the country, said that "the right approach to defense is to avoid having unfriendly relations with other countries – to put it differently, war today is, and ought to be, out of the question."[37] In the era of Nehru, the policy of war was unformulated in Indian foreign policy, nor did the military remain as the central instrument of its foreign policy, and statecrafts of the country also overlooked defense. Policymakers were utterly incognizant of defense issues that resulted in India's humiliating defeat in the 1962 war. The 1962 war with China jolted India's policymakers and realized them to ponder over new defense policies to thwart Chinese aggression in the future. After the defeat of the 1962 war, Nehru endorsed that "military weakness has been a temptation, and a little military strength may be a deterrent."[38]

Indian politicians, since the country's independence, were wary of the army's role in politics; two renowned leaders, the Indian nationalist movement, Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, further downgraded the army's role as both were relentless pursuers of non-violence. Gandhi's non-violence philosophy left little space for the Indian army to manipulate power that proved in its enfeeblement in military power. Nehru's reluctance to construct strategic planning architecture single-handedly formulated Indian foreign policy during his tenure left faultiness in the Indian military.[39]

Indian policymakers do not contemplate to espouse the footstep of Nehru anymore, they by keeping the prevailing geopolitical environment of national and international politics, desire to maximize Indian military power. India, ostensibly, cannot be compared with China in the military domain as China's economy has been increasing rapidly, heralding its military consolidation path. As per the report by (SIPRI), India's defense budget in 2018 remained $71.1 billion while China's military expenditure of $261 billion is more than three times bigger than that of India.[40] India's current stockpile stands 150 nuclear warheads while China outstripped in the stockpile domain and has more than doubled at 320 warheads. China has more active 2, 183,000 personnel than Indian 1,440,000 personnel.

Meanwhile, India has 235 self-propelled artillery and 266 rocket projectors. On the other hand, China has 3,800 self-propelled artillery and 2,650 rocket projectors. However, India has 2,123 total

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Quoted in P.V.R. Rao, India's Defence Policy and OrganisationSince Independence (New Delhi: The United Services Institution of India, 1977), pp. 5–6.

[38] Lorne J. Kavic, India's Quest for Security: Defence Policies, 1947–1965 (Berkeley: University of Califirnia Press, 1967), p. 192.

[39] Jaswant Singh, Defending India (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 1–58

[40] ROUNAK JAIN, India vs China defense budget and equipment comparison, Business insider, October 18, 2020

aircrafts while China has 3,210 aircraft. India has a fleet strength of 285 consisting of 16 submarines, ten destroyers, 13 frigates, corvettes, 3 and 139 coastal patrol ships. At the same time, China has a fleet strength of 777, including 74 submarines52 frigates, 50 corvettes, 36 destroyers, and 220 coastal patrol ships. The figures mentioned above clearly show China's supremacy vis-à-vis India in the military sphere.[41]

Main Findings

- Both states ought to formulate their foreign policies in the context of the theory of complex interdependence, focusing on economic interdependence, mitigating anarchy that ultimately will usher the path of a conducive environment for friendship.

- China, the next-door neighbor of India after the U.S., is the second-largest trading partner of India. Thus, India has to de-escalate tensions with China to gain maximum economic advantages from China.

- India needs to bring home an adage of Henry Kissinger, who rightly says that "to be an enemy of America can be dangerous, but to be a friend is fatal." The U.S. support to India to contain China will serve the U.S. more than that of India. India appears to be made a scapegoat in the U.S.'s excellent power competition with China.

- China needs to reduce its trade deficit with India to win the confidence of Indian policymakers, making them realized not to be exploited by the U.S.

- The 21st century belongs to Asia. Mending better ties between China and India, by and large, will eliminate the arrogance and pride of the West forever.

- Historically, China and India had cozy relations; their relations were exacerbated after India's colonization by Great British. Past relations can easily be mended by keeping the future in consideration.

- The current world is a globalized world, where states' interests are deeply entangled; separating one aspect of interest can halt others' progress. Thus, India should not keep all eggs in the basket of the U.S. should formulate better ties with rising power China.

- During the pandemic, China remained inclusive and supportive and assisted more than 120 countries, including India, by providing medical equipment. At the same time, India was threatened by the U.S. to support her. Indian economy, on account of covid-19, is in deep recession since its independence was never confronted with such a dilemma. China could be more instrumental than the U.S. to strengthen the Indian economy.

- Presumably, an established power, the U.S., will be replaced by rising China. In great power competition, the U.S. deliberately embroils India. Thus, India should, instead of relying on the U.S., strengthen its internal strengths. The lesser its reliance on the U.S., the more there will be the likelihood of good ties with China.

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[41] Ibid.

- Indian alliance with the U.S. to counter China will also wash away its past gains of the Non-Aligned Movement.
- Better ties of China and India obviously will have positive implications on Indo-Pak relations as both consider each other as permanent enemies.
- Last but not least, both China and India will soon have to realize that "a close neighbor is better than a distant relative."

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, China and India are two economic giants, great civilizations, and close neighbors; both states, before India's British colonization, had cordial relations that were later deteriorated by the British to perpetuate its hegemony in the region. However, the current mighty China cannot be seen in 20th century China's prism. Its economic progress in the 21st century has altered world politics's complexion, and presumably, in the next few decades, she will replace an established power. Currently, the U.S. China can be compared with the U.S. and is being perceived by international experts as a rising power. To compare India with rising power, China would undoubtedly be a naïve approach; India cannot match China due to its economic, military, political powers. India seems behind economically, militarily, politically, and diplomatically in a competitive race with China. At the current juncture, India is a strategic ally of the U.S. in China's containment. The 21st century, unlike, 20th century is not a century of alliances; it is the century of globalization, win-win cooperation, and regional connectivity. India needs to bring home the requirements of the 21st century in its national interests; in excellent power competition, she will merely be made a scapegoat.

Kashmir: Its Role the Region and Impact on Pakistan and India

Author

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Abstract

This paper examines the role of Kashmir in the region and how it impacts Pakistan-India affairs. Furthermore, it explains the contemporary mutual relations of Pakistan and India about the Kashmir clash. The clash's historical background clarifies how the Kashmir struggle has turned into a thistle in Pakistan and India's reciprocal relations. By assessing the Pakistan-Indian harmony process, I recommend why the Kashmir clash still opposes a solution. By looking at the government types, institutional doubt, the monetary co-activity, and rivalry of the two nations, I investigate the kind of reciprocal relationship and its effect on the South Asian Region. Finally, I contend that as long as Pakistan and India stick to their historical positions, there is no shot for changeless harmony in Kashmir, subsequently confounding their key position in the region.

Keywords: Pakistan, India, Kashmir, South Asia, and Conflict.

Introduction

Pakistan and India generally see one another as enemies. Inferable from the absence of trust, the two states take different steps to assurance their national security and interest:
1. They find a way to fortify their military power, which activates the arms competition in the region.
2. To accomplish perceived leverage, they are building coalitions as key associations with worldwide forces.
3. Pakistan underpins an uprising in India's different parts, and the same India does with Pakistan.

Being the main opponents, they take part in such deception to debilitate one another. At last, they even contend in another nation (Afghanistan) to increase their interests. The Kashmir difference is the most intractable international conflict emerging after the British divided the subcontinent of India. As far back as British India's partition into Pakistan and India in 1947, Kashmir turned into a festering battle between the two nations. The two nations fought three battles over Kashmir (1947, 1965, and 1999) and another battle over Bangladesh (1971), wherein Kashmir was an outlying subject. The testing of atomic weapons by Pakistan and India in 1998 marked the obvious

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"nuclearization" of the Kashmir clash. Mounting rebellion and prevalent flooding protests in Kashmir are proceeding with terrorist incidents, and continuous border conflicts have changed the Kashmir valley, the natural heaven, into a Death Valley. Pakistan believes that Kashmir is vital for its national security, attributable to its geopolitical connection. It also considers Kashmir as a monetary lifeline since the waters of Pakistan's main river frameworks lay in Kashmir. As such, its agriculture is dependent partially on the rivers of Kashmir. Therefore, Mukherjee stated that "water has been integral to the Kashmir debate, and Pakistan's frailty concerning water supplies in the future and will increment provincial instability (Mukherjee, 2009: 283)." Accordingly, leaders of Pakistan have scarcely adjusted themselves with the loss of Jammu. And leaders of Indian have similarly restricted the withdrawal of Jammu from the league of India. It ruined Pakistan and India's mutual relations and changed Kashmir into the world's most armed region.

Research Questions

- Why does the Kashmir struggle oppose a peaceful assigned solution?
- How does Kashmir influence the reciprocal relationship between Pakistan and India?

Methodology

It is a qualitative analysis that depends on the technique for a documentary examination. I have included primary and secondary sources. As far as essential reports, I have utilized official speeches and statements of the presidents, head administrators, and foreign ministers of the two nations, just as original leadership documents relating to the Kashmir struggle. I additionally focused on newspaper articles about the dispute. As far as secondary sources, I have inspected journal articles, books, and published papers.

Peace process (The U.N. phase)

Having occupied 66% of the Kashmir, Jawaharlal Nehru (Indian Prime Minister) formally objected to the U.N. in 1947: he drew the intrusion by Pakistan to the immediate consideration of the Security Council. This empowered India to put the Kashmir strife under the global radar. Affected by Cold War governmental issues, the Security Council passed a progression of resolutions. The Council required the two nations to consent to a truce along the LoC (Line of Control) in 1948. The holding of a fair-minded referendum trailed it to determine the desires of the individuals of Kashmir under the protection of a UNCIP (United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan). At first, the two nations consented to conform to the resolutions (Yusuf & Najam, 2009: 1503).

Meanwhile, Sheik Abdullah, the well-known leader of N.C. (National Conference Party), supported the agreement and drove the government until 1953; the territory under Indian control was named Kashmir and Jammu, with special status allowed under Article 370 of the law. He had no authority over the regions under Pakistani control, named Azad Kashmir. Sheik Abdullah's choice adjusted the norm and changed the Princely State's predetermination for the last time. His

choice likewise solidified the position of Nehru. Despite the past acknowledgment of UNCIP recommendations on holding a referendum, Nehru, step by step, moved his situation regarding its interpretations. In 1949, British Prime Minister Clement Atlee and American President Truman encouraged Nehru to acknowledge the discretion of the UNCIP. But Nehru rejected their recommendation and pronounced that "he would not offer a bit of land on the matter of Kashmir (Indurthy, 2005: 31)." However, the uncooperative position of Delhi on the matter of the referendum, the Security Council didn't abandon the issue. In 1949, the Council called McNaughton (U.N. President) to break the deadlock in Kashmir. Be that as it may, India dismissed his proposition on neutralization and the referendum, referring to them as supporting Pakistan.

When the McNaughton efforts turned unsuccessful, the Security Council called Sir Owen Dixon (High Court judge of Australia) to break the deadlock. In the mid-year of 1950, Dixon submitted a proposition restricting Kashmir's vote while dividing the rest of the region into religious lines. Since Nehru does not accept the possibility of U.N. control of Kashmir during the referendum, his proposition was likewise unsuccessful in leaping forward. Toward the end, he suggested the United Nations give up its intervention and allow the two nations to discover a solution to the conflict. Without surrendering, the Security Council authorized U.S. Senator Dr. Forthcoming Graham as U.N. arbiter. During the phase 1951-53, he made frantic efforts to persuade Nehru to consent to a state-wide referendum; however, without any result. In the interim, the ground circumstances began evolving fast. From one viewpoint, Pakistan turned into the USA's close partner to join the USA made Baghdad Pact and the SEATO in 1954.

Also, the USA providing arms and ammo to Pakistan was seen as a disagreeable demonstration towards India. Then again, India immovably committed to the arrangement of non-alignment. At that point, John Foster Dulles (U.S. Secretary of State) took an unfriendly opinion towards India and condemned its arrangement of non-alignment as indecent and foolhardy. Furthermore, Nehru sacked Abdullah as the legislature leader in Kashmir for calling for freedom for the state and appointed Ghulam Muhammed in 1953. Consequently, Bakshi Muhammed approves Kashmir's agreement with India (1954). The confirmation abandoned any prospect for the referendum later on. Nehru acknowledged the parliament's election as identical to a referendum and proclaimed Kashmir as an indispensable portion of India (1956). In any case, Pakistan has not accepted these wrong moves and is constantly called a referendum (Das, 2001). Besides, India arrested Sheik Abdullah for denouncing the ratification. Accordingly, the circumstances on the ground wound up volatile. At this point, the Security Council of the U.N., at long last, appointed Jarring to break the logjam. He presented a doubtful report to the Council, bringing up that "changing strategic, financial, and political elements surrounding the entire inquiry of Kashmir reduced the accomplishment of global deals, of an unplanned character, dynamically more difficult (Mohan, 1992)." Also, India did not accept his suggestion of having direct discussions among Pakistan and India under the U.N. sponsorship on neutralization and referendum, whereas Pakistan acknowledged it. His disappointment set the last nail in the box of U.N. intercession. As a rule, the U.N. could neither improve nor fix the conflict.

The Meeting Stage

The pattern changed in geopolitics and speeded the union between groups in mid-2000. After the Cold War, the interests of America different in the region. America ended its past strategy of propping up Afghanistan and Pakistan against the USSR and started a business with the region. In the wake of two atomic emergencies in 1999 and 2001-02, America interested in advancing harmony in the region, empowering Pakistan and India to follow the way of harmony. To advance its business, America favored harmony and soundness in the region. The Prime Minister of India (Mr. Vajpayee) visited Pakistan in 1999, breaking the long periods of diplomatic deadlock. Vajpayee went by bus, introducing the Delhi-Lahore bus.

Additionally, to break the trust shortfall and guarantee India's peaceful expectation, he visited Minar-e-Pakistan. As far as he concerns him, Nawaz Shariff welcomed the Indian Prime Minister against solid resistance from the Islamist Jamaat-I-Islami and the military. Finally, they marked the Lahore Declaration as the general standard to direct Pakistan and India associations in South Asia's atomic security condition (Wheeler, 2010: 319). Besides, a Memo of Understanding was signed. The two sides consented to keep each other up-to-date regarding any ballistic missile tests and upgrade correspondence links that would lessen the danger of an unplanned or unapproved utilization of atomic weapons.

This expectation of harmony was before long dashed away when the Pakistan military crosses the LoC into the Kargil division of Indian-side Kashmir in 1999. After the Lahore Declaration, the two nations engaged with a constrained war, which kept going eleven weeks. America interceded, and Pakistan pulled back its army to the first position after finishing the war. The Kargil scene cast a lasting shadow over the respective relations of Pakistan and India. The Indian media harshly condemned Pakistan, blaming it for deceiving the trust of the Vajpayee. However, Delhi never made the sort of agreement in Lahore that would fulfill Pakistan over Kashmir. Because of the Kargil conflict, Delhi demanded Islamabad to acknowledge the LoC's inviolability and stop terrorism in Kashmir. Realizing that Pakistan couldn't satisfy these needs, India set these unsuitable conditions and slowed down the harmony talks. As India solidified its position towards Pakistan, Musharraf overthrew Sharif's government in 1999 for betraying the nation (Industry, 20o5). After the September 11 attacks, Pakistan joined America drove the alliance to battle against the Al Qaeda and Taliban. However, Pakistan ceaselessly upheld the revolt in Jammu and Kashmir. Therefore, the violent assaults in India and Kashmir specifically expanded in 2000. As tension built, India singularly announced a truce in 2000. Pakistan reacted, offering an agreement along the LoC. Following a half year, Musharraf and Vajpayee met at Agra. Since the two chiefs remained on a very basic level partitioned on the matter of Kashmir, they could not make any progress yet consented to proceed with the procedure of discourse.

The continuous assaults by the Kashmiri activists on the State Assembly and the Indian parliament ruined the peace procedure. India blamed Pakistan for supporting terrorism and decimating the activists' training camps in Pakistani-controlled Kashmir. Most importantly, India assembled its

army along the LoC and the global boundary, with Pakistan setting off an atomic emergency on the subcontinent. Notwithstanding, following pressure by America, Pakistan and India took measures to decrease the strain. Toward the beginning of 2002, Pakistan vowed to make solid endeavors to prevent invasion. India responded by lifting a prohibition on flights by Pakistani airplanes, which it had forced after the assault on the parliament. Also, it pulled back some of its warships from zones closer to Pakistan (Raghavan, 2009: 242). Both, in the long run, redeployed their army from the basic border. The two nations understood the direness of avoiding future conflicts and a deadly atomic crash in the future. Because of this acknowledgment, the two nations began the Composite Dialog (2004) as a feature of the harmony procedure to normalize affairs. Even though the discourse has made some outstanding progress, it could not determine the center issues.

On the constructive side, the business volume, individuals' contact, and cultural exchanges have expanded. On the other, various rounds of harmony talks, sponsored up by the back-channel discretion, couldn't break the ice encompassing the center matters of Kashmir. During the discourse, Pervez Musharraf (Pakistan President) demonstrated some adaptability and stopped asking for a referendum in Kashmir. Also, he proposed a four-arrange formula for the solution of the Kashmir struggle. The formula required the acknowledgment of Kashmir as an unclear region and a commonly adequate win-win arrangement. In 2004, he set out a three-staged arrangement separating the Kashmir district into seven parts along religious and ethnic lines, at that point neutralizing those regions, lastly, deciding the legitimate position of those areas. India dismissed these propositions outright and clarified its restriction to any partition of Kashmir along religious lines.

Musharraf suggested another solution for the Kashmir strife in 2006, which depended on disarmament, maximum self-administration, and a joint-supervision process. Even though India hypothetically acknowledged the initial two ideas, it emphatically opposed Pakistan and India's idea together managing the whole Kashmir district since it would debilitate its power over the region. Although India dismissed each one of the Pakistani recommendations, it set forward no counter proposition. The Indian political leader was progressively keen on finding an answer for the side effects instead of the main drivers. Realizing that settling on the Kashmir struggle was equivalent to political suicide, the Indian authority demonstrated the most extreme enthusiasm for developing atomic confidence-building measures instead of a solution for the main issues. Therefore, the harmony talks wound up delayed without a result. The bus strategy of the U.S. calmed the strain. India postponed the negotiation and requested that Pakistan honor its formal responsibilities and not allow its ground for terrorism against other nations.

Additionally, India tied the renewal of the combined negotiation with Pakistan to its indictment of every one of those associated with the attacks. Delhi explained that no significant negotiation could be with Islamabad until it satisfied its responsibility to destroy the terrorist framework. Most importantly, India charged the ISI, the main intelligence organization of Pakistan, with arranging the attack. India had a horrible standpoint towards Gilani (Pakistani Prime Minister) and his

administration's endeavors to convict the guilty parties, as the ISI was probably going to oppose the move. In any case, the growing home-developed terrorism and rising international pressure pushed the two nations to continue reciprocal talks. Regardless of the resumption of two-sided discussions, the halt to restart the delayed peace procedure still stays uncertain.

Economic Co-activity

The territorial dispute in Pakistan and India over the Kashmir region is beginning to shade the countries' respective economies. It is predicted to be over 1.4 billion dollars in India's economic damages incurred by the conflict, though Pakistan suffers the Indian suspension of cotton and medicines supplies. Though not capable of reaching a diplomatic settlement, demands are also increasing for neighboring nations to boost economic relations. The special autonomous status of the contested portion of Kashmir, administered by India, was revoked on August 5, 2019, and Pakistan was annoyed. Now that more than a year has passed after Pakistan told India of its decision as a countermeasure to suspend trade with them, adverse consequences have become visible on its economies. India temporarily stopped supplying cheap generic medications. As a result of the ban, alternative medical supplies from the Middle East are rising.

In 2018, exports from India to Pakistan rose 7.4%, which marks more than 5% for the second straight year. Cotton, which relies on its textiles industry, is the most profitable export to India's neighbor. Still, now Pakistan is converting its supplies to Brazil and the U.S. As a part of the conflict, India is now allegedly smuggling Middle East chemicals and other products. However, the situation places more pressure on Pakistan's economy, with its substitute providers costing more premiums than their Indian counterparts. India's anti-terrorist beef-up has triggered an economic deficit due to the curfew, limits on retailer activities, and decreased tourism. Sheik Ashiq Ahmed, chambers chairman, said that access to the internet and social media could not continue to supply Kashmir's silk carpets and craft specialties. As of 2019, Pakistan is the fifth largest country in the world, with 216.5 million. With continued demographic growth in Pakistan and India, two countries are expected to accommodate a total population of 1.8 billion in 2030, comprising over 20% of the planet's population (Moyuru, 2019).

Distrust

The governments' nature in the two nations influences conflict resolution and their reciprocal relations colossally. On account of Pakistan, two power focuses as the insurgently chose civilian government and the ground-breaking military confuse the harmony procedure and the reciprocal relations. The Kashmir struggle and India's resulting battles have made the Pakistani army more grounded throughout the years. Running an immense business empire in Pakistan, the army has incidentally interceded in legislative issues. It has an enormous state over international strategy and the Kashmir struggle. Then again, having seen numerous military upsets, prevalent India's chosen civilian go working under the danger of military mediation. The discontinuous military autocracies have anticipated democratic organizations taking root in the nation. They have

additionally ruined the development of powerful civil social orders that have stakes in harmony. The Pakistani army fears that India can break up its nation and won't settle the Kashmir issue. These fears have solidified the position of the Pakistani army versus India.

In this way, hybrid governments, incredible military, political flimsiness, powerless civil society, and unstable democracy in Pakistan make it hard for a civilian administration to acknowledge politically hazardous decisions connected to Kashmir or make harmony with India. Then again, India has a vibrant, stable democracy. It has entangled into alliance legislative issues. The idea of its constituent procedure will not enable national parties to scope to control. In essence, this implies no single party can lead a strategy that could be viewed as a settlement on Kashmir without certain alliance accomplices' restrictions. Aside from the alliance legislative issues, there is no solid national head in India to cooperate with Pakistan. The political first class is careful not to push a motivation to bring about their misfortune in prevalence pursued by electoral destruction. Likewise, the idea of resistance politics makes it hard for the Congress-overwhelmed UPA (United Progressive Alliance) government to acknowledge any conceivably disliked harmony agreement with Pakistan (Mukherjee, 2009: 283). Historically, the Indian army harbors profound mistrust about Pakistan and certainly restricted any unwinding of safety efforts, applying pressure on the non-military personnel government. Because of alliance politics and pressure from resistance groups and the military foundation, India's government has not been able to restart the harmony procedure, particularly after the attacks in Mumbai. Hence, profound mistrust originating from past misleading practices and distinctive government types on either side of the boundary hamper the harmony procedure and undermine the region.

The loss of confidence is the biggest challenge between Pakistan and India, and anything that tackled this "trust deficiency" is beneficial in the way forward. Mr. Kasuri, who held the office in 2002-07, called on the two nations' leadership to demonstrate their commitment to solving the remaining issues, said leaders should launch the peace process by resolving one another's problems, including Kashmir, Sir Creek, insurgency, Siachen, and water sharing. Kasuri stated that our relationship's future should not need to look like this. It should be more like the last one when optimistic hope was articulated and both sites dedicated themselves to irreversible dialog. He highlighted the fruitful examples of the Southeast Asian Nations Association and the European Union in regional cooperation in stressing deeper and stronger relations between India and Pakistan. The 70-year-old Pakistani leader remembered the call for the "crush of Malaysians" when he was young. ASEAN had given a strong example of how regional nations had resolved their past and encouraged regional understanding, peace, and collaboration even when they had strained and rough relations. He called on parliamentarians from both nations to improve their partiality and facilitate a greater knowledge of each other's viewpoints. He also encouraged the Pakistani and Indian media to be more vigilant in addressing controversial problems and acts of terrorism. Mr. Kasuri gave his ideas about how to tackle different issues and said that the terror dangers to India and Pakistan were such that a shared approach would lead to the end of the danger. Indian Minister Chidambaram's meeting in Islamabad with Pakistani Minister Rehman Malik offered an opportunity to make a valuable consensus on the need for cooperation on the terrorist issue. He

said that, given the political will, the Siachen problem could be solved quickly. Both parties decided to collaborate on redeploying and developing a disengagement zone in the region. The two nations' political leadership had to compromise on restricting the boundary for which technical work was carried out about the Sir Creek question (Chennai, 2016).

The Mutual Relationship

Following the 2008 attacks on Mumbai city, Pakistan and India's respective relations arrived at the absolute bottom. India took various measures and suspended the combined negotiation. However, with the rehashed vows, the two nations could not continue the discourse yet. All the more significantly, India is effectively following a protecting strategy, a blend of co-activity and control, versus Pakistan. While drawing in with Pakistan monetarily, it is putting resources into the infrastructure that sidesteps Pakistan.

Additionally, it effectively proceeds with its army modernization program, reinforcing its key partnership with America, supporting the enemy of Pakistan movements, and escalating its counter-rebellion tasks in Kashmir and different areas of India. As a responsive procedure, evading relies upon Pakistan's activities and does not help India form or impact Pakistan's conduct effectively. It scarcely helps dynamic and democratic society powers in Pakistan who selected to dismiss the account of rivalry. It forces the two nations to contend harshly in non-conventional zones, for example, Afghanistan, entrance to Central Asia, and water sharing. Also, it keeps India from completely understanding its geopolitical objectives. All the more explicitly, it isn't generally helping India to arrive at its objective of warding off incredible forces from the subcontinent (Colman, 2009: 465).

Indeed, even the procurement of atomic weapons couldn't act as a discouragement against a future battle. Both were occupied with a restricted, conventional war at Kargil (1999). Later in 2001-2, both were occupied with gigantic troop activation on the boundary, threatening to utilize even atomic weapons (Yusuf & Najam, 2009). Any attack or apparent political death in India, later on, might cause another battle between the two nations. Confronting an inauspicious future, both have taken numerous self-improvement measures to fortify themselves. Their vital accomplices are powering the weapons contest just to propel their geopolitical advantages. However, the two nations learned that there is no possible army solution for the Kashmir clash after the Kargil. Despite this acknowledgment, after the Mumbai attack, they effectively engage in weapons contest destabilizing the region. Also, both keep on pursuing the arrangement of supporting the uprising in each other's domain and contend in Afghanistan.

At last, ongoing terrorist attacks, particularly the Mumbai assault, have almost decreased the possibility of unraveling the Kashmir struggle. After the attacks in Mumbai, the Indian people's view about Pakistan has taken an emotional turn and become threatening than at any time in recent memory. The army and intelligence foundation of India have solidified their demeanor towards Pakistan. In this unfriendly atmosphere, the Indian authority requests that Pakistan stop cross-

boundary terrorism by indicting the guilty parties. Despite Pakistani-supported terrorism, India is right now confronting the issue of home-developed terrorism. All the more significantly, India isn't set up to settle on Kashmir for different reasons. It's also becoming a monetary and political issue, which demoralizes India from tolerating any outsider intercession on this matter. Thus, to conceal its internal shortcomings and abstain from participating in any simple arrangement over Kashmir, India calls for Pakistan to stop terrorism support. Then again, Pakistan has vigorously put resources in the Jihadist foundation to go up against India in Afghanistan and Kashmir (Tavares, 2008: 276).

Steps to strengthen trust

The world breathed in 2019 as Pakistan and India confront the disputed Kashmir. The threat of nuclear escalation became worryingly possible as news stories reported that nuclear-armed competitors were bombing each other's territories. The attack on an Indian paramilitary convoy in Pulwama killed 40 soldiers (BBC, 2019). Modi was compelled to punish Pakistan and enter into a favorable outcome of warfare. In the face of increasing escalation pressures, analysts dismissed the prospect of a disastrous war. However, the enduring critics were able to figure a way out of the rising crisis in the end. Pakistan returns the Indian pilot who had taken him to Kashmir (Dawn.com, 2019). The move was described by Imran Khan (Pakistani Prime Minister) as a peace gesture (Aljazeera, 2019). However, friction remained strong since the handoff with war-like language from both countries. The remarkable series of bilateral steps to establish trust introduced by both countries was one aspect of the Indo-Pakistani rivalry that attracted little coverage during the crisis.

The Indian statesman Chari stated that trust-building measures are 'initiatives pursued by antagonistic states to alleviate tensions and improve mutual trust' by military and non-military powers (STIMSON, 2012). Lasting arrangements for several decades include non-attacking nuclear sites, crisis coordination hotlines, diplomatic staff non-harassment, and airspace non-violation. A new methodological approach to trust-building measures is needed to untie South Asia's Gordian knot (Ryan, 2019). There are two kinds of trust-building measures: positive and negative. Positive measures are practical action agreements (i.e., trade agreements, prisoner exchanges, etc.), whereas negative measures forbid such destabilization acts. In brief, positive measures help build trust by forming cross-border communication patterns, while negative measures add to overall stability. Therefore, while positive measures are shock insulators, negative measures attempt in the first place to avoid such shocks.

Pakistan freed 300 Indian fishermen in 2018, and India free Pakistani fishermen after six months (PTI, 2018). And Pakistan freed another 100 Indian fishermen as a show of solidarity after the Pulwama crisis (Suhasini, 2019). It is not about making constructive trust-building measures necessarily better than negative but about doing multiple items, which politicians should consider when both parties seek a single basis for future negotiations. Mutual trust can be established, and escalation prevented by positive trust-building measures by creating partners against violent conflict resolution. While the mood for constructing a new round of trust could be poor due to the Pulwama crisis, both nations' leaders have to pay off an abundance of low-hanging fruits.

In 2014, China and America had a mutual partnership deeply fraught with mistrust and agreed on the code of unplanned encounters at sea (Nathan, 2012). The agreement formed a new mutual arrangement between the Navy to settle conflicts. To create a framework for mutual naval interaction, Pakistan and India must replicate the mutual defense model. It may be possible to establish stronger naval cooperation in the longer term, possibly in joint north Arabian anti-piracy patrols. Pakistan and India retain a large inventory of aging military gear, including the stocks of ballistic missiles. The missiles are technologically outdated, ineffective, and dangerous to practical use because of their prolonged storage period (Michael & Julia, 2013). Collaborative weapons reductions will foster trust and accountability without undermining either party's protection, including verification teams from both sides. In the past, cycles of crisis between Pakistan and India preceded new confidence-building rounds. Every major agreement between India and Pakistan has its origins in resolving crises (Feroz, 2010).

The Pulwama episode stresses the lack of escalation of the new trust-building measures. Pulwama also offers India and Pakistan a chance to come and discuss new deals on the negotiation table. For prosperity and security in regional relations, it is time for leaders in both nations to follow a new faith growth strategy, which strikes an appropriate balance between positive and negative measures. That will help restore the subcontinent's persistent mistrust, secure bilateral shock links, and resolving' prospects in the future.

Conclusion

Giving no indications of the permanent solution in the near-period, the Pakistan-Indian competition over Kashmir has continued for a century. Regardless of many components restricting a permanent solution to the competition, Kashmir is the prime reason for conflict. Various harmony negotiations, harmony deals, U.N. resolutions, and battles have not tackled this obstinate universal issue. Other than the Kashmir struggle, other regional issues, political inconsistency, hostile stands on national identity, and the lack of huge monetary and business relations do not support harmony in the Indian subcontinent. These variables likewise are peaceful solutions to the Kashmir struggle.

Besides a couple of monetary and business relations, formal mistrust, diverse government types, rivalry in non-conventional territories, the uprising, and numerous different factors, as examined before, have deferred a peaceful solution Kashmir struggle. Pakistan doubts that India's developing economic power and Indian authority on the subcontinent will influence its power and security position. Besides, Pakistan accepts that "greater" India would not settle on Kashmir. To debilitate and compel India to bargain, Pakistan connected with India in constrained clashes and smaller than usual wars. Thus, Islamabad faces the issue of over-militarization of its general public and home-developed terrorism. Participating in a weapons contest with all the more dominant neighbors, Islamabad faces the issue of the implosion of its economy, driving its kin into poverty. Also, it is proceeding with help for cross-outskirt terrorism tensions the associations with its neighbors and America. Particularly after the attack in Mumbai, the two nations commonly suspect and doubt

one another. Right now, the circumstance on the ground isn't perfect to continue the combined negotiation. The two nations need to take various measures critically to set up the ground and facilitate the stewing tensions:

1. Delhi should move away from a protecting to a commitment strategy and guarantee Pakistan of its genuine expectation to regard the latter's independence and regional integrity.
2. Delhi should handle the Kashmiris all the more humanely regarding their human rights, as appropriate in standard India.
3. Pakistan should quit putting resources into its flopped technique to support cross-outskirt terrorism and destroy the Jihadist foundation, guiding the two nations towards the battle.
4. The two nations should upgrade business and change visa guidelines.
5. The two nations should start military-to-military contact to forestall the trust deficit.

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Privacy Online A Concern Around the World

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Abstract:

Social media encompasses a wide range of websites and applications like Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, and many others. People rely on these applications to connect socially. A day without selfies is considered an imperfect day. In recent times, many of us are getting passionate to share our life stories with our friends and colleagues and enjoy spending time on social media. Due to higher usage of social sites, the breach of privacy of an individual is scrutinized as a potential risk. The more users disclose them the more offered benefits they can enjoy. Consequently, safety and security on social sites turn out to be a burning issue, so as a group we decided to review the situation and reflect upon it. According to the recent era, technology has been responsible for many advances in modern life. People do not imagine their life without social media. Recently, the COVID 19 pandemic necessitated adaptations and transition from physical to virtual activities. Therefore, the use of social media platforms like Snapchat, Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter has led to escalating its use. Consequently, with increased usage, it has produced unavoidable issues. This article will emerge the minds of readers towards the impact analysis of privacy in the social network where people need to think about the privacy of their content by recognizing their digital friends and differentiate between their well-wishers and antagonist. Moreover, this paper will also discuss the different perspectives regarding hindered privacy in social media.

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The increased online scams and privacy staples encourage us to write different views of various perspectives related to online self-disclosure. Therefore different perspectives like social, religious, legislative, health, and ethical perspectives will be discussed further.

The authors derived propositions from the above topic.

 "Is it appropriate to share personal data on social media? "And "How much self-disclosure is appropriate on the social web."

Social Perspective:

Social Media have a great impact on our lives and our societies as a whole. It gives us opportunities to connect with our colleagues and loved ones. Most of the time the exchange of personal information happens without privacy orientation which sometimes troubles the user. The estimated number of users of social media is dramatically increased with time. We have seen much increase in the number in recent years and especially in the pandemic era. According to Digital 2020 July, Global Snapshot published on 21st July 2020, "The active social media users are 4.57 Billion in which 346 Million users are added within last 12 months." As the number of users of the social network increased, it also brings the consumers into a risky situation without having an idea of the extent of their communication transmission. It is also evident that most of the social media users are youth and some of them even are not legal adults. This age group has certain limits of knowledge and privacy of self and others. The young sometimes are not aware of the consequences attached to any situation.

According to the BBC News 2013 report, more than 67% of Facebook users are teenagers who used social media to get connected with their colleagues and community. Teenagers also share negative and baseless information, hide their identity, and leaking of others' data. These activities forced them to share unethical content (Shabir, Mahmood, Hameed, Safdar, & Gilani, 2014). The social blackmailing, which is caused by making the norms of the society null and void, results in self-made sanctions in response to the mental exploitations of the girl who was blackmailed and later on died on her own. People use social media for their contentment and spend significant time online, which leads them to disconnect from their family and society.

There are other several issues, which harm the social life of youth. At the very top is privacy, which has a greater impact on the user's life. According to Gasser, Maclay, and Palfrey (2010), using social media for an inappropriate reason, no tools for privacy, sharing own private data with others, kept teenagers at high risk. Another study suggested that hackers on the site reached their private data very easily as they do not know privacy (Carlson, 2010).On the contrary social sites are one type of forum for people to exchange new ideas and their opinion globally. It is a good channel of communication for the people living in restricted areas where they have no freedom of speech and they did not share their opinion openly (Aamoth, 2011). Social media give them the opportunity and forum to express and shared their ideas and opinion with others. Social media brings similarly minded groups like students, teachers, etc. to the same platform to share their ideas. (Blumler & Katz 1974). Every so often it is a good channel for expressing ideas and getting aware of international trends. Social media is also used to market a brand and it is also an

impactful medium for customer service and their satisfaction evaluation. Lastly, it promotes research for innovative ideas.

Cultural Perspective

The specific regional cultures of Pakistan present a picture of rich diversity making it difficult to speak a single Pakistani culture. Pakistan is a multicultural state with an Islamic ideology. Cultural traits vary from one ethnic group to the next based on the origin of the culture such as Panjabi, Pashtun, Balochi, Muhajir, Saraiki cultures, etc. Different factors have refrained the communities from publicizing their things on social media, whose usage is also prevailing in these communities, who are the part of modern technological needs on the contrary female are still banned for using it at large. In this aspect, different ethnic groups have different ideas and opinions on this modern and fascinating world of science. Almost all-ethnic groups turn down this fact as social media violates norms of their cultures.

It is strictly prohibited to share personal information especially in the form of photography on social media, to validate all the above description; many examples of honor killing are obvious, In which women are killed by a male dominant of family or by the evil of society if she is thought to have brought dishonor defaming the family reputation and its culture (Lawrence & Javeed, 2020). Such social medial fame named Qandeel Baloch was assassinated by her brothers for sharing photos and videos on media. Secondly, I quote to Kohistan video leak scandal. The viral video showed the women clapping while two young men were dancing to a local Pashto song during a wedding in a Seerto village of Koshistan in 2012. The women belonged to the Azadkhel tribe while the two boys from the Salekhel tribe. When the video was leaked to the Azadkhel tribe, a Jirga comprising of 12 elders objected to the video with and allegations were imposed on social offenders of the video. Later it was reported that the four women in the video, along with the minor girl, were killed on May 30, 2012, following the Jirga decree. (The Tribune, 2018).

Religious Perspective

According to the Bureau of Statistics Government of Pakistan, "more than 96% of people following Islam a major religion in Pakistan". At the time of creation, Pakistan was the first modern Muslim state and largest world Muslim country in the world. Currently, it is the second most populated Muslim country after Indonesia. In this country, the autonomy of a person is respected from the perspective of law, religion, and culture. Generally, autonomy is considered the independent conception of a person to his thought and action. However, Islam does not allow a man to fulfill his wishes inappropriately but has generated some limitations and certain rules and regulations. These rules and manners can be seen from scripture and the life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) (Aksoy & Tenik, 2002).

Similarly, autonomy from an Islamic perspective: Van Bommel stated that "For a Muslim, absolute autonomy is very rare, there will be a feeling of responsibility towards God, and he or she lives in social coherence, in which influences of the relatives play their roles". So it is now cleared that man is autonomous in his action and thought but he will be responsible for their action. Relating this concept to above mention scenario everyone is autonomous to share their personal things on social media but keeping the religious belief of a person and school of thoughts in mind.

Islamic source of knowledge describes the evil eye as truth. Greed and jealousy are considered satanic strategies, which later stimulate the evil eye, and cause harm to a person (Qamar, 2013). Moreover sharing personal data on social sites is inappropriate and especially females are not allowed to disclose themselves to others.

Legal Perspective

The Constitution of Pakistan provides their nationals, fundamental rights which include freedom of speech, freedom of thought, association, information, press, religion, as well as freedom of assembly. But there are some rules, regulations, and restrictions not to share everything on social media such as age-restricted and community norms restricted material. To focus the proposition derived, in the beginning, sharing thoughts and feelings on social media, and if share content was not community restricted then of course law gives this basic rights of freedom of speech and expression. As freedom of speech and expression is a precious gift and of any citizen and this is not only guaranteed by Pakistan's constitution but is also guaranteed under the UN's Universal Declaration of human rights 1948. Pakistan is a signatory to this declaration.

In any human's life, privacy serves as the foundation upon which many citizens' rights are built. Privacy helps us to establish boundaries, these boundaries express that who may has access to or touch our bodies, uses our places and our things as well as access to our communication and our information. The Constitution of Pakistan guaranteed us the right to privacy. As Article 14(1) of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, this article states that "The dignity of man and, subject to law, the privacy of home, shall be inviolable." The Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act (PECA)(2016) also contains a number of sections related to data privacy. PECA act makes it a crime for anyone to gain unauthorized access to any information system or data, and it is punishable with a prison sentence up to three months to seven years or a fine of up to fifty thousand to 10 million rupees. Here we can see that several laws in Pakistan can protect women against cyber harassment, however, there should be more awareness about laws and victims should be encouraged to report the offenses more often.

The Digital Rights Foundation (DRF) has set up a Cyber Harassment Helpline (0800-39393) in Pakistan for victims of online harassment and violence through which legal advice, digital security support, psychological counseling, and a referral system is provided to victims of online harassment. Moreover, there are many laws and fines are imposed on residents of UAE to abide by the rule of cybersafety. According to Gulfnews UAE "The TRA highlighted a provision of the UAE's anti-cybercrime law that seeks to penalize violators with an imprisonment or fine of up to Dh1 m\Million." In light of these laws, an individual is protected by regulation but educating users about their privacy footprints are not the responsibility of legislation.

Health Perspective

Health care professionals share information, debate health care policy and practice issues, promote health behaviors, engage with the public, and educate and interact with patients, caregivers, students, and colleagues by using social media tools (Kaufman, 2012; Bernhardt, Alber & Gold, 2014; Fogelson, Rubin & Ault, 2013); Moorhead et. al, 2013). It has also been noticed

that medical staffs take pictures of patient's wounds and body parts and share them with their fellows through social media applications, although this objective behind these acts is for better learning, follow up and continuity of care, but, other means of communication can opt so that confidentiality of the patients does not get breached. Moreover, verbal consent has to be obtained before taking such pictures and all the highest measures are taken to maintain their privacy and confidentiality.

It is also been evident that many individuals use social media sites to unwind and gain emotional release caused by strenuous work hours, role demands, and family issues. So when these measures of deviances cause the trouble of privacy breaches online, they get mentally and emotionally disturbed. Loss of privacy around personal health data may harm an individual's health (Parker et. al, 2019). If privacy is not maintained, this can impact mental health very badly. Cybercrime can also put an individual at risk and online scams and threats are noteworthy issues to cause distress. The cybercriminals target our health care organization's electronic health records (EHR). In EHR, we have all the histories and details of patients and they try to steal their personally identifiable information as well as financial information (Fuentes, 2017).

Social media became famous during the COVID situation, we have learned about different social media activities/tools such as Tele clinics for the patients, conducting and attending online classes, workshops, and seminars on Zoom and Microsoft Teams virtually. People were attracted to social media websites for getting knowledge about health and wellness. Indeed, social media acted as a blessing and played a significant role in providing health education where face-to-face classrooms were not possible.

. **Ethical perspective**

An ethical perspective is an individual way to assess any problem. Privacy is an emerging issue in social networking. The users show concern about the privacy and security of their personal information in recent years. The best example is Cambridge Analytica. The firm exploited the private information of over 50 million Facebook users to influence the 2016 presidential elections (Criddle, 2020). This example has evoked the attention of million if they are not able to control their data on social media. According to a Pew Trust report, 80% of social media users are concerned about the businesses and advertisers access their social media posts (Brenner, 2013). In these growing privacy and security concerns, there is a need for cybersecurity professionals who will play a vital role in protecting social media users' personal information.

Ethical and moral values are very important to integrate ethics in self-disclosure online. Some many ethical principles and theories help us to interpret ethical norms to relate to the privacy of an individual. The four basic ethical principles are linked with privacy and security claims. Respect for autonomy, no maleficence, beneficence, and justice. Respect for autonomy states to respect the choices and decisions of others by telling the truth, respect the privacy of others, and safeguard the confidential information of others. The principle of beneficence articulates to do well to others and benefit them and it is only possible through protecting and defending the rights of others. On the other hand, the principle of no maleficence discusses not harming others. The principle of justice is about equal and equitable distribution of benefits and risks. Each person should have an equal share and they should get according to the need. To summarize the ethical

point of view, it is a vital responsibility of users to maintain the code of conduct of cyber safety and privacy. Moreover breaching others' privacy or using misleading information is ethically very inappropriate and can be very disturbing.

Recommendations

We realized that social networking sites have major accountability to protect the users' data from getting leaked or navigated to other websites. Networking sites have to implement strict policies for safeguarding people's profiles and from hacking. We recommend that networking sites should share clear pathways through which data is been transferred and proper awareness has to be flushed periodically to the users to remind their role. Another important recommendation is for the implementation of proper law against cybercrime, although laws and regulations are formed those have to be implemented, in this aspect, networking sites should take the lead and trace the criminals performing cybercrime. The school-going population should be educated from school by providing awareness sessions about cyber safety and cyberbully. If the adolescent and kids are informed of the safety and privacy issues of social media the nation can be protected from many mental health issues as well. Finally, this is an utmost responsibility of user to secure their data and always follow the rules of cyber safety and security. Together with the efforts of people and social networking site's stakeholders, these problems can be minimized to an acceptable extent.

Conclusion

This structured paper helped us analyze the security concerns in light of religion, society, culture, ethics, health, and law. We learned that social networking sites are playing a crucial task in making this world a global village but it has also posed major data safety concerns to the users. It enabled us to ponder on the current situation faced by the people closely involved with social media and the techniques through which we can address the negative outcome of using social media. Awareness of proper social media utilization by networking sites, parents, organizations, and friends plays an important role in overcoming the challenges currently facing by users. Networking sites and the users, both hold their key responsibilities to perform where implementation of proper law regulations will be an assistance to make the great impact. This topic changed our frame of mind and taught us to always explore any issue with various dimensions to make a sound, justifiable and ethical decision.

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The Enigmatic Nature of J. S. Mill's Classical Liberalism and Utilitarianism

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Abstract

John Stuart Mill, a British political philosopher of the 19th century, got an extremely rigorous upbringing with his education greatly influenced by Jeremy Bentham, the English utilitarian. His father wanted to build a brilliant intellect that would support the cause of utilitarianism. Mill established the character of English liberalism and, in so doing, established himself as England's most generous classical liberal. Mill is honored as the father of liberalism, and his writings are consulted as indispensable for the understanding of moral and political issues surrounding the defense of individual liberty. He justifies individual freedom against total state control and is a supporter of utilitarianism, but his concept is very different from Bentham's utilitarianism. Mill is mainly concerned with the nature and limits of the power that society can legitimately exercise over the individual and supports each individual's right to act as he wants, so long as the action does not harm others. This paper attempted to describe and evaluated the concept of liberty as enunciated by J. S. Mill. It also looks into his views on utilitarianism and how he has modified the Benthamite utilitarianism into his model. The paper also shows Mill's enigmatic nature of sometimes supporting one type of liberty (negative liberty). In contrast, sometimes other types (positive liberty) similarly propose one kind of liberty for one class and another kind for another class. The paper is mainly a qualitative study of Mill's philosophy with a descriptive framework and is based on secondary data.

Keywords: John Stuart Mill, Liberty, Utility, Self-regarding, Other-regarding, Freedom of Thought, Classical Liberalism

Introduction

John Stuart Mill got an extremely rigorous upbringing and was deliberately kept away from association with children of his age other than his siblings. Jeremy Bentham greatly influenced his

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education. His father wanted him to support the cause of utilitarianism and its implementation after his father's and Bentham's death. Mill established himself as England's most generous liberal and is honored as the father of classical liberalism. He justifies individual freedom against absolute state control and is the supporter of utilitarianism, but his concept is very different from Bentham's utilitarianism (Berkowitz, 1999: 134). However, scholars have not appreciated Mill's strong liking for finding truth in diverse sources because of Mill's deep admiration for the ideas of both the reformer of institutions (Jeremy Bentham) and the preserver of traditions (Samuel Taylor Coleridge), which reflects the spirit of an indecisive man. Such possibilities would have to be taken more seriously if Mill is not repeatedly remarked upon the importance of discovering the partial truth in conflicting opinions and systems of ideas (Berkowitz, 1999: 135-36). However, Mill is highly honored for his defense of individual liberty and qualitative utilitarianism's moral and political importance.

I will restrict myself to the critical evaluation of only two areas of Mill's philosophy, i.e., his view on liberty and utilitarianism. I will also touch on the areas that show whether he supports only negative liberty or positive liberty and whether he proposes one kind of liberty for one class and another kind for another class.

Mill's Concept of Liberty

Mill is mainly concerned with the nature and limits of the power that society can legitimately exercise over the individual. He supports that each individual has the right to act as he wants, so long as it does not harm others. If the action only directly affects the person undertaking the action, society has no right to interfere, even if it feels the actor is harming himself. Mill introduces liberty to remedy society's tyranny in a modern democracy. In ancient democracies, the majority tyrannized the individual through the government; but in a modern democracy, society threatens to mold every individual in its image. Besides the purely individualistic or private aspects, there is also a social aspect to a man's personality, and here the society has the right of interference. Still, Mill says, this interference must be reduced to the minimum. If society issues any mandates at all in things with which it ought not to meddle, it practices a social tyranny more formidable than many kinds of political oppression. Protection

against the tyranny of the magistrate is not enough. There is a greater need for protection against the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and feeling, against the tendency of society to impose its ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them. There is a limit to the legitimate interference of collective opinion with individual independence. To find that limit and maintain it against encroachment, it is indispensable to a good condition of human affairs as protection against political despotism (Mill, 2009a: 10-11). By prescribing a single notion of good character through the powerful instrument of public opinion, society could fetter "human development in its richest diversity" (Mill, 2009a: 11).

To protect individual character and society from the deadening effects of both the tyranny of society and government, Mill proposes the straightforward principle that "The sole end for which humanity are warranted, individually or collectively in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection. That the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant" (Mill, 2009a: 18-19).

However, Mill himself suggests significant qualifications to his principle, saying that the application of the principle to concrete instances often turns on difficult practical judgments about the quality and directness of harms to others which are caused by apparently self-regarding, but in reality substantially other-affecting, actions (see for example Robson, 1965, 799-804). The essential qualification concerns society's legitimate interest in fostering certain qualities of mind and character and the appropriate means for doing so. This doctrine is meant to apply only to human beings in their faculties' maturity. "We are not speaking of children or young persons below the age… Those who are still in a state to require being taken care of by others must be protected against their actions as well as against external injury" (Mill, 2009a: 19). According to Mill, despotism is a legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarians, provided that the end be their improvement, and the means justified by actually effecting that end (Mill, 2009a: 20). There are also many positive acts for the benefit of others, which a person may rightfully be compelled to perform; such as, "to give evidence in a court of justice; to bear his fair share in the common defense….for which he may rightfully be made responsible to society for not doing. A person may

cause evil to others not only by his actions but by his inaction, and in either case, he is justly accountable to them for the injury" (Mill, 2009a: 21).

The Liberty of Thought and Discussion

Mill is the strongest supporter of freedom of speech, saying that legislature and the executive cannot prescribe opinions to the people and determine what doctrines or arguments they shall hear. "If all humankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, humankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing humankind. The peculiar evil of silencing an opinion's expression is that it is robbing the human race…. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth: if wrong, they lose the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error. We can never be sure that the opinion we are endeavoring to stifle is a false opinion" (Mill, 2009a: 29-30). "Every age has held many opinions which subsequent ages have deemed not only false but absurd. It is as certain that many opinions, now general, will be rejected by future ages, as many, once general, are rejected by the present" (Mill, 2009a: 32). By rejecting the opinion as heretical, it is not the minds of heretics that are deteriorated most, but the most significant harm done is to those who are not heretics, and whose whole mental development and their reason cowed, by the fear of heresy (Mill, 2009a: 56).

Mill says that it is better to know all the sides of the case. "He, who knows only his side of the case, knows little of that. His reasons may be good. But if he is equally unable to refute the reasons on the opposite side; if he does not so much as know what they are, he has no ground for preferring either opinion". He further says that "nor is it enough that he should hear the arguments of adversaries from his own teachers, presented as they state them, and what they offer as refutations. This is not how to do justice to the arguments or bring them into real contact with his mind. He must hear them from persons who believe them (Mill, 2009a: 61-62). Discussion is necessary for both the right and wrong opinion. The wrong is corrected, and the right gains vitality and stability. The fact is that the grounds of the opinion are forgotten in the absence of discussion,

but too often, the meaning of the opinion itself. The necessity to the mental wellbeing of humankind of freedom and expression of opinion is recognized on the following grounds.

a. If any opinion is compelled to silence, that opinion may be true. To deny this is to assume our own infallibility.

b. Though the silenced opinion is an error, it may contain a portion of the truth. Since the general or prevailing opinion on any object is rarely or never the whole truth, it is only by the collision of adverse opinions that the remainder of the truth has any chance of being supplied.

c. Even if the received opinion is true, the whole truth, unless it is vigorously and earnestly contested, it will be held in the manner of a prejudice, with little comprehension or feeling of its rational grounds.

d. The meaning of the held doctrine itself will be in danger of being lost and deprived of its vital effect on the character and conduct.

Individuality as one of the Elements of Wellbeing

Mill argues that we all have different ideas. Therefore, we must be allowed to explore and express those ideas, which are the essence of our difference and uniqueness. Mill valorizes the eccentric simply because the difference is vital to the productive interaction of ideas that stimulate individual mental processes. The need to be independent and different is, for Mill, the essence of human liberty, suggesting extreme individualism. The only freedom that deserves the name is pursuing our good in our way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs (Mill, 2009a: 23-24). Men should be free to act upon their opinions, without hindrance, either physical or moral, from their fellow-men, so long as it is at their own risk and peril. However, actions cannot be as free as opinions. On the contrary, even opinions lose their immunity, when the circumstances in which they are expressed are such as to constitute their expression a positive instigation to some mischievous act. "if [the individual] refrains from molesting others in what concerns them, and merely acts according to his inclination and judgment in things which concern himself…he should be allowed to carry his opinions into practice at his own cost. That humankind is not infallible, and their truths are only half-truths; that unity of opinion, unless resulting from the fullest and freest

comparison of opposite opinions, is not desirable, and diversity, not an evil, but a good, until humankind is more capable than at present of recognizing all sides of the truth, are principles applicable to men's modes of action, not less than to their opinions" (Mill, 2009a: 93-95).

Mill says that a person's individuality is developed by the freedom allowed to him. "A person whose desires and impulses are his own, is the expression of his own nature, as developed and modified by his own culture, is said to have a character. One whose desires and impulses are not his own have no character, no more than a steam-engine has a character. If, in addition to being his own, his impulses are strong, and are under the government of a strong will, he has an energetic character" (Mill, 2009a: 101).

He does not oppose despotism if it supports individuality. "Even despotism does not produce its worst effects, so long as individuality exists under it; and whatever crushes individuality is despotism, by whatever name it may be called, and whether it professes to be enforcing the will of God or the injunctions of men" (Mill, 2009a: 107). He equalizes individuality with originality and says that nobody will deny it, that originality is a valuable element in human affairs. There is always a need for persons to discover new truths, point out when truths are true no longer, commence new practices, and set the example of more enlightened conduct….Persons of genius are and are always likely to be a small minority but to have them, it is necessary to preserve the soil in which they grow. Genius can only breathe freely in an atmosphere of freedom (Mill, 2009a: 108-09).

However, when the opinions of masses of merely average men are everywhere become the dominant power, the counterpoise and corrective to that tendency would be the more pronounced individuality of those who stand on the higher eminences of thought. In these circumstances, exceptional individuals should be encouraged to act differently from the mass. Eccentricity has always abounded when and where the strength of character has abounded; and the amount of eccentricity in a society has generally been proportional to the amount of genius, mental vigor, and moral courage contained (Mill, 2009a: 112-3).

The Limits to the Authority of Society over the Individual

Mill says that individuals and society will receive their fair share if each has more particularly concerned about it. To individuality should belong the part of life in which individual is chiefly interested; to society which chiefly interests society (Mill, 2009a: 126). The individual's matters should be left entirely to the individual, and no one should interfere, even if what he does is dangerous for him. He, himself, is the final judge. All errors which he is likely to commit against advice and warning are far outweighed by the evil of allowing others to constrain him to what they deem his good (Mill, 2009a: 129-30).

Mill admits that the mischief that a person does to himself may seriously affect those nearly connected with him and society. When a person is led to violate a distinct and assignable obligation to any other person(s), the case is taken out of the self-regarding class. If a man, through extravagance, becomes unable to pay his debts or undertake his family's moral responsibility, becomes incapable of supporting or educating them, he is deservedly condemned and might be justly punished. Still, it is for the breach of duty to his family or creditors, not for the extravagance. If the resources which ought to have been devoted to them had been diverted from them for the most prudent investment, the moral guilt would have been the same. In like manner, when a person disables himself by purely self-regarding conduct, he is guilty of a social offense from some definite duty performance to the public. No person ought to be punished simply for being drunk, but a driver, a soldier, or a police officer should be punished for being drunk on duty. Whenever there is actual damage, or risk of damage, either to other individuals or to the public, the case is taken out of the province of liberty and placed in that of morality or law (Mill, 2009a: 136-39).

Mill points out the cases in which the state has the power to intervene. For example, if poisons are bought for the commission of murder, it would be right to prohibit their manufacture and sale. Public control is permissible for preventing fraud by adulteration, sanitary precautions, or arrangements to protect work-people employed in dangerous occupations. It is a proper office of public authority to guard against accidents. If either a public officer or anyone else saw a person attempting to cross a bridge which had been confirmed to be unsafe, and there was no time to warn him of his danger, they might seize him and turn him back without any real infringement of his liberty; for liberty consists in doing what one desires, and he does not desire to fall into the river. Nevertheless, when there is not a certainty, but the only danger of mischief, no one but the person

himself can judge of the sufficiency of the motive which may prompt him to incur the risk: in this case, therefore, unless he is a child, or delirious, or in some state of excitement, he ought to be only warned of the danger; not forcibly prevented from exposing himself to it. When it is not such as to involve infringement of liberty, the objections to government interference may be of three kinds.

a. When the thing to be done is likely to be better done by individuals than the government. Speaking generally, there is no one so fit to conduct any business as those who are personally interested in it.

b. In many cases, though individuals may not do the particular thing so well as the officers of government, it is nevertheless desirable that it should be done by them, rather than by the government, as a means to their mental education, a mode of strengthening their active faculties, exercising their judgment. These are not questions of liberty, but they are questions of development.

c. The great evil of adding unnecessarily to its power. Every function is superadded to those already exercised by the government.

Mill's Concept of Utility

Mill reexamined and restated Benthamism to save it from degradation and hedonism. While accepting the utility principle, he found that the pleasure-pain principle and the identification of pleasure with happiness represented a very narrow and rigid view that did not recognize that pleasure could also be derived from creative thought and laborious work. J. S. Mill tried to rescue Benthamism from materialistic hedonism by including the non-hedonistic quality of pleasure. He differs from Bentham because it is a pleasure and not its source that matters. To Mill, the source also matters. The pleasure of one thing (poetry) will be higher than another's pleasure (pushpin). Mill departs from Bentham, who believes that pleasure could be assessed in complete isolation from its source and from men who feel it. Another modification of Mill in Benthamism was that Bentham's utility was self-regarding while Mill's was self-regarding and other-regarding. Again, Bentham valued liberty, not for its own sake but because it is an incident for utility. For Bentham, the end of the man is maximum happiness, not maximum liberty, while

Mill is the other way around. Fort Mill, liberty is an end in itself and is a precious right of the man. Mill's modification of Benthamism made it less mechanical and more humane than before.

Mill argues that the moral worth of actions is to be judged in terms of the consequences of those actions and that utility is the proper standard for judging morality and politics. Mill expounds that the foundation of morals is the principle of utility. This principle of "the Greatest Happiness Principle," holds that "actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. By happiness is meant to pleasure, and the absence of pain; by unhappiness, pain, and the privation of pleasure. The theory of morality is that pleasure, and freedom from pain, are the only things desirable as ends; and that all desirable things are desirable either for the pleasure inherent in themselves or as means to the promotion of pleasure and the prevention of pain" (Mill, 2009b: 14). His utilitarianism recognizes a fundamental distinction between higher and lower pleasures that connected the development of higher faculties and nobler feelings to the overall increase of happiness. Human excellence may be the highest pleasure and true source of happiness, and so choice-worthy on utilitarian grounds. He argues that human beings require qualitative pleasure. Human beings have faculties more elevated than the animal appetites, and when once made conscious of them, do not regard anything as happiness that does not include their gratification. The pleasure of the intellect, of the feelings and imagination, and of the moral sentiments is assigned a much higher value than those of mere sensation (Mill, 2009b: 15-16).

Mill distinguishes between what people *do* want, that is, what they think will make them happy, and what they *should* want, that is, what actually will make them happy. Bentham's famous axiom that pushpin is as good as poetry suggested that utility is a matter only of quantity; one person's enjoyment of a mindless game has the same value as another's the enjoyment of the intellectually complicated task of interpreting literature. But Mill argues that utility is a matter of quality: "It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied" (Mill, 2009b: 19), Mill maintained, because some kinds of desires and preferences are more valuable than others particularly, the mental pleasure is superior to the physical (Hirschmann, 2008, 232-33). So according to Mill, there are both quantitative and qualitative aspects of pleasure.

What makes one pleasure more valuable than another, there is but one possible answer. "Of two pleasures, if there be one to which all who have experience of both give a decided preference, irrespective of any feeling of moral obligation to prefer it, that is the more desirable pleasure. If one of the two is, by those who are competently acquainted with both, placed so far above the other that they prefer it, even though knowing it to be attended with a greater amount of discontent, and would not resign it for any quantity of the other pleasure, we are justified in ascribing to the preferred enjoyment a superiority in quality, so far outweighing quantity" (Mill, 2009b: 16-17).

The utilitarian morality does recognize in human beings the power of sacrificing their own greatest good for the good of others. The only self-renunciation which it applauds is devotion to the happiness or the means of happiness of others. Mill regards this sacrifice as a heroic job. He says "All honor to those who can abnegate for themselves the personal enjoyment of life, when by such renunciation they contribute worthily to increase the amount of happiness in the world" (Mill, 2009b: 29-30). However, he says that as between his own happiness and that of others, utilitarianism requires him to be strictly impartial. To do as you would be done by, and to love your neighbor as yourself, constitute the ideal perfection of utilitarian morality (Mill, 2009b: 31-32).

Thus the maximization of pleasure or happiness is the moral end. For Mill, welfare consists in the satisfaction of desire, and the relevant pleasure is the pleasure that comes from satisfied desire. Secondly, when he insists that welfare consists in the experiencing of pleasurable states, he argues that quality, not simply the amount of pleasure, is to be taken into account. Thirdly, Mill holds that it is possible to be content with life even though dissatisfied, provided that one has the proper balance of pleasure, reckoned both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Critical Evaluation of Mill's Theory of Liberty and Utility

Himmelfarb's "two Mills thesis" maintains that the Mill who authored *On liberty* and individual sovereignty differed significantly from "the other Mill" who wrote the rest of his work, presenting a different mode of liberal thought that gave prominence to civic responsibility and social obligation (Himmelfarb, 1974; also see Rees, 1977). Though this latter view is consistent

with some aspects of positive liberty, other commentators explicitly take up Mill's relationship to the typology (negative liberty as associated with classical liberalism and positive liberty as associated with modern liberalism), and some even argue that Mill advocates positive liberty flat out (see for example Jones, 1992; Semmel, 1983; Scanlon, 1958).

Bruce Baum (1998: 190) reads Mill as more strongly in league with positive liberty theory, particularly its emphasis on higher-order desires. Others reject Mill's association with negative liberty and pure classical liberalism on more complicated grounds. Nadia Urbinati (2002; 159) suggests that "there are three concepts of liberty in Mill's work," not two: "liberty as *noninterference*, liberty as *nonsubjection*, and liberty as moral *self-development*". These three incorporate and cut across the positive/negative typology, leading Urbinati to claim that Mill's conception of freedom actually demonstrates the incoherence of the typology. The ideal of moral self-development, commit Mill to "a notion of liberty that doesn't fit into the conventional dichotomy of the negative and positive" because it involves "decisions supported by reasons" rather than "solely….personal preferences" (Urbinati, 2002, 6, 7, 10).

Joseph Hamburger (1999) takes an even more critical view arguing that Mill's devotion to negative liberty is exaggerated. Mill advocated placing quite a few limitations on liberty and many encroachments on individuality. Far from being libertarian and permissive, Mill advocated the introduction of inhibitions, moral restraints, and social pressures. Mill's overarching purpose was not the rights of the individual or his liberty of self-regarding action, but rather "bringing about moral reform, or, as he called it, moral regeneration." Hamburger says that Mill put less emphasis on, and trust in, the cultivation of individuals' self-restraint and more trust in restraints from external sources (Hamburger, 1999, xi, 5). Thus, rather than inconsistency between "two Mills," Hamburger argues that Mill saw his contemporaries in an age of transition and tried to develop a theory that could negotiate the inevitable tension between things as they were and things as they could be. The elite individuals of that time needed a great deal of negative freedom so that they could oppose the prevailing public opinion and not be restrained in developing new and better ideas. Cowling, who similarly challenged the "libertarian" and "simply individualistic" reading of Millian liberalism, emphasizing instead Mill's attention to "the religion of humanity" and "moral totalitarianism" (Cowling, 1963: xii, 97).

Nancy Hirschmann (2008) connects Mill's theory of freedom with gender and class. Mill's theoretical ambivalence is not about what freedom means. Rather, Mill's ambivalence is about what kind of freedom should be attributed to what kind of person. According to her, Mill constructed a vision of the free individual as one who is intelligent and knowledgeable, creative and thoughtful, virtuous and sympathetic, forceful and strong yet civil and civic-minded, respectful of the welfare of others. He also constructed a vision of the kind of individual who needs guidance if he is to be free: one who is lazy, uneducated, unthinking, uncritical, unmotivated, unoriginal, self-centered, focused on immediate pleasure and short-term consequences. Mill has a twofold theory of freedom that allocates one kind of freedom, negative liberty, to the former group of people, and another kind, positive liberty, to the latter group. For Mill, the divisions between these groups significantly cohere to lines of class and gender: generally propertied men, and some upper-class women, occupy the first group, while laborers, the poor, and most women occupy the latter. This division is not exclusive, for Mill seemed to allow that the boundaries between the two groups are fairly porous. Some workers and women could display a facility for creative and rational thinking and cross over into the kind of freedom enjoyed by wealthy and educated men, just as wealth might cause some privileged men to fall into indolence and sloth, in need of guidance (Hirschmann, 2008, 221-22). The duality in Mill's theory, then, is not between positive and negative liberty per se, but between the kinds of people who are the appropriate subjects of different aspects of liberty that cohere in different ways with positive and negative liberty ideals.

Similarly, Bhandari (1978) argues that Mill does not realize that the impulses and desires of men may be unhealthy and are not always a sure guide to the proper development of personality or proper social actions. Unless the impulses and desires of men are properly channelized, they may ruin him and society. Mill's distinction between self-regarding and other-regarding acts is also very complex and difficult and in many cases, this categorization may not be possible.

Similarly, Mill's utilitarianism concentrates on the issues of choice, virtue, and diversity, for he says that people do not "voluntarily choose the lower description of pleasures in preference to the higher….It may be questioned whether any one who has remained equally susceptible to both classes of pleasures, ever knowingly and calmly preferred the lower". Not only is the selection of lower pleasure evidence of one's unsuitability to judge utilitarian value; it also indicates a lack

of freedom. In this Mill's formula systematically favors the educated, professional, and wealthier classes, for their range of experience, will of necessity be larger than that of laborers and the poor. This bias suggests a tacitly elitist structure to his apparently democratic utilitarian framework. Mill emphasizes individual choice and freedom as the absence of external obstacles, but he also is afraid of what people will choose without guidance. His theory of utility tries to provide such guidance, but this guidance conflicts with his strong notion of individual liberty of conscience and thought (Hirschmann, 2008, 236). Similarly, as Isaiah Berlin noted, Mill so enlarged and refined the meaning of happiness that "he left the true utilitarian spirit" far behind (cited in Berkowitz, 1999: 148).

In his early days, Mill was a thorough-going individualist and opposed state interference. But in later days he became a qualified collectivist and considered the state as a great benefit and supported a measure of state interference in individual's domain like the state regulation, the state's imposition of limitation on hours of work to prevent exploitation of laborers, etc. Here Mill was turning to socialism with his sympathy for factory regulation (see for example Bhandari, 1978: 515). Thus we may conclude that in spite of his classic plea for individual liberty, Mill is an enigma. He is a utilitarian who undermined the creed as he once said "And I am Peter who denied his master" (Bhandari, 1978: 504). He started as a classical liberal who became socialist, a hedonist who taught self-sacrifice, and a democrat who distrusted democracy.

Conclusion

Mill is the champion of negative liberty saying that if individuals are left to their own in the areas which concern them; they will develop their individuality. In his emphasis on the discipline of individuality and the character that underlies good government, Mill's liberalism provides a strong warning and a timely corrective to the reigning forms of liberalism. Mill derives the essential importance of liberty, its right use, and its proper social regulation, from reflections on what is good for human beings and the requirements of the preservation of a society that grants liberty to all. In contrast to many contemporary forms of liberalism, Mill's liberalism puts first neither markets nor procedures nor rights. Rather, his liberalism grows out of, and constantly returns to, questions of character and the ends of human life. And in contrast to postmodern theorists who celebrate choice, diversity, and self-making in opposition to the very idea of

discipline, Mill champions diversity and choice in terms of a particular discipline, the discipline of individuality, which is a conception of human excellence that is achieved through a rigorous moral and intellectual training. Where the discipline of individuality is lacking, the capacity for reasoned choice, which in Mill's view made men and women truly human, cannot in its fullness and vitality be present. Mill's defense of liberty never drifts far from an awareness of the social and political conditions that make liberty possible and rarely loses sight of the ends for which liberty is rightly used.

But in later days he became a qualified collectivist and supported a measure of state interference in an individual's domain. Here Mill was turning to socialism. Thus we may conclude that despite his classic plea for individual liberty, Mill is an enigma. He is a utilitarian who undermined the creed, started as a classical liberal who became socialist, a hedonist who taught self-sacrifice, and a democrat who distrusted democracy.

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Pakistan's Untapped Blue Economy Potential

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Abstract

Oceans, no doubt have a great significance in human history. In the early ages, human connectivity across unattached landmass was only possible via oceans. In the era of globalization, the importance of oceans has further increased. The blue economy is an emerging concept. In a short time, it has accomplished great success. The blue economy is an ocean-oriented sustainable use of ocean resources for economic growth - improving livelihood and creating job opportunities. The blue economy includes many activities including fisheries, maritime transport, and tourism. Oceans contribute nearly US$1.5 trillion annually to the world's economy. The world's approximately 90% trade takes place via oceans and 350 million jobs across the world are linked to fisheries. It is prognosticated that by 2025, the world's 34% of crude oil production will come from oceans. Pakistan has a massive potential of the blue economy, having a coastal area of 1,050km Makran coastal belt with Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and continental shelf. Under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the blue economy of Pakistan is expected to be flourishing. Pakistan needs to diversify and concentrate on the blue economy to create job opportunities in fisheries, aquaculture, shipping, tourism, and energy production. Pakistan on account of its coastal areas has massive potential to discover the blue economy by promoting renewable energy, maritime transport, and tourism. Pakistan has to learn lessons from the countries that have made headway in the blue economy.

Keywords: Blue Economy, Ocean, Marine fisheries, Coastline, Mangrove Forests

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Introduction

Oceans have monumental importance in human history. Through oceans, great civilizations traveled from one part to another. Oceans cover approximately 72% of the surface of the planet and nearly 40% of the world's population inhabits within 100 km of coastal areas.[4] The world's most big cities are located adjacent to coastal areas. Kenya in 2018, in this regard, held the "Sustainable Blue Economy Conference", where opportunities and challenges, and benefits of the blue economy were discussed compressively and highlighted.[5] Presumably, without oceans, human beings cannot take a breath, and the ocean is responsible for producing oxygen. Oceans provide 15% of the proteins required by humans.[6] They slow down climate change, absorbing 30% of carbon dioxide emissions. Most considerably, 90% of international trade takes place via oceans.[7] In the prevailing globalized world, the importance of oceans will further increase by leaps and bounds.

Currently, oceans provide hundreds of millions of jobs in shipping, tourism, fisheries, aquaculture, and energy production. They also provide 30% of the world's gas and oil resources and half of the world's harvested seafood is provided by small-scale fishing. Marine fisheries are traditionally located near the coast as the coastal area water is more useful than the open ocean. Intriguingly, the world's 10% of people depend on marine fisheries for their basic nutrition.[8] For the poor segments of society, marine fisheries are the best primary source of nutrition. Humanity has benefited massively from oceans in the productions of different medicines. It is in man's nature to go for recreational services; the ocean, thus, is the best source of entertainment and enjoyment. Without oceans, there would not have been air and without air, humanity could not exist. Life without oceans is simply out of the question.[9]

What is the Blue Economy?

The origin of the "blue economy" is an innovative phenomenon that came into being in 2012 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, at the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development. The Economist, the Intelligence Unit of 2015 in its report defined the blue economy as: "A sustainable

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[5] The Blue Economy: Prosperous, Inclusive, Sustainable.
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[6] Human Population Growth And Oceans.
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[8] Oceans Crucial For Our Climate, Food and Nutrition.
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https://studentclimates.wordpress.com/2017/06/08/oceans-significance-challenges-opportunities/ (Accessed on April 20, 2019)

ocean economy (that) emerges when economic activity is in balance with the long-term capacity of ocean ecosystems to support this activity and remain resilient and healthy"[10]The Rio+20 Green Economy Initiative, the blue economy further highlighted the blue economy and said the blue economy needs to improve the wellbeing of the people, bringing social equality and reducing ecological scarcities, environmental risks and endorsing low carbon.[11]

The blue economy is thoroughly dependent on oceans. States by realizing the potential of the blue economy are now interested in investing in it and diversifying their economies to be more competitive in this era of globalization.[12]

Major Beneficiaries of Blue Economy:

1:   China's Blue economy

China's emergence as an economic giant has become a buzzard, its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) project has dazzled the world. China leaves no stone unturned to speed up its blue economy via BRI. Director-General of National Marine Data and Information Service (NMDIS), Guangshun says that Beijing has given top priority to the blue economy in BRI and further articulates that "China advocates building a blue partnership. The Chinese government has put forward the initiative of 'building blue partnership' and has carried out a series of work to promote the building of blue partnership."[13]

Guangshun says China's blue economy comprised of shipping and fisheries has been transformed magnificently and has given an important lesson to the world to learn from China's blue economy. China's growing development in marine-based industries and vibrant aquaculture are some examples of China's commitments to bolstering its blue economy. Guangshun says that China is committed to developing international cooperation in marine economic fields and has encouraged the Chinese coastal cities to play their massive role in their local chrematistics and strengthen cooperation with the countries along the Marine Silk Road by facilitating the implantation of relevant projects.[14]

China has approximately 9,000 miles of coastline; its blue economy interest is generated in the 11th Five-Year plan. Beijing's strategic economic development plan, covering the years 2006 to 2010 including the blue economy saw impressive outcomes and created 33 million jobs by the end of 2010. Meanwhile, 12th Five-Year Plan, spanning the years 2011-16, the Chinese supreme

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[14] Ibid.

executive body, the state council showcased China's blue economy target "including total output value growth of 8% per year, value-added growth of 9% annually, and a goal for the Blue Economy to make up 10% of total national gross domestic product, or GDP, by2015".[15]

2:   The US Blue Economy

The United States (US) policymakers are keen to pursue a blue economy as the US is encompassed by the oceans and its economy relies on oceans including great lakes and coastal areas. The US blue economy consists of six job sectors depending on natural resources i.e. marine transportation, marine construction, ship and boat building, tourism, recreation, and offshore mineral extraction. In 2014, the aforementioned sectors generated 75,000 new jobs.[16]A National Ocean Economics Program study of 2014 says that the US ocean economy in 2010 was comprised of 2.7 million jobs and contributed approximately $258 billion to the GDP of the United States. Above all, in 2012 coastal areas of the US created 48.8 million jobs and contributed $6.6 trillion to the US GDP. [17]One can imagine that the US coastal states consisting of 10%of land areas are home to 40%of the US population mostly rely on the blue economy. People are keen to inhabit coastal areas to obtain maximum benefits from the blue economy. [18]

The US blue economy has expedited immensely in the last couple of years. A recent economic report by National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) shows the gross domestic product (GDP) from the ocean economy grew 5.7% between 2014 and 2015, more than twice as fast as the U.S. economy as a whole, which grew by2.7%.[19] Tourism recreation sectors have also generated 2.3 million jobs added$116 billion to the US GDP.[20]

3:   Southeast Asia States' Blue Economy

South Asian countries have a coastline of 173,000 km, economically and ecologically rich oceans claim 35% of mangroves and at least 18% of seagrass meadows, and nearly 30% of the world's coral reefs.[21]Most of the South Asian states solely depend on the blue economy, Blue economy contributes to the GDP of Indonesia and Vietnam 15% and 22%respectively. Thailand and Vietnam two of the region's developing countries are the top three seafood exporters in the region. The south-East Asian States have the world's sixth top busiest container ports.[22]The South China

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[15]Developing a Blue Economy in China and the United States,https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/ChinaBlueEcon-report-final.pdf, (Accessed on May 1, 2019)

[16]Our Blue Economy, https://oceanservice.noaa.gov/aa-updates/ocean-economy-113017.html, (Accessed on May 2, 2019)

[17] Judy Kildow and others, "State of the U.S. Ocean and Coastal Economies 2014" (Monterey, CA: National Ocean Economics Program, 2014), p. 8, available at http://cbe.miis.edu/noep_publications/1/

[18] Ibid.

[19]NOAA report: U.S. Ocean Economic Sectors Growing Twice as Fast as Overall Economy, https://oceanservice.noaa.gov/news/may18/ocean-economy-report.html (Accessed on May 2, 2020)

[20] Ibid.

[21] ASEAN-Indian Workshop on Blue Economy: From Concepts to Actions. https://www.oceangov.eu/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Annex-B-Concept-note-ASEAN-India-Workshop-on-Blue-Economy.pdf (Accessed June 7, 2020)

[22] Blue Economy in Southeast Asia: Oceans As The New Frontier Of Economic Development.

Sea is blessed with natural resources having petroleum deposits, and most of the Southeast Asian States are situated on Sunda Shelf - a huge continental shelf known as rich subsea hydrocarbon deposits.[23]The Governments of Southeast Asian States, thus, are trying to harness their economies by exploring the blue economy. Indonesia has developed gas resources in Natuna Islands and wave energy in Yogyakarta and initiated tide energy in East Lombok. The Philippines, on the other hand, 2018 opened the first ocean energy plant 2018.[24]

Southeast Asian states' reliance on coastal areas made them discover tapped and untapped natural resources of oceans to take maximum advantage of the blue economy and properly utilize for the well-being of the people. Therefore, "the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum has listed blue economy projects as "Rank 1 APEC-funded Projects", led by the APEC Oceans and Fisheries Group". In 2015 APEC high-level policy meeting prioritized the blue economy and called for greater cooperation among the members' economies to strengthen the blue economy to "unlock the potential of blue economy and achieve sustainable, inclusive growth in the region".[25]

4:   Bangladesh's Blue Economy

Bangladesh has huge coastal areas and marine resources; by virtue of its geographical location, it has fertile and productive coastal areas of the world. Bangladesh is home to vast water areas with biological diversity, mangrove forests supporting a high number of fisheries. Bangladesh made a delta plain in the Bay of Bengal and the Himalayan range in the North. Construction of delta was attributed to the creation of habitats and human habitation embarking on the path to social-economic structures, development priorities. Bangladesh has a 710 km long coastline extending from St. Martin's Island to the west coast of Satkhira. These areas are having ecological and economic importance and potential. The human flow has seen an escalation in the southern part of Bangladesh amid the emergence of the blue economy; the region has seen job opportunities and development in other social activities.[26]

Bangladesh has exploited a large number of important fisheries having high export values. Fisheries markets in Bangladesh have improved the living standards of the people and making headway by leaps and bounds. Currently, shrimp aquaculture is massively traded. Meanwhile, aquaculture has become one of the fastest-growing foods in the world providing approximately 47% of the fish for human consumption and Bangladesh has aquaculture potential and exploiting it accordingly. Tourism has become a major global industry; tourists are fascinated by visiting coastal areas. The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) report says one of

https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09733159.2016.1244361?scroll=top&needAccess=true&
(Accessed June 6, 2020)

[23] "Blue Economy for Business in East Asia", 39

[24]Blue Economy for Business in East Asia", 43.

[25]The blue economy in Southeast Asia: Oceans as the new frontier of economic development,file:///C:/Users/Mohammad%20Hussain/Downloads/Blue%20economy%20in%20Southeast%20Asia%20Oceans%20as%20the%20new%20frontier%20of%20economic%20development.pdf , Accessed on May 3, 2019).

[26]The Prospects of Blue Economy to Promote Bangladesh into a Middle-Income Country, https://www.scirp.org/journal/PaperInformation.aspx?PaperID=84707 (Accessed on May 3, 2019)

every two tourists desires to visit the seaside. Bangladesh, therefore, leaves no stone unturned to get maximum advantage from the tourist sector.[27]

Blue economy contributes $6 billion annually to Bangladesh's economy and has the potential to add more income, said Jacqueline Alder, fish code manager of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). He further says in Bangladesh, "There are a lot of opportunities in the area of the blue economy, especially in post-harvest processing,"[28] Meanwhile, Mr. Khurshid Alam, secretary to the maritime affairs unit of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bangladesh says that blue economy is offering mineral resources, opportunities in fisheries, shipping, and energy.[29]

5: Sri Lanka's Blue Economy

Sri Lanka, an island strategically positioned in the Indian Ocean has major trade routes engulfed by an important sea route which is considered seven times larger than its land area. Sri Lanka, therefore, has an immense potential of the blue economy having its 90% land covered by 103 river basins. Its 25% population inhabits within the coastal areas of the country. Fish is the main source of protein in the country amounting to 70% of total animal protein. [30]

Sri Lanka has many advantages as far as its blue economy is concerned. Having a distinctive geographical location, high access to ocean resources, adjacent to major sea lanes, being a diverse range of coastal and marine ecosystems, blessed with high potential of tourism and recreation. The Sri Lankan government has taken some pragmatic steps for the promotion of the blue economy and initiated the Sri Lanka NEXT programme in October 2016. The purpose of the aforementioned initiative was to make Sri Lanka the hub of maritime in the region getting the benefit of the central geographical position of the country and its proximity to the sea lanes.[31] Its government initiated new tourism development attributed to bolster the blue economy. The Sri Lankan state minister Wedaarachchi says that blue economy is an emerging concept "introduced to the fisheries sector, the tourism industry affiliated with the fisheries sector has planned to broaden the tourism and earn foreign exchange for the country".[32]

Pakistan's potential of the Blue Economy

It is not an exaggeration to say that Pakistan has immense potential for the blue economy. Blessed with a coastal area of 1,050 km including the continental shelf and Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). The mentioned coastal areas provide a monolithic opportunity to Pakistan to exploit ocean-

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Blue economy worth $6.2bn, https://www.thedailystar.net/business/news/blue-economy-worth-62bn-1704688 (Accessed on May 4, 2019)

[29] Ibid.

[30] the strategic importance of BlueEconomyto SriLankaandChallenges, http://ir.kdu.ac.lk/bitstream/handle/345/1711/004.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y (Accessed on May 4, 2019)

[31] Sri Lanka's future towards a Blue Economy, http://www.island.lk/index.php?page_cat=article-details&page=article-details&code_title=166534 (Accessed on May 4, 2019)

[32] Blue Economy maritime tourism plan for Weligama proposed, http://www.colombopage.com/archive_19A/Feb01_1549041888CH.php (Accessed on May 6, 2019)

based resources resulting in creating economic opportunities. Under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), the blue economy is believed to be flourishing as China desires to reach the Gwadar. Apart from Gwadar, Pakistan can expedite the blue economy by promoting tourism in the Markan Coastal areas, promoting fisheries in the region, and tapping untapped minerals of the ocean. Post- CPEC blue economy was not focused on by Pakistan's policymakers. Under CPEC, Pakistan has realized and has been learning from the other states to take maximum advantage of the blue economy. The blue economy will also diversify Pakistan's economy creating economic job opportunities in shipping, tourism, fisheries, aquaculture, and energy production.[33]

1. Fisheries and Blue Economy

Pakistan's coastal areas are rich in the production of fisheries; annually nearly 600,000 metric tons of fish have yielded the country. Baluchistan's coastal areas are well-known for lobster, shrimp, and cuttlefish. Most of the tourists and travelers use nets to catch fish in the sea. They succeed in catching fish merely 10% of the time and 90% fish are uncaught and go back into the ocean. In 2016, the production in coastal areas was very high at 611,247 metric tons annually and it became very low from 2009 to 2015, remained the same at 584461 metric tons. Pakistan's fisheries contribution to GDP is not as high as other Asian countries contributing only 1% whilst employment was at the top in 1997 with 416,405. Pakistan's 15,000 families depend on 12,000 fish processing units/farms for their bread and butter. The fisheries industry contributes 1% to the GDP of Pakistan.[34]

Pakistan should prioritize fisheries production. It is a matter of grave concern that fisheries production is dwindling slowly and gradually. However, a new term has been proposed called "Blue Revolution" to enhance fisheries production. "The time is right for Pakistan to launch the revolution" suggests the World Bank, stating that such "blue growth" prioritizes the sustainable management of natural aquatic resources in the delivery of economic and social benefits".[35] Blue revolution helping workers in aquaculture, fisheries along with seafood and also attributed to managing resources for the future generation.

Thus, the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) has expressed satisfaction and said that in the coastal areas of Sindh and Balochistan, marine and fishing have tremendous economic potential and can boost up the blue economy of the country in no time. The World Bank report "Revitalizing Pakistan's Fisheries" says that the US, Japan, and the European Union are the world's biggest export markets for seafood. However, the aforementioned market accounts for less than 3% of Pakistan's fisheries export earnings which are nearly $9.3m annually.[36]Pakistan's

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[33]Is the Blue Economy model feasible in Pakistan? https://dailytimes.com.pk/223783/is-the-blue-economy-model-feasible-in-pakistan/, (Accessed on May 8, 2019)
[34]Water as Blue Economy for Sustainable Growth in Pakistan,
https://www.lifescienceglobal.com/pms/index.php/jbas/article/download/4663/2642(Accessed on May 9, 2020)
[35]'Blue Revolution' to enhance fisheries production, dawn newspaper
[36]Patil, Pawan G.; Kaczan, David James; Roberts, Julian Peter; Jabeen, Rahat; Roberts, Bradford L.; Barbosa, Jorge Guillermo; Zuberi, Saima. 2018. *Revitalizing Pakistan's Fisheries: Options for Sustainable Development (English).* Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group, page 47.

fisheries can contribute a lot and could capture a bigger percentage of these markets.[37]

2. Marine resources in Blue Economy

Marine resources have enormous potential to contribute to national economic growth. Coastal areas of Pakistan are a great asset in the production of marine resources that required serious efforts to bolster the blue economy of the country. Coastal areas of Balochistan and Sindh are marine zones of Pakistan extending to 350 nautical miles. There are offshore territorial waters up to 12 nautical miles. An area beyond 200 nautical miles is considered an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) covering an area of 240,000 km of the Arabian Sea.[38] Marine resources are an integral part of Pakistan's blue economy and also act as Pakistan's strategic way. Marine fish stocks and Mangroves are essential resources of the blue economy in coastal areas. Coastal areas of Pakistan also possess small patches of coral reef, dolphins, turtles a rich bird fauna, and migratory species. Mangroves and small-scale fishing is crucial subsistence activity for the people of Balochistan and Sindh.[39]

Pakistan's mangroves area is believed to be the sixth-largest in the world. In coastal areas of Sindh, mangroves contribute US$ 4 billion to export earnings. Each family near a coastal area catches 173 kg of mangrove wood per month, giving total annual exploitation of 18,000 tons annually.[40] "The annual value of about $20 million and the domestic value of $70 million generate from mangrove depend on fish species and shrimp industry".[41]

3. Export by Sea and Blue Economy

Trade by sea route in Pakistan contributes 6.5 billion dollars to economic growth. Pakistan National Shipping Corporation has handled nearly 99% import of gasoline products. The United Nations Commission on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)report says that Pakistan could accelerate national carriers to 40%of total maritime trade. In 2002, it was estimated that the annual maritime bill for foreign shipping organizations was nearly $1.3 billion.[42]Under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), Gwadar port could become a flagship for the export of the sea and will contribute immensely to the GDP of the country. Pakistan's more than 86% of exports occur via sea.[43]CPEC will enhance the connectivity of the railway and road to the other remote areas of Pakistan to Karachi and Gwadar. Gwadar port's connectivity will not only increase the competitiveness of existing firms but will also incentivize the exports. The CPEC connectivity will

http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/122481529566117025/pdf/Revitalizing-Pakistan-s-Fisheries-Options-for-Sustainable-Development.pdf

[37]Water as Blue Economy for Sustainable Growth in Pakistan, https://www.lifescienceglobal.com/pms/index.php/jbas/article/download/4663/2642 (Accessed on May 9, 2020)

[38] MFF Pakistan (2016). A Handbook on Pakistan's Coastal and Marine Resources. MFF Pakistan, Pakistan. Page 5 https://www.iucn.org/sites/dev/files/pk_coastal_resources_handbook.pdf

[39] Pakistan coastal and Marine Resources, Ministry of Climate change Government of Pakistan

[40]Water as Blue Economy for Sustainable Growth in Pakistan, https://www.lifescienceglobal.com/pms/index.php/jbas/article/download/4663/2642 (Accessed on May 17, 2020)

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43]CPEC: trade prospects, Dawn newspaper

shrink the long-distance of the country connecting the northern area full of vegetables and fruits such as cherries, apples, apricots. Export of Pakistani indigenous production will also increase in the future. "A large fraction of Pakistan's trade with China — $16bn — occurs through the sea route: 97% through the sea, 2% by air and 1% by land".[44]

Most considerably, Gwadar port is the convergent point of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and will connect 3 billion people of the world providing direct access to Central Asia and Europe. The 21st century belongs to Asia. China is emerging as one of the largest trading countries. Pakistan's trade with China is improving by leaps and bounds. Last year's bilateral trade between China and Pakistan reached up to $19 billion. It can be ascertained that China's interest was developed in Pakistan due to blue water and Gwadar port. There would not have been the existence of CPEC, had there been no ocean and Gwadar port in Pakistan. Predictably, Pakistan can get more benefits from the blue economy under CPEC.[45]

4. Off Shore Drilling and Blue Economy

Oceans are home to innumerable natural resources and play the role of engine for the global economy. Pakistan, in this regard, by exploiting the ocean's natural resources has taken pragmatic steps to capitalize on the blue economy. Thus, offshore drilling proximity to Karachi Indus G-Block (Kekra-1) has been completed. The drilling has been done via a joint venture (JV) of four companies. According to Petroleum Division Pakistan, the work at JV has accomplished the offshore drilling on Kekra-1 well some 280 kilometers away from Karachi, the target of the depth of 5,470 meters has been achieved at the cost of Rs14 billion. Meanwhile, the drill stem test (DST) was conducted to determine the actual reserves of oil and gas. The report of the Petroleum Division of Pakistan further said that "DST would be completed in the next three days and a report regarding the total quantity of oil and gas reserves would be prepared within a week."[46]

Under CPEC Pakistan has been perceived by the world community as a commercial hub. Countries across the world are now interested in Foreign Direct Investment in Pakistan (FDI). Saudi Arabia close ally of Pakistan in international politics has expressed its desire to invest in Pakistan. Saudi Arabia will set up a $10 billion oil refinery port in Gwadar. Saudi Energy Minister Khalid al-Falih says: "Saudi Arabia wants to make Pakistan's economic development stable through establishing an oil refinery and partnership with Pakistan in the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor,".[47]Once the work of the refinery is completed, it would produce 300,000 barrels per day creating job opportunities for marginalized and deprived people of Balochistan. According to Petroleum Minister Ghulam Sarwar Khan, Saudi Arabia intended to establish reservoirs for liquefied natural gas in Pakistan. He further says that "once established, the project will help the South Asian nation

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[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid

[46]Offshore drilling near Karachi coast completed,https://profit.pakistantoday.com.pk/2019/05/14/offshore-drilling-near-karachi-coast-completed/, (Accessed on May 17, 2020)

[47]Saudi Arabia To Build $10 Billion Oil Refinery In Pakistan's Gwadar, https://www.rferl.org/a/saudi-arabia-to-build-10-billion-oil-refinery-in-pakistan-s-gwadar/29706488.html (Accessed on May 18, 2020)

cut its annual crude oil imports by up to $3 billion annually, in addition to creating thousands of job opportunities in the impoverished western province".[48]

At the current juncture, Pakistan has only five oil refineries that can merely satisfy the country's annual demand. The oil refinery would be the catapult for Pakistan's crude oil. Sarwar Khan further said that "Pakistani-Arab Refinery Co. (PARCO) was also setting up an oil refinery at Khalifa Point, near the city of Hub in Balochistan".[49]

5. Tourism in Gwadar and Blue Economy

Whenever the name of Gwadar port comes, it evokes in our minds Gwadar port as one of the deepest seaports of the world, a flagship of CPEC and convergent point of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). But most of us are still oblivious of Gwadar's untapped stunning beaches that can become a great asset for Pakistan's blue economy. Coastal areas of Balochistan and Gwadar port are home to one of the stunning and most beautiful sceneries of the world providing clear and visible views of the Arabian sea. Hammerhead in Gwadar mass of rock made by mud volcano that erupted in the past shows thrilling seen for the tourists. Hammerhead in its South provides a thrilling view of the Arabian Sea and in its North; it gives a spectacular view of the Gwadar port. Under CPEC, Pakistan needs to bolster its blue economy and should discover such untapped views of the Gwadar for foreign tourists.[50]

On the other hand, Ormara situated 240 km away from Karachi is in the middle of Karachi and Gwadar, having outstanding beaches for tourists and its water remains untouched. Ormara was supposed to be a pit stop for Alexander the Great and one of his generals perished here. Ormara has a great history as well as stunning beaches that ought to be exploited for the blue economy. Astola Island situated in the Pasni district of Gwadar is known as the island of the seven hills that engrosses the tourists. Astola Island gives amazing views of the Arabian sea. Pakistan, thus, has great opportunities to discover unforeseen places to strengthen its blue economy. [51]

6. Tidal Energy for Blue economy

Balochistan due to its coastal areas is the best place for renewable energy and blue economy of the country that needs to be exploited for sustainable deployment of Pakistan. Balochistan's huge renewable energy resources such as wind power turbines, micro-hydel power planets biogas plants, tidal energy solar and thermal devices could be useful in the future. Balochistan's coastal area of 770-KM along the Arabian Sea is 70% of Pakistan; the total coastal area needs a great deal of consideration for the blue economy. Coastal areas of Balochistan like Pasni, Makran, and Gwadar provide an immense condition for both climate installation and tidal energy generators.

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[48]The Saudi oil refinery in Gwadar to help Islamabad save $3 billion a year, http://www.arabnews.com/node/1453211/business-economy, (Accessed on May 17, 2019)
[49] Ibid.
[50]9 Places To Visit In Gwadar, https://travel.jumia.com/blog/pk/9-places-visit-gwadar-2861, (Accessed on May 19, 2019)
[51] Ibid.

Balochistan has sufficient wind speed to generate electricity and most of its wind energy is ocean-oriented.[52]

National Institute of Oceanography (NIO) in 1988 conducted a study showing that 17 creeks on the coastal belt of Pakistan had the potential to generate tidal energy enough to meet the requirements of coastal areas at a very cheap rate.[53]On the other hand, Pakistan Meteorological Department conducted a wind power potential survey in the coastal areas of Pakistan said that apart from Balochistan, the province of Sindh had massive potential for wind energy. Sindh's total area for the wind farm is 9749 km, having a wind power potential of 18 MW wind form in approximately 1 km area. [54]

Conclusion

It is a fact that geography has been a monolithic blessing for Pakistan, bestowed upon the world's highest mountains and the deepest seaport of the world. On account of its geography regional and global powers do not want to alienate Pakistan. Pakistan's proximity to the Indian Ocean enhances its credentials for China. According to Robert Kaplan, World War 1 and World War 2 were Atlantic and Pacific Ocean oriented. But now the 21st century would be Indian ocean-oriented, whoever dominates the Indian ocean will dominate the world. Consequently, China has initiated the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and CPEC is the flagship project of (BRI). Pakistan is a crucial player in the domination of China in the Indian Ocean. China's presence in Gwadar port will be useful for Pakistan in two ways. Firstly, Pakistan's naval base will be buttressed in presence of China. Secondly, CPEC is expected to embark on the path for the consolidation of Pakistan's blue economy.

Pakistan, therefore, should capitalize on the opportunity of the blue economy presented in the shape of CPEC. As mentioned earlier that Pakistan has innumerable opportunities in bolstering the blue economy having a coastal area of 1,050 kilometers. The blue economy will also diversify Pakistan's economy creating economic job opportunities in shipping, tourism, fisheries, aquaculture, and energy production.

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[52]Balochistan has the best resource for exploiting the tidal energy, http://www.pakistaneconomist.com/2017/07/24/balochistan-has-the-best-resource-for-exploiting-the-tidal-energy/, (Accessed on May 17, 2019)

[53]Future in tidal power plants in coastal areashttp://www.pakistaneconomist.com/2018/07/30/future-in-tidal-power-plants-in-coastal-areas/, (Accessed on May 20, 2019)

[54] Why not wind energy,http://www.pmd.gov.pk/wind/Wind_Project_files/Page767.html, (Accessed on May 20, 2019)