

**BLUE DIPLOMACY AS FOREIGN POLICY INSTRUMENT:
CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS FOR PAKISTAN (2002-2020)**

By

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Dedication

With utmost devotions, I dedicated my whole work to my beloved and affectionate to my family and Supervisor Dr. Maliha Zeba Khan .

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to Allah Almighty who gave me wisdom, knowledge, potential and courage to seek and search the facts existing in our surroundings and bestowed me Determination to go through the complicated and obscure facts hidden in our world; gave me the sense of judgment to finalize it with my precise and justified find-outs for the complicated environment of international politics in my research work.

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List of Abbreviation

ASBM	Anti-Ship Ballistic Missile
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nation
BAP	Biodiversity Action Plan
BSEAS	Bahria School of Engineering & Applied Science
C&IT	Communication & Information Technology
CAREC	Central Asian Regional Cooperation
CAREC	Central Asian Regional cooperation
CARs	Central Asian Republics
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CMF	Combined Maritime Force
COES	Center of Excellence
COPHC	China Overseas Port Holding Company Limited
CPEC	China Pakistan Economic Corridor
C-SAIL	China- South Asian Investment Limited
CYSOC	Cyber Security Operation Center

ECO	Economic Cooperation Organization
ECOTA	Economic Cooperation Organization Trade Agreement
EEU	Eurasian Economic Union
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zones
EIA	Environment Impact Assessment
EPA	Environment Protection Act
ESMF	Environmental & Social Management Framework
FDC	Fisheries Development Commissioner.
GEP	Greater Eurasian Partnership
IMO	International Maritime Organization
INSY	Istanbul Naval Shipyard
IOMAC	Indian Ocean Marine Cooperation
IPP	Independent Power Producer
ITI	Islamabad-Tehran-Istanbul rail and road corridor
KPCL	Karot Power Company Limited
KPT	Karachi Port Trust
KS&EW	Karachi Shipyard & Engineering Works

LNG	Liquefied Natural Gas
LPG	Liquefied Petroleum Gas
LRMPA	Long Range Maritime Patrol Aircraft
MDP	Maritime Doctrine of Pakistan
MEA	Multilateral Environment Agreement
MET	Maritime Educational Training
MINFAL	Ministry of Food, Agricultural and Livestock
MOE	Ministry of Environment
MTC	Maritime Training Center Technology
NBSAP	National Biodiversity Strategy & Action Plan
NIO	National Institute of Oceanography
OBOR	One Belt One Road
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation Development
PIC	Prior Informed Consent
PMTSP	Pakistan Maritime Science & Technology Program
PNF	Pakistan Naval Force
POPs	Persistent Organic pollutants

QTTA	Quadrilateral Traffic and Transit Agreement
RD&D	Research Design & Development
RMSP	Regional Maritime Security Petrol
RO-RO	Roll on- Roll off
RTTPs	Response, Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures
SAARC	South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation
SACEP	South Asian Seas Program
SAICM	Strategic Approach to International Convention Management
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SEDPL	Sachal Energy Development Pvt. Limited.
SLOC	Sea lines of Communication
SOF	Special Operation Force
SREB	Silk Road Economic Belt
SUPRACO	Space & Upper Atmosphere Cooperation
TAPI	Turkmenistan Afghanistan Pakistan India Gas pipeline
TEU	Twenty feet Equivalent Unit
TF	Task Force

UAV	Unnamed Aerial Vehicle
UNCLOS	United Nation Convention on Law of the Sea
UNCTAD	United Nation Conference on Trade & Development
USGS	United States Geological Survey
VBSS	Visit, Board, Search & Seizure

Abstract

Human civilizational development depends on the ocean for building its interdependency, technological advancement through its sustainable maritime culture. Development of human societies not only calculated by fulfillment of necessities but reflected by the volume of its trade and sustainable development parameters. Oceans plays a crucial role in inter-continental alliances through its seaborne trade and marine resources by using blue diplomacy as its main component. Maritime resources and industries can be capitalized only through expansion of effective foreign policy and economic convergence through conduct of diplomacy. There is diverse reason behind this spatial transmission like technological advancement, population increase, and non-traditional security paradigm along with political instability with deep desire for its sphere of influence by sovereign actors. In this rift, there is need to initiate measure of establishing basis of new diplomacy of which blue diplomacy has emerged. Blue diplomacy is set all diplomacy measures available and conducted through ocean. Furthermore, maritime, or naval diplomacy is a blue diplomacy tool and naval diplomacy is a subdivision of general diplomacy and a means of communication by maritime state and non-state actors, inquest of protecting state's interest. In case of Pakistan, sea blindness is one of the reason behind the weak maritime structure, followed by many factors as maritime security which is directly proportional to national security, human security, marine environmental security and wellbeing of society, these reasons have been given less concern in Pakistan which further creates management crisis. Apart from structural challenges, Pakistan has especially remained laid in establishing its domestic legislation, as when international agreements are not aligned with a nation's domestic situation, law implementation of agreements becomes the biggest challenge to a nation's standing. This could lead to direct emergence of piracy, human trafficking, gunrunning, smuggling and environmental degradation. This thesis covers the potential of Pakistan maritime sector as well highlight how it can be capitalized by incorporating blue diplomacy to sustain the political, economic, social sector as well as to develop maritime culture.

Keywords. Blue diplomacy, , Foreign policy, blue economy , Pakistan

Introduction

Since the genesis of human civilization, oceans have been a medium of connectivity, exchange of knowledge, technologies, languages, religions, cultures and ideas which have profound impact on the spread of humanity in the form of civilizations. Human dependence on seas and oceans is not only limited to food and nutrition but all types of communications, connectivity, trade and economy and even illegal activities are part of maritime businesses. Ocean supremacy like land supremacy has always contributed in expanding the European empires, particularly with reference to Asia and Africa, where native economic and political control succeeded. The extensive scholarship and trainings of the Europeans in learning oceanic areas contributed in building land based empires in Asia and Africa. As well, international relations exercised by Europeans in seas contributed in developing an emergent global order.¹

Besides the traditional exploitation of living resources like fishing, or marine aquaculture, and the processing sector; the ocean ecosystems provide human beings considerable economic, environmental services and significant natural capital that serve as highways for seaborne international trade. According to a study conducted by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development in 2016, the projected value of the global ocean economy was US \$1.5 trillion per annum, contributing approximately 2–3 per cent to the world's gross domestic product (GDP).² United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) reported in 2018, the value of exports related to ocean-based industries was US \$2.5 trillion. According to this report, the main ocean-based industries were coastal and marine tourism with estimated worth of (\$1.1 trillion), followed by marine high technology and other manufactures (\$595 billion) and maritime transport services (\$399 billion).³ By 2025, it is expected that around thirty five percent of the total crude oil production in the world would come from offshore fields. Currently, World Bank

¹ Elizabeth Mancke, "Early Modern Expansion and the Politicization of Oceanic Space," *Geographical Review* 89, no. 2 (April 1999): 225, <https://doi.org/10.2307/216088>.

² Julian Roberts and Ahmed Ali, "The Blue Economy and Small States" Commonwealth Blue Economy Series, No. 1 (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2016), 1.

³ "Ocean Economy Offers a \$2.5 Trillion Export Opportunity," UNCTAD Report, October 26, 2021, accessed on December 12, 2021, <https://unctad.org/news/ocean-economy-offers-25-trillion-export-opportunity-unctad-report>.

estimates that eighty percent of the global trade is carried via sea routes.⁴ Aquaculture is one of the fastest growing food sector and around 350 million jobs world-wide are related to fisheries.⁵ However, all maritime resources and industries can be utilized only through extending effective foreign policies and connecting economies through diplomacy.

Foreign policy is a set of political goals that seeks to plan how a particular state will engage with other countries of the world. Foreign policies are mostly intended and aimed to protect and safeguards a country's national interests, ideological goals, national security, and economic prosperity. These objectives can be achieved through diplomatic cooperation with other nations, or through aggression, exploitation and war. Crafting and implementing of foreign policy is influenced by domestic situations and policies, the international environment, or plans to construct specific geopolitical designs. Foreign policy refers how a state, manages relations with other states, it is the process of setting goals and objectives to protect national interest while interacting with other states. Force and threats of force are an important instrument of diplomacy and have a vital role in foreign policy as part of the traditional wisdom of statecraft.⁶ Fundamentally, there are three major instruments of foreign policy that includes, diplomacy, foreign aid, and military force. According to 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, the common understanding of diplomacy is one of formal state-to-state communication and engagement.

Diplomacy is the primary political instrument used by states in exercising foreign policy and the principal substitute to the use of force. Diplomacy is all-inclusive national power that is applied to the peaceful adjustment of differences between states. It is a technique of intimidation, persuasion, adjustment and reaching agreement through direct engagement with relevant actors. It involves the use of thoughtfulness, common sense and

⁴ Jennifer Brown, Dominik Englert, and Jan Hoffmann, "International Transport Costs: Why and How to Measure Them?," [blogs.worldbank.org](https://blogs.worldbank.org/transport/international-transport-costs-why-and-how-measure-them), January 20, 2021, accessed on February 19, 2021, <https://blogs.worldbank.org/transport/international-transport-costs-why-and-how-measure-them>.

⁵ Dost Muhammad, Muhammad Abbas Brohi, and Najeeb Ullah. 2021. "Pakistan's Untapped Blue Economy Potential". *Journal of Global Peace and Security Studies (JGPSS)* 2 (1):63-73, accessed on July 28 <https://journals.pakistanreview.com/index.php/JGPSS/article/view/75>.

⁶ Corissajoy, "Summary of 'the Role of Force in Diplomacy: A Continuing Dilemma for U.S. Foreign Policy,'" *Beyond Intractability*, October 3, 2016, accessed on September 13, 2019. <https://www.beyondintractability.org/artsum/crocker-the>.

intellect to reach agreements. Economic measures are supportive tools for diplomacy and are used to influence positions between states. Economic measures are applied as reward or punishment. Diplomacy is a powerful foreign policy instrument to achieve national interest. Diplomacy involves influencing the decisions and behavior of foreign governments and officials through dialogue, negotiation, and other nonviolent means.⁷ By the 20th century, the diplomatic practices recognized in Europe had been incorporated by other states in their foreign policies. Diplomacy was extended to summit meetings, international conferences, parliamentary diplomacy, and the international activities of supranational and subnational entities, unofficial diplomacy by nongovernmental elements, and the work of international civil servants.⁸

There are multiple dimensions, tools and types of diplomacy on land, water and space. Political diplomacy is one of the most important tools of diplomacy. The core of political diplomacy is contact of the embassy and diplomats with the host government to maintain bilateral relations.⁹ Security and defense diplomacy focuses on cooperation in areas such as military, intelligence, defense, counter-terrorism, nuclear issues, space and high-tech. Economic diplomacy includes aid, trade, investment and relations based on economics. Cultural and public diplomacy includes people to people contact, art, literature, education and cultural exchanges.¹⁰

"Blue Diplomacy" is an evolving term in the realm of international relations. It involves states' relations with each other and with non-state actors within the "Blue dimensions" depending on the seas and oceans. Though states' mutual relations involving the seas are not novel at all because the use of seas has been in practice since ages for trade and extending other kinds of relations during peacetime and wartime; but since the new millennium started, the international relations have entered into an era where states are

⁷ Paul Meerts, "Diplomatic Negotiation" (2014).

⁸ "Diplomacy," ICRP, April 10, 2017, accessed on March 7, 2020. <http://culturalrelations.org/publications/diplomacy/>

⁹ Volker Stanzel, ed., "New Realities in Foreign Affairs: Diplomacy in the 21st Century," Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), 2018, accessed on April 4, 2020. <https://www.swp-berlin.org/en/publication/new-realities-in-foreign-affairs-diplomacy-in-the-21st-century>.

¹⁰ Michael J Waller, *Strategic Influence: Public Diplomacy, Counterpropaganda, and Political Warfare* (Washington, DC: Institute of World Politics Press, 2008), 74.

focusing at their foreign policies involving the spatial dimension shift from land to the seas and oceans. There are a number of reasons behind this spatial shift like technological advancement, increasing population, socio-economic insecurity, political instability, and urge to expand control and influence, but that would cause implications too. To deal with the changing paradigms, there is a need to introduce newer and improved instruments of foreign policy for which the concept of Blue Diplomacy has emerged.

Blue diplomacy is still evolving from the negotiations of the new bilateral and multilateral investment and trade agreements that involves states from all continents: The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Agreement (TTIP), the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) or Trade in Services Agreement (TiSA). This international viewpoint reunites the largest economies of world, adding value to new subtype of diplomacy, evolving from ground to the ocean and applying new methods of achieving strategic, economic and climate sustainability.¹¹

Maritime diplomacy is a vital tool of blue diplomacy and a mean of communication and engagement for maritime state and non-state actors to protect their interests. United States as a Maritime power has used navies to influence the conduct of allies and opponents. Naval operations may be planned to support, reassure, deter, or threaten different actors. Some actors have used the term “gunboat diplomacy” as a more coercive use of navies. Other analysts have characterized the political use of naval power as “armed persuasion.”

¹² One core component of blue diplomacy is the “blue economy”. The concept is to stimulate economic growth, social inclusion, and the conservation or improvement of livelihoods while at the same time safeguarding environmental sustainability of the oceans and coastal areas. Blue economy conceptualizes oceans as development Spaces, where oceans integrate conservation, sustainable use of oil and mineral wealth, bio prospecting, sustainable energy production and marine transport.¹³ Blue economy integrates ocean values and amenities into economic modeling and decision-making processes. The Blue

¹¹ Gutu, Ioana (2016): The Transatlantic Blue Diplomacy, CES Working Papers, ISSN 2067-7693, Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași, Center for European Studies, Iasi, Vol. 8, Iss. 4, pp. 666-680

¹² Jonathan Masters, “Sea Power : The U.S. Navy and Foreign Policy,” Council on Foreign Relations, 2019, accessed on April 18, 2020 <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/sea-power-us-navy-and-foreign-policy>.

¹³ “The Blue Economy: Origin and Concept,” Commonwealth of Learning, 2016, accessed on April 4, 2020. <https://www.col.org/news/the-blue-economy-origin-and-concept/>.

Diplomacy paradigm constitutes a holistic diplomacy framework of political, naval, economic and sustainable blue economy. Blue Diplomacy addresses equity in access to share the benefits of marine resources. It offers scope for re-investment in human development and the mitigation of mounting national debt burdens.

Statement of the Problem

Pakistan is an important maritime state in the Indian Ocean region with approximately 1,000 km long coastline. The Exclusive Economic Zone of Pakistan is about 240,000 sq. km. Around 700 km or 75 per cent of its coastal line lies in the Macron coastal line in Balochistan. The rest of 25 percent of Pakistan's coastal line rests in Sindh - Karachi, Theta, and Biding Indus Delta. By Developing comprehensive national compliance mechanisms and encouraging maritime sectors through regional and international collaboration can help Pakistan in achieving significant growth.

Though wide range of diplomatic initiatives have been taken in maritime domain but Currently, strategic defense, security issues and non-traditional security threats, such as internal security, terrorism and natural disasters, dominate the discourse of Oceans in the strategic community of Pakistan. A mindful shift from security-related issues alone to examine the development aspects of the oceans through a domestic, regional, and international Blue Diplomacy needs to be formalized and executed. Furthermore, Pakistan must define and devise a comprehensive Blue Diplomacy strategy to tap its unexplored blue economy potentials that are vital for sustainable development.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are following,

- To explore the relationship between foreign policy and Blue Diplomacy and further analyze the scope and potential of Blue Diplomacy in Pakistan.
- To establish grounds for theoretical framework for blue diplomacy for effective policy decision making.
- To identify the challenges, risks and vulnerabilities of Blue Diplomacy in Pakistan.

Literature Review

Several books and research articles have been reviewed for this research. This part reviews literature related foreign policy and diplomacy; literature related to ocean economics, geopolitics and critical geopolitics are also discussed.

Leopold von Ranke highlights the significance of geography and threats both internal and external in shaping foreign policy, but later writers emphasized domestic factors. This means that foreign policy is shaped by the domestic situation of a country or through foreign policy lens the domestic politics and security situation of a country can be reflected.¹⁴

Hans Morgenthau in his article explained that foreign policy makes full use of all national power to achieve the objective of a state. All the important elements of powers are required to achieve these objectives such as geography, industry, population and national character. In this article, it is visible that internal elements are paramount in achieving these objectives. He also gave a focus to economic strengthening.¹⁵

Ralph Rayner in his article describes the role of the ocean economy and he describes that the Ocean economy is around 1 trillion dollars. The opportunities present in the Ocean space are changing and lots of new opportunities are emerging, thereby it is very important to understand the new incipient dynamics that are emerging in the blue economy and used to strengthen the national power.¹⁶

Blue economy is starting a new era of opportunities for the economy. Therefore, it is very important to understand. For example, to save ourselves from the climate the most efficient way to create electricity is through thermal energy conversion. This offers a new potential

¹⁴ Luke Brinker-Lev et al., "Global Geo-Political Crisis: Emerging Technologies a Topic Proposal for the National Federation of High Schools Topic Selection Committee," accessed February 7, 2022, <https://www.nfhs.org/media/5174326/nfhsemergtechfinal62421.pdf>.

¹⁵ Hans J. Morgenthau, "The Economics of Foreign Policy," *Challenge* 7, no. 5 (February 1959): 8–13, <https://doi.org/10.1080/05775132.1959.11468839>.

¹⁶ Ralph Rayner, Claire Jolly, and Carl Gouldman, "Ocean Observing and the Blue Economy," *Frontiers in Marine Science* 6, no. JUN (2019): 1–6, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fmars.2019.00330>.

and can change the dynamics of global energy geopolitics and transform the Blue Diplomacy.¹⁷

Alfred Thayer Mahan, a historian and American naval officer published a book in 1890, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History: 1660–1783*. This book discuss the role of sea power during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and deliberates the various factors needed to support and achieve sea power, with emphasis on having the largest and most powerful fleet.

According to Ioana GUTU, author of *The Transatlantic Blue Diplomacy*, the international diplomatic environment has attained unparalleled growth, involving one of the newly specific diplomatic types, namely economic diplomacy. Blue ocean diplomacy is one of the newly created diplomatic spheres, that acts mainly in accordance with the rules and regulations that are being applied to the transatlantic economy. This paper emphasizes that the blue ocean diplomacy is the byproduct of economic diplomacy.

Another significant term Blue economy is found in the literature profoundly. In the field of academic research, the literature about the blue economy mainly includes the following features. According to Kathijotes the aim of Blue economy model is to shift resources from scarcity to abundance, and to start tackling issues that cause environmental problems.¹⁸

The Center for the Blue economy says, "it is now a widely used term around the world with three related but distinct meanings- the overall contribution of the oceans to economies, the need to address the environmental and ecological sustainability of the oceans, and the ocean economy as a growth opportunity for both developed and developing countries."¹⁹

¹⁷ Mark J Spalding, "The New Blue Economy: The Future of Sustainability," *Journal of Ocean and Coastal Economics* 2, no. 2 (2016), <https://doi.org/10.15351/2373-8456.1052>.

¹⁸ Sanae Chiba, ed., "Successful Blue Economy Examples with an Emphasis on International Perspectives," *Frontiers in Marine Science* 6 (June 7, 2019), accessed on April 17, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fmars.2019.00261>.

¹⁹ Wikipedia Contributors, "Foreign Policy," Wikipedia (Wikimedia Foundation, April 11, 2019), accessed on May 3, 2020. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_Policy.

Robert David Kaplan in his book *The Revenge of Geography* describes how ocean and terrain features that act as natural borders have shaped the respective political and social histories. The book also focuses on how demographic shifts in countries will affect them in the future.²⁰

Ken Booth stated that humans use the seas for three purposes: the transit of goods and people; the passage of military force either for diplomacy or against targets; and the exploitation of resources. Under this approach, Booth suggested that a navy has three functions: military, diplomatic, and policing. The diplomatic role is associated with the use of force in support of a country's overall negotiating position. In that sense, the use of navies is intended to do the following: to negotiate from a position of strength; to help friendly governments facing threats; to demonstrate power as a kind of subliminal message; and to maintain a reputation in the sense of building a favorable image of the country. The military role refers to the use or threat of the use of force. In that sense, a navy must be able to undertake the conventional deterrence and defense posture in peacetime; in wartime, it should be able to exercise sea control to achieve its assigned mission. The policing role may include coastal and surveillance responsibilities (with characteristics more akin to policing than military engagement) and the formation and consolidation of the nation, such as providing humanitarian relief and aid following natural disasters. Naval forces can, and do, also provide some contribution to the development of coastal and inland regions in developing nations.

According to Erik Grove the main elements that affect the sea power of a nation are economic strength and technological capacity and socio-political culture with geographical position, dependence on maritime trade and the resources of the sea and government policy and perceptions.

What happens on the sea can be understood only in the context of its relationship with the land and the material effect such events have on populations. Acts at sea rarely have an

²⁰ Robert D Kaplan, *The Revenge of Geography: What the Map Tells Us about Coming Conflicts and the Battle against Fate* (New York: Random House, Cop, 2013).

immediate influence on a state's survival or the living conditions of the populace. They often occur far from the public eye and evoke less emotional responses.

The spectrum of activities that warships can undertake in support of diplomatic objectives is broad, and therefore it is necessary to look at these activities within sub-divided categories in order to best understand their purpose and effect. The categorization of these activities helps one to understand the specific foreign policy objectives for each maritime activity, and in doing so, illuminates how the deployment of naval forces supports broader national objectives. Christian Le Mière's stated three categories of maritime diplomatic activities, which divides diplomatic actions into the broad categories of Co-operative, Persuasive, and Coercive maritime diplomatic activities.

Collier argues from his African research that a prominent trap of the bottom billion is that they are landlocked with bad neighbors. Of course, being landlocked did not hurt Switzerland, but that is because Switzerland's neighbors are big, rich markets and Switzerland invested heavily in transport infrastructure. Landlocked countries in Africa are hemmed in by very poor, small markets, often in conflict, and very poorly invested in the infrastructure that would permit trade at lower costs. He argues the only landlocked African states that have overcome this geographic penalty have been those well-endowed with very high value natural resources and that have enjoyed good governance. But with that exception (illustrated by Botswana), Collier argues that if you are coastal, you serve the world; if you are landlocked, you serve your neighbors, and are limited by their economies.

Research Gap

Blue Diplomacy is the set of all diplomacy tools & types that are present on water. The term Blue Diplomacy is vague and still evolving with incorporation of new terminologies and theories. Although diplomacy is important tool of foreign policy yet blue diplomacy is still an unexplored avenue for academics and practitioners. Trade, Warfare and public diplomacy has been carried out through oceans for centuries but still there is a lack of literature on the topic due to overwhelming attention to traditional security and strategic

issues. Particularly research on blue diplomacy in developing countries like Pakistan is largely an ignored area, providing the researchers with ample space for further research.

Research Questions

- Why has Pakistan not been able to exploit its Blue Diplomacy to its potential, despite the fact that Pakistan has number of arrangements and agreements with other countries?
- How does the theoretical framework of critical geopolitics act as the means to achieve maritime national interest of Pakistan?
- How is the developed framework of blue diplomacy in the undertaken research relevant to maritime policy of Pakistan both at domestic and international level?

Core Argument

The oceans have voluminous significance within international relations, foreign policy and diplomacy in maritime realm demands paradigm shift in policy decision making of the states for which identification of core components of Blue Diplomacy and its effective incorporation and implementation as foreign policy is critical to achieve national interests of Pakistan.

Theoretical Framework

Several theories and paradigms can explain the geopolitical environment of Pakistan in the era of war on terror with their own assumptions. One of the most appropriate yet the most neglected theory that can explain the determinism of geopolitics and identity of Pakistan in the era of war on terror is Critical geopolitics. Critical geopolitics can also offer a framework for Pakistan to develop its Blue Diplomacy that can be incorporated into the foreign and domestic policies of Pakistan.

The core idea of critical geopolitics is, intelligentsias of statecraft create ideas about places, these ideas effect and support their political conduct and policy choices. These ideas of statecraft intellectuals influence people to construct their own ideas of places and

politics.²¹ Critical geopolitics as a field of critical human geography, studies the geographical traditions and discourses that enter the making of world politics. Critical geopolitics examine the practices by which political actors spatialize the international politics and represent the ‘world’ characterized by types of places and people.²²

Geopolitics link political power to geographic space particularly to territorial waters and land territory in connection with diplomatic history. Geopolitics is a part of the realist school and can be assumed as the portrayal of the spatial aspects of power politics, modified by technology and economics with their strategic implications.²³ Geopolitics make certain claims, there is an international order, determined by who has power and who has not. Power is rooted and embedded in the physical nature of the world itself, the power of the modern state has some relation to the geography it occupies, controls, or influences. The sources of state power, are unevenly disseminated worldwide, power is short-lived possession with no guarantee of its permanent retention, and therefore states must take steps to ensure the retention of power.²⁴ According to Kearns who is considered to be one of the most influential scholars of critical geopolitics define geopolitics as a discourse that describes, explains, and promotes particular ways of seeing how territorial powers are formed and experienced.²⁵

In 1970s critical geography developed as a criticism of positivism, which is based upon the idea that the world is in existence, independent of observers. Critical geography finds its roots in neo-Marxism and is based on the ideas of Jürgen Habermas and the Frankfurt school, who expanded the ideas of classical Marxism by exploring how freedom from inequality could result from peaceful processes rather than revolutionary action. During

²¹ Erin Hogan Fouberg, Alexander B Murphy, and Harm, *Human Geography: People, Place, and Culture* (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley, 2012), 263.

²² Klaus Dodds, Merje Kuus, and Joanne P Sharp, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Critical Geopolitics* (Farnham; Burlington (Vt.): Ashgate, Cop, 2013), 6.

²³ Naval War College (U.S.), *Naval War College Review*, *Google Books* (Naval War College, 1999), 62, accessed on December 9, 2021. <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/nwc-review/>.

²⁴ Mackubin T. Owens, “In Defense of Classical Geopolitics,” *Orbis* 59, no. 4 (2015)463–78, accessed on May 16, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2015.08.006>

²⁵ John A Agnew, Katharyne Mitchell, and Gerard Toal, *A Companion to Political Geography* (Malden, Ma: Blackwell Publishers, 2009), 173.

that era the scholars began investigating the dominant political structures and scholarship that has conserved the existing political inequalities.

Critical geopolitics approaches geopolitics not as an impartial thought of which determines “geographical” fact as a pre-given condition, critical geopolitics sees geopolitics as a deeply ideological and politicized form of analysis.²⁶ Critical geopolitics challenges the traditional geopolitical discourses and emphasis on not to study the geography of politics within pre-given, commonsense places, but to foreground “the politics of the geographical specification of politics”.²⁷ Critical geopolitics questions the basic spatial traditions of classical geopolitics and tries to historically contextualize the very rise of classical geopolitics as a discourse or more precisely, as a geopolitical discourse. Critical geopolitics investigates the historical, economic, and geographical processes whereby the very field of geopolitics, especially classical geopolitics, developed as a scientific discourse, producing its own ‘form of knowledge and rationality’.²⁸

Claims of critical geopolitics centers around four key issues such as space, identity, vision and statecraft, which it classifies at the core of (classical) geopolitics itself. Critical geography is based upon the standard that questions about spatial relations, which refer to how an object located within a particular space relates to another object. This relation is important because political behavior is embedded in socio-political structures based on ideas constructed about the space.²⁹

In critical geopolitics like space, identity is not a pre-given condition but constantly re-negotiated." Closely related to this conception of space (not as a causal factor but as something that is constructed through geopolitics) is critical in understanding the construction of identities. Critical geopolitics focus on this spatial construction of social

²⁶ Karen Karen O’Brien and Elin Selboe, eds., *The Adaptive Challenge of Climate Change* (2015; Cambridge University Press, 2018), 146.

²⁷ Gerard Toal, *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space* (London: Taylor & Francis E-Library, 2005), 44–45.

²⁸ Mohammadbagher Forough, “The New Politics of Space: Asia’s Geopolitics Is Remapping the Global Geography,” accessed January 5, 2022, https://www.swpberlin.org/publications/products/projekt_papiere/Forough_BCAS_2018_geopolitics_geoeconomics_9.pdf.

²⁹ Stephen Mcglinchey, Christian Scheinflug, and Rosie Walters, *International Relations Theory* (Bristol: E-International Relations, 2017), 110–16.

identity. It investigates the ways in which spatial communities such as nations, ethnic groups or other forms of spatial organization (the European Union) construct group identity via references to a spatial 'We' (the 'West', Europe) and an often threatening and aggressive 'Them', located in a fundamentally different territory (the Soviet Union, 'the Islamic world' etc.).

In critical geopolitics, geopolitics is understood in terms of that group of professionals or intellectuals of statecraft represent international politics. Discourses that become dominant are actually more often products of the practical geopolitical reasoning of statesmen and important political figures, who may or may not be under the stronger or weaker influence of intellectuals of statecraft (theoreticians) that are tied with political elites and structures (intellectuals of statecraft, but mainly as practitioners of statecraft) of the state.³⁰

Critical geopolitics places extreme emphasis on the discursive character of political geography by analyzing discourses that use spatial arguments to divide the world by identifying a threatening Other. Its emergence comes in parallel with the rediscovery of the word "geopolitics" by politicians and the media. Since geopolitical knowledge is seen as partial, situated and embodied, nation-states are not the only 'legitimate' unit of geopolitical analysis within critical geopolitics. Instead, geopolitical knowledge is seen as more diffuse, with 'popular' geopolitical discourse considered alongside 'formal' and 'practical' geopolitics. These three 'strands' of geopolitical thought are outlined below:

Popular Geopolitics is one of the traditions in which geopolitical knowledge is created. It argues that political ideas are not only shaped by the state, intellectual elites and politicians rather it is also shaped and communicated through popular culture and everyday practices. Popular culture constructs a common sense understanding of world politics through the use of movies, books, magazines, etc. Political geographers have widely studied the role of popular culture in shaping the popular understanding of politics.

³⁰ Petar Petar Kurecic, "Identity and Discourse in Critical Geopolitics: A Framework for Analysis," 2015, accessed on May 17, 2020. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/291229074_Identity_and_Discourse_in_Critical_Geopolitics_A_Framework_for_Analysis.

Klaus Dodd's, a political geographer, studied the conveyance of geopolitical ideas through movies. While analyzing James Bond movies, he discovered a recurring message of Western states' geopolitical anxieties.³¹ For example, the movie *From Russia with Love* conveyed the United States' anxieties as a result of the Cold War and *The World Is Not Enough* conveyed the threats posed by Central Asia. Within weeks of President George W. Bush announcing that the United States and its allies would initiate a 'War on Terror', academics and journalists were reflecting and speculating on what role the entertainment industry and popular culture might play in this enterprise.

In November 2011, for example, a widely reported 'Beverly Hills Summit' was held in which it was suggested that representatives from film and television companies offered their assistance to presidential special advisor, Karl Rove. This 'offer', historically speaking, was not unusual in the sense that there is a long record of Hollywood acting producing and promoting films either supportive of the United States and its material and ideational interests or collaborating closely with government departments such as Defense and the CIA on particular film projects.³²

Structural Geopolitics is defined as contemporary geopolitical tradition. Structural geopolitics involves the study of the structural processes and tendencies that condition how all states practice foreign policy.³³ The "War on Terror" was not taking place in a void. Other geopolitical developments affecting international relations on a global scale are also occurring. Indeed, some of these may be more important for international relations in the long term than the "War on Terror" however long that may last. A rising China and a rising India were two obvious realities.³⁴ On 12 September British Prime Minister Tony Blair (2001) declared that 'the terrorists responsible have no sense of humanity, of mercy, or of justice' and it 'was an attack on the free and democratic world everywhere', not just

³¹ Klaus Dodds, "Screening Geopolitics: James Bond and the Early Cold War Films (1962–1967)," *Geopolitics* 10, no. 2 (July 2005): 266–89, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650040590946584>.

³² S Brady, *Performance, Politics, and the War on Terror: Whatever It Takes*. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 112.

³³ Gary L Gaile, Cort J Willmott, and Gilbert White, *Geography in America at the Dawn of the 21st Century*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 173.

³⁴ Mark Mark N. Katz, "The Geopolitical Context of the 'War on Terror' | Middle East Policy Council," accessed on January 3, 2022. <https://mepc.org/commentary/geopolitical-context-war-terror>.

America. The global framing of the war on terror encouraged like-minded governments to position their internal and external conflicts as part of the fight.³⁵ Rupal Oza argues that Israel and India in particular adopted this rhetoric of threat and security to justify, and expand, their own exclusionary practices. Just as the United States has characterized terrorists as fanatical evildoers, Israel has positioned itself as the lone outpost of civilization in the Middle East, while the Hindu Right in India has described Muslims as uncivilized invaders who threatened the secular stability of India.³⁶

Formal Geopolitics refers to the geopolitical culture of more 'traditional' political actors. Critical accounts of formal geopolitics therefore pay attention to the ways in which formal foreign policy actors and professionals - including think-tanks and academics - mediate geopolitical issues such that particular understandings and policy prescriptions become hegemonic, even common-sense.

The geo political environment of war on terror helped India to consolidate itself in Afghanistan and Isolate Pakistan by affiliating the geography and identity of Pakistan to terrorism, terrorist's safe heavens. India supported the terrorist groups such as TTP and BLA for terrorism in Pakistan.³⁷ India also launched hybrid warfare operations based on fake news and disinformation. A Brussels-based NGO working to combat disinformation against the European Union has unearthed a 15-year-old operation run by an Indian entity that used hundreds of fake media outlets and the identity of a dead professor to target Pakistan. The EU DisinfoLab in its report, *Indian Chronicles: deep dive into a 15-year operation targeting the EU and United Nations to serve Indian interests*, termed this as the “largest network” of disinformation they have exposed so far. The coordinated disinformation warfare was designed primarily to “discredit Pakistan internationally” and influence decision-making at the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) and the European Parliament. The report said in order to “undermine Pakistan internationally”, the network

³⁵ Reece Jones, *Border Walls: Security and the War on Terror in the United States, India and Israel* (London; New York: Zed Books, 2012).

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Baqir Sajjad Syed, “Specific Proof of Indian Terrorism in Pakistan Unveiled,” DAWN.COM, November 15, 2020, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1590441>.

“resurrected dead NGOs” at the UN, impersonated the EU and laundered content produced by fake media to real media, and reached millions in South Asia and across the world.³⁸

Practical Geopolitics describes the actual practice of geopolitical strategy (i.e. foreign policy). Studies of practical geopolitics focus both on geopolitical action and geopolitical reasoning, and the ways in which these are linked recursively to both 'formal' and 'popular' geopolitical discourse. Because critical geopolitics is concerned with geopolitics as discourse, studies of practical geopolitics pay attention both to geopolitical actions (for example, military deployment), but also to the discursive strategies used to narrate these actions.³⁹ George W. Bush utilized the events surrounding the attacks of September 11, 2001 (9/11) to legitimize a type of imperial American foreign policy. 9/11 was used by the Bush administration to present a perceived shift in the danger and threat that America faced, thus legitimating a more aggressive foreign policy.⁴⁰ The "critical" in critical geopolitics therefore relates to two (linked) aims. Firstly, it seeks to 'open up' Geopolitics, as a discipline and a concept. It does this partly by considering the popular and formal aspects of geopolitics alongside practical geopolitics. Further, it focuses on the power relations and dynamics through which particular understandings are (re)constructed. Secondly, critical geopolitics engages critically with 'traditional' geopolitical themes. The articulation of 'alternative' narratives on geopolitical issues, however, may or may not be consistent with a poststructuralist methodology.⁴¹

³⁸ “Indian Chronicles: Deep Dive into a 15-Year Operation Targeting the EU and UN to Serve Indian Interests,” EU DisinfoLab, accessed on December 9, 2020, <https://www.disinfo.eu/publications/indian-chronicles-deep-dive-into-a-15-year-operation-targeting-the-eu-and-un-to-serve-indian-interests/>.

³⁹ VICKI SQUIRE, “Reshaping Critical Geopolitics? The Materialist Challenge,” *Review of International Studies* 41, no. 1 (May 28, 2014): 139–59, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0260210514000102>.

⁴⁰ Melissa Koluksuz, “A Critical Geopolitics of American ‘Imperialism’ and Grand Strategy (Post-9/11): The Role of Language and Ideology” (2015).

⁴¹ Simon Dalby, “Writing Critical Geopolitics: Campbell, Ó Tuathail, Reynolds and Dissident Skepticism,” *Political Geography* 15, no. 6–7 (July 1996): 655–60, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0962-6298\(96\)00035-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/0962-6298(96)00035-2).

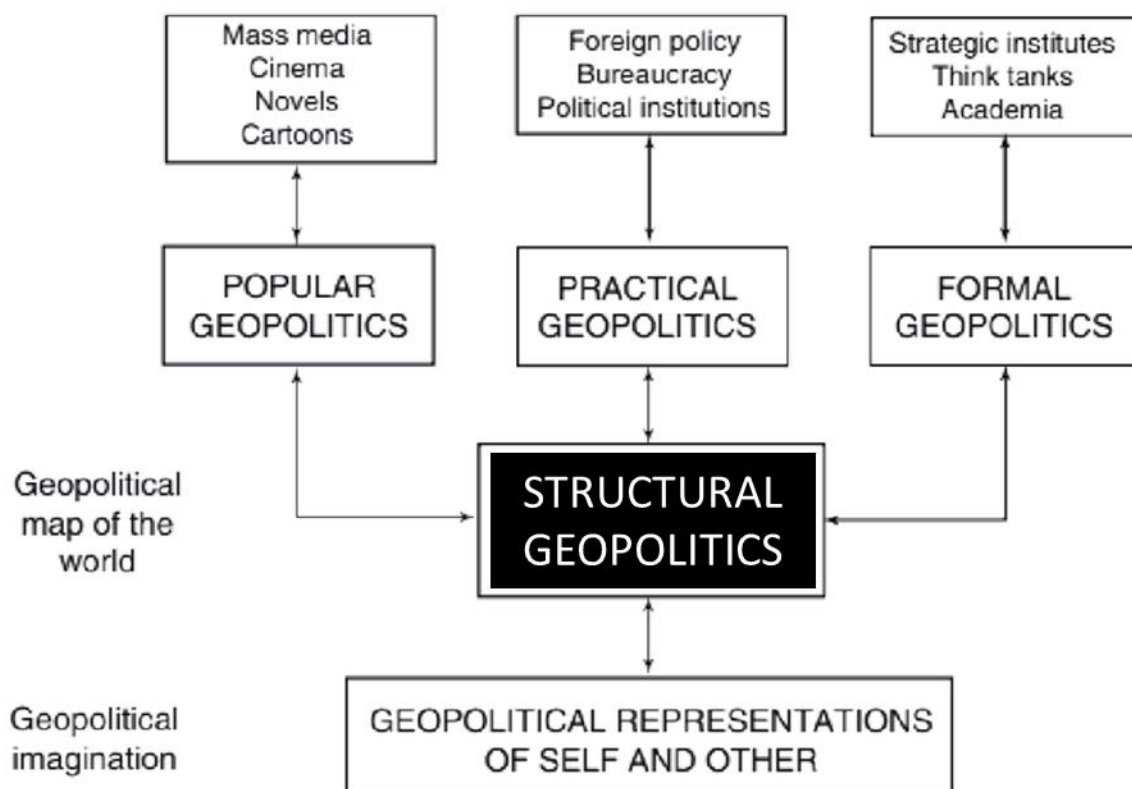


Figure 1: Geopolitics according to critical geopolitics

Religious overtones have been prevalent in geopolitical narratives relating to war on terror. The West is presented as the forces of ‘good’ with God on their side fighting the ‘evil’ of terrorism. In the narratives of the U.S. government this demonstration of an indisputably evil act set a base mark for a permanent scale of moral values. Western morality is defined by the West as the pinnacle of progress and all that is good, the terrorists are evil because they are not modern. They are from the East and Muslim, as opposed to the Christian West.⁴² This strengthened the discourse of East and West as a basis on which to interpret the world and reduced an entire area, an entire religion, and many people with many

⁴² “The Great Divide: How Westerners and Muslims View Each Other,” Pew Research Center’s Global Attitudes Project (Pew Research Center’s Global Attitudes Project, June 22, 2006), <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2006/06/22/the-great-divide-how-westerners-and-muslims-view-each-other/>.

diversities and complexities, into a homogenous body representing a straightforward threat like the Soviet Union.

Pakistan has been facing external threats to its independence and territorial integrity right from its birth. Periodic domestic troubles/upheavals along with internal subversion further complicated the situation. Sandwiched between India and Afghanistan, Pakistan's security perceptions have been largely influenced by its state of relationships with India and Afghanistan.⁴³ More specifically, the single largest source of security challenges has been with India. Today, Pakistan is confronted with a three-threat scenario—the perennial threat from India, Afghanistan, and the threat emanating from a changing domestic situation. Threats from India and Afghanistan make a formidable task for Pakistani security planners. The developments following the U.S withdrawal from Afghanistan have further complicated the situation.⁴⁴

The territory of Pakistan was geo-politicized and securitized in the US-led era of globalization and war on terror. The first ground on which geopolitics of Pakistan was configured, its geopolitical borders (i.e., nation-state borders) in 1947, in the final stages of British colonialism, borders which it has never been able to fully control, hence it has many security troubles with India and Afghanistan. The second ground has been a security and logistical corridor to support the NATO troops in landlocked Afghanistan through what is called Ground Lines of Communications (CLOGs) and Air Lines of Communication (ALOCs). The third factor has been receiving a military and financial aid, which amount to geopolitical tools to keep the Pakistani political, military, and intelligence elite in check. The fourth factor is geopolitical border disputes with India that led engaged nations in nuclear rivalry. The fifth factor is that during the Cold War, Pakistan continued to be a geopolitical player by aligning with the West, facilitating the Nixon visit to China, and indirectly combating the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The sixth factor is that it has been viewed in both elite and popular discourses as a hotbed of radicalism and

⁴³ Muhammad Tariq, Arif Khan, and Bakhtiar Khan, "Pakistan's Security Dilemma with Afghanistan and India," *Global Political Review* IV, no. IV (December 30, 2019): 70–77, [https://doi.org/10.31703/gpr.2019\(iv-iv\).08](https://doi.org/10.31703/gpr.2019(iv-iv).08).

⁴⁴ Pervaiz Cheema, "Security Threats Confronting Pakistan," 1983, accessed on December 8, 2021. http://www.nids.mod.go.jp/english/publication/joint_research/series9/pdf/10.pdf.

fundamentalism, for instance, as the place where suicide bombings and terrorist attacks occur frequently and as the place where Bin Laden was hiding and got killed.

Lastly, related to the domestic aspect of geopolitical social (nation-statehood), it has not been able to integrate all its demographic and religious components within its borders into a stable unity, hence its security problems in various regions such as Baluchistan and Waziristan among others. All these aspects (and more) have kept Pakistan as a geopoliticized space that did not play a major role in global geo-economics. Decades of bartering Pakistan's geostrategic value—including as a "front-line state" in the Cold War and war on terror—has contributed to the loss of countless lives, stifled human development, and turned Pakistan into a heavily indebted security state. Since 2021, senior Pakistani officials, including the country's powerful army chief, have signaled, or outright said that, from now on, their country's foreign policy will emphasize geo-economics. The "geo-economic vision" of Pakistan centers regional integration and the collective pursuit of sustainable development in an environment of peace and stability.⁴⁵ This geo-economic vision cannot be achieved with traditional diplomacy tools that Pakistan has exercised in the geopolitical context. To achieve its geo-economic vision Pakistan needs to re-define its Blue Diplomacy.

There is a mainstream mindset that Pakistan is continental state, there is a misunderstanding that territorialism only deals with land. As seas are also physical spaces, Pakistan needs to shift from this old interpretation or doctrine that Pakistan is a continental state. This mindset is embedded in the division of British India.⁴⁶ The border demarcation between Pakistan, India and Pakistan, Afghanistan created border conflicts based on land. Due to these conflicts the security establishment, politicians and scholars are not able to get rid of the old doctrine of geopolitics and if any parliamentarian or scholar tries to challenge that, they are resisted. Pakistan despite having a sea is not focused on Sea. Society is not prone to the sea; it's kind of sea blindness in a country. There are multiple factors which are hindrance in creating maritime identity, first Pakistan perceive itself as

⁴⁵ Arif Rafiq, "Pakistan's Geoeconomic Delusions," Foreign Policy, April 5, 2021, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/04/05/pakistans-geoeconomic-delusions/>.

⁴⁶ Lassi Heininen, Blue Diplomacy as a Foreign Policy Tool for Pakistan, interview by Aalia Naseer, September 30, 2021.

a continental power, cognitively Pakistan do not consider itself as part of South Asia but part of Muslim world, so Pakistan's foreign policy is always diverted toward Muslim world.⁴⁷

Cold War and War on Terror mainly was land focused and that's why maritime sector is absent from mainstream security, political, academic and media narratives of Pakistan. Secondly, resources of Pakistan are limited which are being used to meet strategic threats from land borders. One can assess sea blindness by the fact that the naval academy is in Lahore instead of somewhere near the Sea.

There is civil-military ambiguity on the concept, comprehensive debates are needed between institutions for a strategic shift from geopolitics to geo-economics. Geo-economics needs time to flourish but still India and Kashmir conflicts are dominating the strategic narratives. One problem is political instability in Afghanistan, it has blocked the way to Central Asia , though CPEC provides an alternate route from China to central Asia but still until there is no peace in Afghanistan regional integration is not possible.⁴⁸

To achieve its geo-economics vision Pakistan needs to craft its Blue Diplomacy within a critical geopolitical framework. As geo-political reality is the byproduct of narratives and discourses, Pakistan can utilize popular geopolitics, practical-geopolitics and formal-geopolitics to craft its Blue Diplomacy to achieve the geo-economic vision of Pakistan.

⁴⁷ Interview was conducted on zoom meeting. The draft of interview has been included as annex 7.

⁴⁸ "China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: Opportunities and Risks," Crisis Group, June 28, 2018. Accessed on December 3, 2020.

<https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-asia/pakistan/297-china-pakistan-economic-corridor-opportunities-and-risks>.

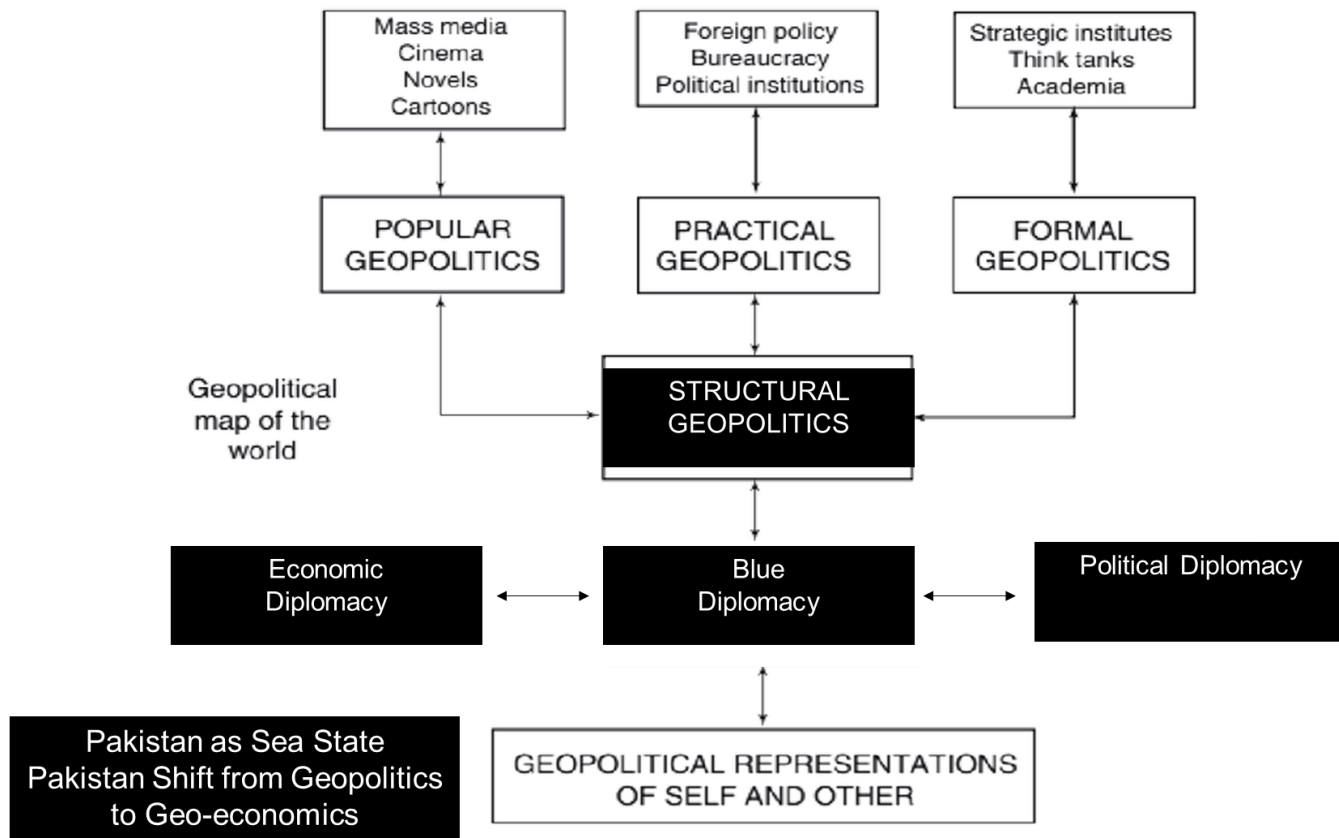


Figure 2: Blue Diplomacy Framework for Pakistan

Pakistan has developed its continental foreign policy on knowledge it inherits from British India then to protect its identity and borders but if Pakistan wishes to incorporate Blue Diplomacy in its foreign policy then first it has to recognize and it is pre condition that Pakistan recognize non state actors like NGOs, civil society, role of academia etc. and then scientific community can play its role here and act as a mediator between government and civil society if it wishes to do that. The sea and maritime discourse is missing from the media landscape of Pakistan. The mass media, cinema of Pakistan as tools of popular geopolitics should focus on sea and maritime. These mediums can be used to remove the sea blindness and give awareness about the utility of the sea for Pakistan and its geo-economic vision.

The foreign policy, bureaucracy and political institutions as tools of practical geopolitics should challenge the old doctrine of geopolitics of Pakistan. Rather than focusing on land these practical geopolitics tools should be diverted towards sea for regional and economic integration. Strategic institutes, think tanks and Academia should focus on creating and developing policy oriented research, the focus on sea and its utilization for Pakistan. As formal geopolitics is important for creating knowledge and narratives. As knowledge is power and it gives influence. Formal geopolitics can be an important tool for Pakistan to influence the decision makers in shifting from geopolitical to geo-economics vision of Pakistan.

Research Methodology

The undertaken research falls under the paradigm of Blue Diplomacy. This is primary research relying mainly upon qualitative data and grounded in deductive reasoning by using framework of critical geopolitics. This is an explanatory research which is grounded on official documents which are released by the concerned departments and institutions.

For the qualitative primary research, data collection of the material and information are through primary sources such as online and in person interviews, discussion with experts. For secondary research sources like books, Archives, journals, reports, case studies web-based data and articles are consulted.

The main purpose of such research is to gain understanding of a particular area of interest with a deep and detailed understanding along with recommendations. This study is aimed to define a blue diplomacy framework for Pakistan in achieving its geo-economics vision.

Significance of the Study

The contemporary world is going through a paradigm shift within international relations focusing more on spatial dimension in terms of power, shifting security and threat perception from traditional to nontraditional, and emerging patterns of convergence and divergence in context of geographical realm. However, ocean related discourse has always been overlooked. There are limited studies on the relation of foreign policy and Blue Diplomacy as the discourse is in infancy stages in both academic and practitioner space. Studies that are available on Blue Diplomacy does not explain much about Blue

Diplomacy as a paradigm. In this study, we elaborate the Blue Diplomacy paradigm from the perspective of foreign policy and international diplomacy focusing on security, economics, sustainability, public and foreign relations. This study has both theoretical and practical significance as Oceans are the backbone of international trade and natural resources.

Pakistan is an important country in the Blue Diplomacy sphere and has a coastline of more than 1000 km and with a vast exclusive economic zone and continental shelf. We analyzed how Pakistan can improve its Blue Diplomacy to get the maximum benefit for its foreign policy objectives and also studied challenges Pakistan can face due to the hostile geopolitical environment in the region. The purpose of this research is academic, but it has a scope of applicability. In the practical sphere this study brings a new perspective for policy makers, diplomats and politicians to formulate policies and recommendations.

Delimitation

In this research focus is on the pre-defined diplomacy tools in the study. The Blue Diplomacy paradigm in this research restricted critical geopolitical approach towards foreign policy. We are not able to explain the complete Blue Diplomacy paradigm as it is continuously changing and evolving with incorporation of new terminologies and theories. The research focuses on Blue Diplomacy from the perspective of security, economics, sustainability and foreign relations.

Organizational Structure

Following the Introduction, this study is divided into five chapters. The introduction discusses the concepts of Foreign Policy, Diplomacy and Blue Diplomacy. It contains historical background, scope, and importance. It has problem statements, research objectives, research questions, theoretical framework, major argument, and significance of the study, delimitation, and research methodology.

Chapter One, HISTORIC ROOTS OF BLUE DIPLOMACY: AN OVERVIEW discusses the significance of oceans and seas in historical context in terms of medium for connectivity, trade and cultural exchange.

Chapter Two, POLITICAL DIPLOMACY IN MARITIME CONTEXT discusses the political potential of maritime diplomacy and relations with countries relevant to Pakistan in the maritime domain.

Chapter Three, ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY IN MARITIME CONTEXT discusses economic diplomacy in maritime context. This chapter focuses on the maritime domain as a vital component of national power, it discusses Pakistan's maritime sector as part of the national security strategy.

Chapter Four, NAVAL DIPLOMACY: TACTICAL WEAPON FOR BLUE DIPLOMACY discusses the significance of naval diplomacy and its types. This chapter also focuses on Pakistan's navy effort in this regard and also challenges which are hindrance in developing effective naval diplomatic strategies.

Chapter Five, CULTURAL DIPLOMACY IN MARITIME CONTEXT focuses on discussing initiatives taken by government agencies, policy makers and maritime institutions to harness the cultural influence to advance our national goals.

Chapter Six, CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF BLUE DIPLOMACY FOR PAKISTAN talks about challenges Pakistan faced in devising effective blue diplomacy framework and prospects of effective utilization of such framework.

Conclusion, Finding and recommendation, this section discuss the overall conclusion, finding of this research dissertation and suggest some recommendation.

Chapter One

Historical Roots of Blue Diplomacy: An Overview

The fair breeze blew, the white foam flew

The furrow followed free,

We were the first that ever burst

Into the silent sea,

The Rime of the Ancient Mariner

*Samuel Taylor Coleridge*⁴⁹.

Ocean has played a significant role in building civilizational history. Their characteristics created circumstances through which empires exploit or influenced the economic, social, and political as well as military domain. In Bertrand Russel view, Science and philosophy first appeared in Miletus when the city was considered as a significant commercial seaport where people of diverse cultures meet, therefore contributing diversity of ideas.⁵⁰ Oceans have always been used as a medium of exchanging information, news, goods, and ideas. The economic, political, and strategic importance of oceans have always made regional and international power attractive toward its expansion and plays their dominant role over it. Oceans are enablers of wealth generation, sea-lanes of communication maintainers among the continent. Trade as well as politics have always been interwoven as nations are bounded by their interests in such a way that the whole forms an articulated system.

There are three sections on which this chapter is categorized: (i) genesis of maritime history. (ii) early traces of ancient leadership. (iii) industrial revolution and changing modern trade pattern.

1.1 Genesis of Maritime History

World history comprises synthetic examination of complex interaction as well as collaboration between people of distinct background and their orientation. Thus, places

⁴⁹ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *the Rime of the Ancient Mariner (text of 1834)*, (Poetry Foundation), accessed on January 4,2021.

<https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/43997/the-rime-of-the-ancient-mariner-text-of-1834>

⁵⁰ Stephen P. Weldon, *Current Bibliography of the History of Science, and Its Cultural Influence 2004*, (The University of Chicago Press, 2004). 207-249.

more focus on politically, religiously, and more culturally distinct communities.⁵¹ Marine history is a subset of global history that encompasses obvious topics like maritime trade, oceanic discovery, human migration, and naval history, as well as their overall influence on the development of state power. However, it is that the study of events that has or had taken place on oceans or in relation to water shows unique insight into human affairs in the past. For instance, without maritime trade, neither Indian nor Chinese would have exercised their influence as they did in the region of southeast Asia. Furthermore, marine enterprise aided western European expansionism⁵² Waterborne trade, exploration and voyaging along with ways of living have a long tradition in human history.

As Fernand Braudel discovered in his sixteenth-century study of the Mediterranean, trade is centered on the rivers that connect most diverse peoples and locations, as well as their products. Protected inland waters and rivers that facilitate commerce are promoted even further. Trading chances are strengthened by strongly fortified coasts, fertile land, a favorable temperature, and a plethora of seas and sea sides, all of which have boosted trade and commercial opportunities. In middle of the old world, maritime trade route is a water route, started from Indian Oceans to the Mediterranean, passing through the Persian Gulf, Tigris and Euphrates River or the Red Sea, up to the Rhone and down to the Moselle, the Scheldt, the Meuse, or the Rhine to the English Channel, or alternatively through the Strait of Gibraltar and up to the Atlantic Coast.⁵³ This is the world's most crucial crossroads between the West and the East. The Indian Ocean, as the trade belt's primary commerce hub, is similarly structured by its monsoon and wind patterns, which are oriented northeast in summer and southwest in winter. Favorable Indian Ocean region climate encouraged people of homogenous culture to migrate from one region. Furthermore, Mediterranean merchants (largest inland sea), notable those on its northern shores, as well as Chinese merchants from east were persistently driven into the Indian Ocean trade.

⁵¹ Paul D. Buell, *Reviews of Lincoln Paine, The Sea and Civilization: A Maritime History of the World*, (The International Journal of Marine History, 2016), 576-600.

⁵² John E. Wills, Jr, *Review, Maritime Asia, 1500-1800: The Interactive Emergence of European Domination*, (Oxford University, The American Historical Review, 1993), 83-105.

⁵³ Milo Kearney, *The Indian Ocean in World History (Themes in World History)*, (Psychology Press, 2004).

Indian ocean trade bolstered civilization's economic status which acquired the top position through maritime trade activities. The presence of the Indian Ocean has long been a driver of economic health, and one of the main factor of economic interdependence. It has the world's greatest exploitable mass market for buying and dominating states or region's goods. Its geographical contingency as the world's middle trading belt has made it accessible. Four powerful regions due to its enticing wealth were drawn to control it and influence the other region through its trading power. European empires due to their mutual interest over trade often made alliances using the Indian Ocean trade route to strengthen trade activities. The four blocks by their primary routes are: first, The strait of Malacca route. This route lies in the Island of Sumatra to Japan and China and the Malay Peninsula. During the early Chinese Han and Yuan dynasty, China had great influence and used to conduct trade through this route. Even shortly before WWII, Japan tried to influence and establish analogous control over this route. Second, The Persian Gulf route, For Russia, Iraq and Iran, this route was favorable. Following era of the Copper Age, reflected the glory of Abbasid Caliphate as well as Iran's dominance. Third, The Red Sea route. Lebanon, Palestine, and Egypt highly preferred this route. Particularly, to France it was most beneficial. It reflected the most glorious ages of ancient time including the Roman Empire, Bronze Age, Byzantine Empire, Iron Age, Umayyad Dynasty, the Fatimid, and Abbasside dynasty along with Circassian Mamluk. Fourth, The Cape of Good Hope route. It was not discovered in the early period of the sixteenth century, but as it was discovered became most beneficial to the power empires in the past including France, Portugal, British Empire and more recently to the United States of America. Even its glory has not ended until now and has been the favorable route in the modern period.

This chapter explores the following historical patterns, beginning with the Indian ocean monopoly of trade in the sixth century BC. Second, the time from the sixth century BC to the sixth century AD, when the Mediterranean was influenced by Europeans from the west and Chinese from the east. The decline of European and Chinese influence during the Arab Golden Age, from the seventh to the eleventh centuries AD. From the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries AD, a period of Chinese's resurgence and European Mediterranean influence over trade of Indian Ocean. Finally, this chapter will focus on the Indian Ocean's

expanding supremacy and its trade with the continent of the North Atlantic from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries.

1.2 Early Traces of Ancient Leadership

This section covers the origin of Indian Ocean trade, as well as the wealth, power and creativity pattern that has resulted through it. The epoch between the fourth millennium and sixth century will be analyzed, during which the Indian Ocean trading world, with its spices, metals, and ornaments was the preserve of lands on its borders. It begins from ninth century BC and concludes in eighteenth-century BC, when Mesopotamia led the way, followed by Egyptian and Indus Valley civilization. Then, it analyzes Egypt's ascent to prominence throughout the millennium from the sixteenth to the sixth centuries BC, with a particular emphasis on Egypt's altering trading relationship with expansion of Indian Ocean Mediterranean region.⁵⁴

India and its ocean were so important to world trade, power, and advancement that it was linked to the emergence of the earliest civilizations on the planet. Nature determined where great civilizations would emerge first, in the western Indian Ocean (also called the Arabian Sea). Southeast Asia developed trade, but this trade did not lead to the development of major cities. The divide between the eastern and western sides of the Indian Ocean is accentuated by the fact that sailing around the southern point of India in any month other than January is extremely difficult, resulting in sailing layovers of up to a year. In the western Indian Ocean, this pattern fostered the rise of trade and civilization. The quantity of fish that attracted the fishermen who must have constructed the ships and developed maritime skills later used to trading endeavors, was one motivation to start sailing in the Persian Gulf.⁵⁵

1.2.1. Sumerians Rise to Prominence

The first people to build a civilization were also the first to seize control of a large area of the Indian Ocean for trading purposes. The Sumerians of the third millennium BC were

⁵⁴ Janos Harmatta, Puri B.N, Etemadi G.F, *History of Civilization of Central Asia, v.2: The Development of Sedentary and nomadic Civilization, 700 B.C to A.D 250*, (France, UNESCO 1994).

⁵⁵ Milo Kearney, *The Indian Ocean in World History (Themes in World History)*, (Psychology Press, 2004).

known with this fact. They were assumed as the first civilization to evolve from simple farmers into maritime civilizations. Mesopotamia had devised the ox-drawn plow by 4000 BC, even though its soil was harsh and difficult to work on.⁵⁶ The plow did a good job of working the soil that Sumerians developed surplus of wheat and barley, which they were able to trade for other goods. Due to a scarcity of natural resources (besides wheat and barley), Mesopotamian people had to rely on trade to acquire commodities, especially lumber from the Indian Forest. Sumer, located at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and the Persian Gulf, embraced the official invitation to go on a sea-going trading trip. As the Sumerians marched east along the coast to the Indus Valley in the third millennium BC, they traded shells from the Persian Gulf, copper from Oman, lumber from the Zagros Mountains, silver and lead from the Taurus Mountains, and carnelian from the India Valley. Trading towns such as Uruk, Lagash, and Kish emerged because of the trade. Ur and Eridu appear to have grown into port regions. The Indus Valley civilization was the principal trading partner of Sumerians who emerged into civilization to the east. Sumerians' trade reached both east and west, following the principles of water in all directions, resulting in the emergence of four main civilizations: Chinese and Indus valley civilizations in the east, and Iberian and Egyptian civilizations in the west. Sumerian traders established themselves in Egyptian region and Indus Valley, while trade with Spain and China and was carried via middlemen.

1.2.2. Indus Valley Civilization

The Indus valley civilization, which emerged into civilization in the third millennium BC, was the Sumerians' principal trading partner to the East. A long (mile) canal linked ports at Lothal, Indus valley port to the Indian Ocean's Gulf of Cambay. The steatite seals found in Mesopotamia excavations were engraved by Indus valley residents. Indus Valley merchants appear to have exchanged local cotton items with other regions of India on a regular basis, getting tin, copper, lapis lazuli, jade, turquoise, construction stone, ivory, and lumber from western India. Food, silver, woolen textiles, and other manufactured commodities came from Mesopotamia. Oman and Bahrain (Dilmun) served as ports for

⁵⁶ David Abulafia, *The Great Sea, A Human history of Mediterranean*, (United States, Oxford University Press, 2011) 3-42.

pearls, coal, and copper. The economics and culture of the Indus valley were concentrated on the cities of Mohenjo-Daro in Sindh and Harappa in Punjab. Sumer's vitality derived from its trading route over the Indian Ocean, which enabled it to construct significant land routes across Central Asia to China.⁵⁷ The Sumerian trade boosted China's development in the second millennium BC, allowing it to create its own civilization. While this development occurred through overland trade, the Chinese civilization that arose because of it would eventually become a key player in the Indian Ocean trade.

1.2.3. Egyptian Civilization

After 3500 BC, Following the land route south to Egypt, the Sumerians pushed their way up to the Euphrates, across the Mediterranean coast, and into Egypt, where a wheat and barley agricultural community already existed. The Egyptians joined the Sumerians in sailing, Sumerian influence promoted unity, and the increased commercial prosperity brought by Sumerian merchants into lower Egypt's Nile delta functioned as a magnet for upper Egypt to conquer the territories downstream around 3000 BC. Egyptian ships were traveling the Red Sea by the twenty-fifth century BC. These ships were bringing manufactured commodities to Yemen, Ethiopia, and Punt (Somalia) in return for enslavement, gold, spices, and ivory by the twenty-fourth century BC.⁵⁸ The conquest of Mesopotamia and the Indus valley, as well as the isolation of northern China as a result, put Egypt in a relatively powerful position in Indian ocean trade for a period. The central route of trade from the Mediterranean to Atlantic Europe resulted in the emergence of a new civilization, the Iberians.

1.2.4 Iberian Society

The Iberian, originally from North Africa between Libya and Morocco, has made its way to Atlantic Europe. They mined copper in Rio Tinto's Huelva region and shipped it together with furs and other trade products. Tarshish was the most significant importing commercial port of the time, located off the coast of Atlantic to southern

⁵⁷ Lincoln Paine, *The Sea & Civilization: A Maritime History of the World*, (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2013).

⁵⁸ Andre Gunder Frank, *Bronze Age World System Cycles*, (University of Chicago Press, 1993), 383-429.

Spain, Guadalquivir, east River. This area was suitable for organizing commerce between the Sumerian and Egyptian parts of civilization.⁵⁹

The peoples that lived along the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea's northern shore had recovered from the Bronze and Iron Age invasions by this time, and they were keen to reclaim their old central place in the Indian Ocean trade. A fifth tragedy that shook ancient Egyptian society and commerce, a religious upheaval that was about to sweep along the northern coast of the Indian Ocean and exert influence from the Mediterranean to Pacific region, would provide the impetus for this shift of commercial dominance. India, Egypt and Mesopotamia pioneered the development of wealth, power, and innovation along the Indian Ocean trade route, effectively founding civilization and history. Their own success, however, eventually contributed to their demise, as regions anxious to partake found a way to do so through the religious upheaval. The earlier phase, during which regions on the Indian Ocean border prospered through trade monopolies focused on Mesopotamia and eventually Egypt, came to an end.

1.2.5 Northern Mediterranean

During the era from the sixth century BC to the seventh century AD, terrain far away from the Indian ocean played an important role in its trade. To the west, there was Mediterranean Europe (Italy and Greece), and to the east, there was China.⁶⁰ They emerged politically and militarily as a result of the flow of commerce, and with it, civilization, from Mediterranean Europe all the way to China, and they utilized this to control trade. This section discusses the Persian Empire and its conflict with Greece, as well as the triumph of the Greek Empire.

1.2.6 Persian Empire

The use of Aramaic Script, which was already widely used by Jews merchants under the Babylonian Empire, benefited Persian trade. By the sixth century BC, coastal trade had

⁵⁹ Admiral James Stavridis, *Sea Power, The History and Geopolitics of the World's Oceans*, (New York, Penguin Press, 2017). 160-200.

⁶⁰ Stephanos A. Paipetis, *Ancient Greece & Contemporary World, the Influence of Greek Thought on Philosophy, Science and Technology*, (University of Paris, International Center for Science and Hellenic Values, 2016). 106-108.

reached Sri Lanka and the Maldives along India's west coast. By the fifth century, the supply of pepper from India had increased to the point that it could be employed as a medical element in the treatment of asphyxia in Greece. Other spices, which are widely available, are used in medical, as well as in pharmaceuticals, ointments, cosmetics, fragrances, incense, and cuisine.⁶¹ The Persian monarch Daryavash or Darius (521-486 BC) completed the fledgling Persian Empire by conquering Bulgaria and Thrace as Indian trade beckoned. He dispatched an expedition to Egypt, led by Scylax of Caryanda, from the Indus.

He deployed a fleet from Egypt to Iran and mobilized his Phoenician and Jewish merchants to undertake the trade after getting the ship channel from the Nile to the Gulf of Suez restored. Daryavaush, on the other hand, quickly found himself during a massive battle with the Greeks for control of Egypt and its trade in Indian Ocean products, a fight that would last nearly two centuries.⁶² The protracted era of conflict that followed between the Greeks and Persians was historically considered as a clash of civilizations. The Greeks and Persians, on the other hand, were more concerned with controlling the trade that passed through Egypt on its way from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean. Following a twenty-three-year era of tranquility, the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta started (431- 404 BC). Miletos and other Ionian towns under Persian dominion revolted in 499 BC, and Athens, which had traded with Egypt before the Persian invasion, persuaded Miletos and other Ionian towns under Persian domination to revolt. Control of Egypt's Indian Ocean business was a long-term goal, and Athens fought a 25-year fight for control of Egypt and her commerce.

1.2.7. Greek Success in the Indian Trade

Isocrates of Athens urged King Philippos of Macedonia to unite Greeks to dominate Egypt's Indian Ocean trade and to prepare for the Asian ideal of a righteous ruler reigning by divine right. In 336 BC, he conquered the southern Greeks and founded the Hellenic League to fight Persia. However, because of his assassination, Alexander the Great

⁶¹ Tom Holland, *Persian Fire: The First World Empire and the Battle for the West*, (New York, A Division of Random House, 2005).

⁶² Ibid.

ordered his troops to make an emergency retreat to Egypt.⁶³ Alexander sent his forces to Mesopotamia, the Iranian Plateau, and the Indus Valley shortly after achieving this aim in 331 BC. Alexandros desired to continue his journey into India, where he would be able to oversee the country's vast trading wealth. Alexandros headed the new Babylonian empire and focused on promoting Indian Ocean trade. He devised a plan to deploy ships to navigate between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea to improve Mesopotamia-Egypt relations.

Alexandros promoted trade in the Red Sea by restoring ports at Cosseir, Berenike, and Myos Hormos on the Egyptian shore. The south Arabian merchants, particularly those of the port towns of Aden, Mocha, Qian, and Duffer, got cinnamon from southern China and Southeast Asia via Madagascar, Malabar pepper, ivory, and gold from Africa, and local frankincense.⁶⁴ He employed Phoenician seafarers and hired three ships from Phoenicia and Babylon for an exploratory voyage from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. He also improved the navigability of the Euphrates River and the river port of Babylon. The Greek monarchy, which was centered on the newly created Greek metropolis of Alexandria on Egypt's Mediterranean coast, achieved prominence via commercial dominance.

1.2.8. The Chinese Han Dynasty

China created a reliable trading route to India across the Malacca Strait. For some time, Asia controlled eastern Indian Ocean, meeting Greek merchants from the Roman world for pacific commercial exchange in India. Antiochus III, a Greek, briefly ousted the Marians from the Indus Valley in 204 BC. The Maryann monarchy fell totally during a Hindu uprising against the Maura in 187 BC, with the backing of the Jains and Buddhists. The Maryann Indians' or Ptolemaic Greeks' failure to conquer the Bay of Bengal and pursue extremely lucrative trading opportunities in the eastern Indian Ocean. Both China and Rome were able to engage in the burgeoning global trade by establishing huge empires.

⁶³ Michael Pearson, *The Indian Ocean, Sea in History*, (London and New York, Routledge, 2003).

⁶⁴ Clark G. Reynolds, *Command of the Sea, The History and Strategy of Maritime Empires*, (Marrow, 1974).

Emperor Shih Huang-it (the first Emperor) united China in 246 BC after inheriting the realm of Ch'in. Later, in 207 BC, Liu Pang, a commander, led his peasant troops in a revolt against the Ch'in dynasty, establishing the Han dynasty. Following that, the Han emperor Wuxi (142-87 BC) established a meritocracy and was an expansionist, conquering the Fukien and Chekiang regions of southern China. Between 129 and 119 BC, he battled the Xingu in the north and seized Sinkiang from its Iranian Scythian residents in the west to control profitable trade, sending Chinese silk and lacquer products to the nascent Roman realm. Horses were exported from Fergana to China, as was the vine, which had been introduced to Central Asia by Greeks. Silk was traded to the West, where it was popularized in the first century BC by the Roman Empire.⁶⁵

Wuxi then used the marine expertise of China's southeast coast to deploy a Chinese presence to the eastern entryway to the Indian Ocean. Canton (Guangzhou) and nearby port cities' fishing fleets and commercial junks were the foundation for China's first serious growth of maritime power. Wuxi invaded Kwangsi province and north Vietnam in 111 BC, establishing Chinese naval dominance of the Strait of Malacca, the Indian Ocean's eastern entrance. Chinese silks were exchanged for a variety of commodities, including Alexandrian glass, most likely.

1.2.9. Roman Empire

Rome had begun its own prolonged chain of conquests at the same time as China was moving toward unity and growth. Rome's conventional origin date of 753 BC placed it at a period when Greek colonies were starting to emerge across the western European Mediterranean, encouraging the establishment of communities along the trade routes. In 508, Rome adopted a republican government modeled after that of Athens. Rome's relentless military push allowed it to seize control of the western Mediterranean terminal of Greek trade routes, and eventually the whole Greek Mediterranean. Following Hannibal's loss in the second Punic war, a Roman army attacked Macedonia in 198 BC, annihilating Hannibal's ally Philippos V of Macedon and capturing Greece.⁶⁶ In 190 BC,

⁶⁵ Xinru Liu, *The Silk Road in World History*, (United States, Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁶⁶ Raoul McLaughlin, *The Roman Empire and the Indian Ocean; The Ancient World Economy and the Kingdom of Africa, Arabia and India*, (Pen & Sword Books, 2014).

the Roman army pursued Antiochus throughout the Aegean Sea and destroyed him once more. The arrival of Rome in 161 BC helped to build an independent Israel free of Greek domination. The Roman aristocracy accepted Greek culture, resulting in the formation of a blended Graeco-Roman civilization, which gave Greeks a high regard and continued prominence in the Trade in the Roman world and the Indian Ocean. China and Rome established trade routes along the Indian Ocean and Central Asia's silk route. Chinese merchants dominated marine business in the Arab, Parthians and Indians, intermediaries dominated maritime commerce in the center, and merchants from the Roman Empire dominated maritime commerce in the west.⁶⁷ Before even being traded in Roman marketplaces, silk products were polished in Alexandria or Antioch. During this time, most ships in the Bay of Bengal remained Indian, while most of the Chinese commerce with India was routed through the Isthmus of Kara, which is now Thailand and Burma.

Roman traders (mostly Egyptian Greeks, Jews, and Syrians) built trade ports around both coastlines of India, leaving hordes of Roman coins and ceramics behind. Due to the Roman presence in the Tamil region, south India's Tamils made extensive use of Roman coinage. Additionally, European traders acquired pepper and other spices, palm oil, gold, tree, rare stones, pearls, parrots, eunuchs, and trainers of elephant. The Romans sailed to India in the summer, driven by southwest monsoon winds, and returned in the winter, propelled by northeast monsoon winds, circumventing the middlemen of the south Arabs. The Egyptian Greeks found how to build ships large enough to go directly across the open sea from Yemen to India's Malabar coast in the early first century BC.

Although the Mediterranean as well as Red Sea were now under Roman control, Greeks, Jews, Syrians, and Arabs continued to conduct trade. Augustus promoted Indian Ocean commerce by creating an alliance with India's King Poros in 20 BC. Bronze, tin, and gold were exchanged for frankincense from Yemen, ivory, hides, cinnamon, and slaves from East Africa (obtained by the Arabs of Oman), cotton and silk from northern western India, and pepper, spices, jewels, and elephants from western India. Roman global merchants' activity extended all the way to the Ganges delta. In the second century AD, Ptolemy the

⁶⁷ Ibid.

Astronomer said that Rome's Greek sailors traded with Sri Lanka, the Ganges mouth, the Malay peninsula, Vietnam, and China. Commerce between Rome and China peaked in the second century AD. After being blown north into the South China Sea by the southwest monsoon, some Roman sailors made their way to Hanoi, then part of China, via the Malacca Strait.

1.2.10. Sasanian Dynasty

Ardashir I (227-241), a Persian Prince of the Sassanian Dynasty, defeated and consolidated his rule over the Parthian Dynasty in 227. He expanded Indian Ocean commerce by establishing ports on the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, as well as the Persian Gulf. Ardashir invaded Armenia in 232, and his son Shapur I (241-273) ruled Mesopotamia and Syria by 260. He allied himself with the Goths and the Semites. As commerce flowed from the Indian Ocean to the Caspian and Black Seas through the Persian Gulf and the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, the Germanic Goths traveled down the river of eastern Europe from the Baltic, bringing it over northern Europe. Beginning in 226 with enormous ships, King Kniva's Ostrogothic army advanced from Ukraine to the Black Sea, devastating the lands surrounding the Aegean Sea, while the Visigoths captured Romania.

By the time the Romans conquered Zenobia in 272, Shapur I and the Goths had gained control of their respective waterways. Alexandria's Greek and Jewish merchants were placed in a difficult position, eroding Rome's hold on the Indian Ocean trade, and Roman currency virtually vanished from India. Persia maintained ties with Somalia and Zanzibar, where South Arabians formed a kingdom under the reign of Shah Narseh (r. 293–302). The Greeks sought a counterbalance by collaborating with the Ethiopian kingdom of Axum, which straddled the southern end of the Red Sea from Ethiopia to Yemen. Towards the end of the third century, Axum temporarily invaded the Hijaz (centered on Mecca) and Yemen. Saint was born in Greece in the mid-fourth century. Frumentius Christianized Axum, preferring it to the Byzantine world, and with the support of Axum merchants, they established regular trading relations with Ethiopia. China, India, East Africa, Syria, and Egypt were all linked by water, with Chinese ships docking in Sri Lankan ports alongside Axiomatic and Persian ships. Byzantium reached its zenith with the construction of the Hagia Sophia church in the fifth and sixth centuries.

1.2.11. Gupta Dynasty

Due to the crises in China and Rome, India was able to experience the greatest period of prominence in the Indian Ocean. During the Gupta Dynasty, trade was accessible to traders from various countries, including Persians and Greeks. Chandragupta I (r. 320–330), the founder of the Gupta Dynasty, reigned from Pataliputra, as had the Mauryan emperors before him (Patna).⁶⁸ By moving away from the Mauryan paradigm of state control of the economy and toward a free private enterprise system, he sparked a mercantile boom. Cowrie shells (from the Seychelles Islands) and silver coins were both recognized as money. The finding of astronomer Aryabhata that the earth revolves around its axis helped India's navigational understanding. The Red Sea was used to transport goods to the Byzantines. Indian traders contributed to encourage merchant colonies in Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, Indonesia, and China by sailing directly across the Bay of Bengal. This trade growth began before the Gupta dynasty, when Indian traders traveled to Southeast Asia in search of gold. White Hun invaders from Central Asia struck the Gupta Empire and the Gupta trade system to death around the end of the sixth century. The fall of the Gupta Empire, as well as trade, triggered changes among India's western trading partners.

1.2.12. Arab trade Influence

For a period, Chinese and European interest in the Indian Ocean maritime trade scene faded with the fall of the Han Dynasty and the demise of the Byzantine Dynasty. The problems faced by China and Mediterranean Europe provided a chance for the Indian Ocean's ancient trading civilizations to declare their independence. The Fertile Crescent and Egypt, which had led the way in civilization at the western margin of the Indian Ocean, restored their position. The creation of Muslim networks replaced old economic patterns, and the rise of Islam provided them with unity and a rallying ideology. The early seventh century gave rise to Arabs in Mecca and Medina. From mid-seventh to the eighth century, Umayyad Dynasty of Damascus remained in power. In the mid of eight to early tenth century Abbasids came into power and maintained its influence over Indian Ocean through trade. From tenth to eleventh century Fatimid Dynasty remain in power. These are four

⁶⁸ Clark G Reynolds, *Command of the Sea, the History, and strategy of Maritime Empires*, (University of California, Morrow, 1974). 100-120

main period of Arab's Golden Age.⁶⁹ The people of the Indian Ocean continued to flourish during the Arab golden period. In the Bay of Bengal, Arabs competed with Indians and Indonesians for trade.

The Abbasids gave the Persian Gulf trade a fresh lease of life. Byzantium had banned the Indian Ocean trade route through Egypt and Syria, causing sales in those countries to plummet, allowing the alternative Persian Gulf route to gain traction. Even though Egypt was an Abbasid territory, the Red Sea route was avoided in favor of the Persian Gulf route. Egypt's Red Sea canal was abandoned, and the ports of Basra (Iraq's largest port), Bahrain, and Ormuz resumed their successful trade routes to India and East Africa through Muscat, Oman.⁷⁰ The digging of a canal linking the Tigris at Baghdad to the Euphrates aided this transit of commodities. Abbasid Arab merchants pushed into the eastern Indian Ocean with their own ships, travelling via the strait of Malacca to China, using the Muslim trade colony existent in Sri Lanka as a midway halting station from the beginning of the eighth century.

Although they faced competition from Chinese merchants in the Bay of Bengal and the South China Sea, Arab merchants were as prominent as the Persians as carriers of Indian Ocean and China sea trade. The Indonesian islands experienced their own golden period because of increased commerce. From the late seventh through the twelfth centuries, the Hinayana Buddhist Srivijaya kingdom centered in Palembang rose to dominance in South Sumatra, controlling marine trade. Arab and Jewish merchants traded in Indian pepper, cinnamon, ginger, and coconuts, Chinese rhubarb, Moluccan nutmeg, cloves, and mace, Timor sandalwood, Sri Lankan rubies, and many more products from Baghdad. The Arabs took over the East Asian maritime trade from the Indians and Chinese, eventually dominating the whole trading landscape. Even Chinese commodities were transported to India via Arab ships. The Abbasids exploited the Persian Gulf trade route to bring goods up the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, which were passable as far as the stony river bars of

⁶⁹ Edward A. Alpers, *The Indian Oceans in World History*, (United States, Oxford, 2014), 40-50.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

Hit and Beled.⁷¹ Despite the challenges, trade continued through portage to the Caspian and Black Seas, and then up to the Baltic Sea. This trade aided Russia's growth, first in the shape of the Khazar trading kingdom, and then in Kievan Russia.

To win his way east, Fatimid caliph al- Mu'izz (953-975) conquered Morocco's independent Turkish Ikhsid Dynasty in 958. Sunnis were not pleased about Shiite rule when he arrived in Cairo in 972, but they were quickly pacified by the Fatimids' affluence and authority. He established an Egyptian Red Sea fleet that curbed piracy and reasserted Egypt's dominance in the Indian Ocean by sending his soldiers on to capture Palestine and Syria.⁷² The Fatimids took control of the trade route from the Persian Gulf to the Baltic Sea, thereby ending the Viking Age. The Mediterranean was regenerated once more, giving Italy, France, and Spain a fresh lease on life. Jewish merchants played a vital part in Fatimid trade, much as they did in Phoenician times, confirming their continued presence in Cochin, India. Merchants sailed the Nile of Aswan, then rode in caravans to the Red Sea to board ships. He urged Alexandria's glass and lusterware companies to expand their exports. Gold, silver, copper, textiles, paper, books, and brass, as well as Chinese silk and porcelain, were among the items on display.

1.2.13. The Chinese and Northern Mediterranean Resurgence

Between the 12th and 15th centuries AD, the Chinese extended their engagement in the western endpoint of the Indian Ocean trade, as did the inhabitants of Mediterranean Europe.⁷³ In the near term, Chinese engagement was significantly more important, and it appears to have aided in the rise of Italian trade. However, in the long term, the Italian development was more significant since it set the groundwork for Europe's leadership position in modern times. Their rise was aided by scientific and technical advancements in both China and the Mediterranean, as well as a military dominance based on inventions. The three stages of this time are discussed in this section: first, the Chinese, and then the

⁷¹ Sebastian R. Prange, *Monsoon Islam: Trade and Faith on the Medieval Malabar Coast*, (University of British Columbia, Cambridge University Press, 2018). 225.

⁷² Sebastian R. Prange, *Monsoon Islam: Trade and Faith on the Medieval Malabar Coast*, (University of British Columbia, Cambridge University Press, 2018). 50-70

⁷³ Admiral James Stavridis, *Sea Power: The History and Geopolitics of the World's Oceans*. (New York, Penguin Press, 2017).

Italians reasserted their role in the western and eastern stretches of the Indian ocean trade. Second, between the late 13th and early 15th centuries, when Chinese trade reached its peak in the Indian Ocean.⁷⁴ Last, the Chinese withdrew from the Indian Ocean, while the Italian influence grew in the 15th century. People residing on the outskirts of the region (such as Southeast Asians and particularly Egyptian Arabs) continued to play a significant role in Maritime Trade. However, China's commercial effect boosted Indian Ocean trade to new heights, while the arrival of Italians at the western end of the trade indicated the beginning of a transition that would eventually hand dominance of the trade over to Europe.

Since General T'ai Tsu founded the Sung Dynasty in 960, the Chinese have been growing their interest in Indian Ocean trade, which peaked in the eleventh to early fifteenth centuries. Because of the eleventh-century discovery of the use of coke to smelt iron in blast furnaces, China's expanding power was built on a fast increase of iron and steel production in Henan and Hopei provinces (wood was in short supply in northern China). Hui Tsung's nephew Kao Tsung moved the capital to Hangchow near the Yangtze's mouth in 1135. The proximity of the new capital to the China Sea drew the Sung's attention even more to the importance of maritime trade.⁷⁵ By 1130, excise taxes on maritime trade provided nearly a quarter of the government's revenue. Textiles, tea, and porcelain were China's most profitable exports, with the latter two coming from Fukien province on the southern coast. Canton was chosen as the primary point of departure for the carrying trade into Indian Ocean seas. Chinese artisan output increased, and Chinese merchants in Southeast Asia rose to prominence (Where they formed permanent overseas colonies). Cantonese junks with their lofty sails traveled over the Strait of Malacca in the twelfth century, continuing as far west as Quilon in southern India. The Chinese took over much of the maritime commerce from the Arabs in the early thirteenth century, aided by their possession of the greatest boats in the Indian Ocean. Their massive commercial flat-bottomed junks were around 100 feet long on average and could transport 120 tons of goods and several hundred people. Canton and other Chinese coastal cities developed an

⁷⁴ Xinru Liu, *The Silk Road in World History*, (Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁷⁵ Clark G. Reynolds, *Command of the Sea, the History and Strategy of Maritime Empires*, (University of California, 1974), 130.

Arab city center. In Cairo and other Middle Eastern cities, sung porcelain became popular. As in modern Europe, trade guilds are claimed to have sprouted up, organized by streets. Italy reached out to dominate the increasing Mediterranean trade in goods flowing from the Indian Ocean via Egypt at the end of the eleventh century (a result in part of the recent Chinese impetus there).

The Byzantine Greeks were no longer able to reclaim their millennia-old dominance in Mediterranean trade because Byzantine monarchs had prohibited Greek merchants from trading abroad since the ninth century. This strategy was intended to keep hitherto Greek-carried European products such as lumber and weaponry out of the hands of Muslims, but it also allowed Italians to step in to meet this need. Italian civilization now cultivated a huge number of merchants, particularly in the port towns of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. Since 1082, Venice has moved from a Byzantine possession to a preferred Byzantine ally, exempt from Byzantine responsibilities. Commercial advancements aided Italy's development into Mediterranean commerce at this time. New banking and financial principles were either acquired from the Arabs or invented in Italy. Navigation has been improved because of two additional advances. The boxed compass encased the compass bowl (developed in Sung Dynasty China) in a box to keep the water in which the needle floated on straws from evaporating. This improvement allowed for rainy-day sailing in the Mediterranean if the sea was calm enough not to completely remove the water. Despite the restriction, the number of Italian journeys quadrupled, resulting in a significant reduction in shipping costs. Italian city states seized control of the western Mediterranean from the Arabs in the second part of the eleventh century.

The major source of wealth for the Southeast Asian city-states was trade to China from Indonesia and Malaya. Malacca, a tributary kingdom of China, was formed on the Malaysian southern coast in 1391 by Iskandar Shah, an exiled ruler from Palembang. At this period, Malacca's Chinese maritime community began to form.⁷⁶ The Ming Dynasty, on the other hand, recovered and strengthened China's dominance in the Indian Ocean for a period. A Chinese army captured Annam in 1407 (North Vietnam). Between 1405 and

⁷⁶ Ibid.

1433, the Chinese admiral Cheng Ho (or Zheng He), a Muslim court eunuch from Yunnan, led seven great cruises, stopping in places like Borneo, Malacca, Java, Sumatra, Sri Lanka, Calicut, Aden, Ormuz, Yemen, Malindi, Mogadishu, and Zanzibar. The main goal was to combat widespread piracy, which was driving up prices and stifling Calicut's neighbor Cochin was also a trading hub for the Chinese. From 1408 until 1438, Chinese armies held Sri Lanka, and trade delegations from Bengal, Ormuz, and East Africa returned to China. Pearls (sent from Bahrain), rubies, sapphires, topaz, coral, amber, gold, silver, iron, copper, cinnabar, carpets, woolens, and salt were all sought for at Hormuz, near the mouth of the Persian Gulf.

1.2.14. Resurgence of Italian Influence

After China withdrew from the Indian Ocean in the east, Italian influence at the western end of the Indian Ocean commerce (from Egypt west) hit a record high. The Mongols' waning influence affected the image of Egypt's Turkish Mamluk Dynasty of Kalaun, which had long been cohabited with Iran's Il-Khans. The collapse of Mongol supremacy, first in China in 1368 and then in Iran in 1380, emboldened the Circassian (mainly Slavic) Mamluks to gain control in 1382. Barkuk, the first Circassian sultan (r. 1382–1399), maintained Arabic papers while maintaining a Turkish government.⁷⁷ After the Persian Gulf commerce ceased in the thirteenth century and the Chinese withdrew in the early fifteenth century, the Egyptians, its South Arab trading partners (especially Oman), and the Gujaratis of western India (primarily Muslims) became the dominant merchants in the Arabian Sea.

As Italy's trade recovery carried economic renewal to its northern neighbors, demand for spices, silk, gold, and ivory increased. Barkuk's revival of the Red Sea trade route resulted in a fresh influx of business for Egypt's Italian trading partners, who were able to gain a competitive edge in their dealings with Egypt. The Renaissance was born out of the affluence and leisure that the fifteenth century brought to Italy. The shady invention that gave the Italians a competitive edge in business during this era, combined with the large revenues earned from trade entering through Egypt, allowed them to achieve an incredible

⁷⁷ Milo Kearney, *The Indian Ocean in World History*, theme in the World History, (Psychology Press, 2004).

feat in (equally competitive and self-serving) ingenuity. The Italian Renaissance, concentrated on Florence at first and later broadening out to include Rome, was Italy's creative contribution to history in the fifteenth century. Between 1469 and 1492, the sybaritic Lorenzo il Magnifico drove the third generation of the Italian Renaissance into an outpouring of unashamed hedonism.

1.2.15. North Atlantic Trade Influence

The sixteenth century ushered in an age in which the lands around the North Atlantic coasts played a significant role in the power and commerce of the Indian Ocean region, an era that will endure until the modern era. The Mongols' heinous effect on Asia and Egypt, whether by warfare or disease, facilitated the advent of the Atlantic Europeans (whose wars and epidemics at the same time were eclipsed in scale by those in Asia and Egypt). The immediate beneficiary of this position was Renaissance Italy, but the Iberian Peninsula usurped its place with the discovery of the fourth key maritime route into the Indian Ocean. Other Atlantic peoples, notably the Dutch and English (who from the start played a critical role in Iberia's success story), as well as later Americans (tutored and helped by England). This section discusses three eras: The Portuguese, how the Portuguese began their push into the Indian Ocean at the beginning of the 16th century, and the 16th-century height of Iberian power in the Indian Ocean. Second, the rise of Spanish influence in Portugal from 1525 to the ascension of Spain's ruler to the Portuguese throne in 1580, the significance of this Spanish connection until its breakdown in the mid-17th century, and the growth of the English presence. Additionally, the English ascension at the end of the seventeenth century, the struggle between France and England for commercial dominance from 1689 to 1815, and the solidifying of British success in the early nineteenth century.

1.2.16. Portuguese Trade Control

Portuguese was the first western nation to penetrate oriental culture. The Portuguese started building an economic network and engaging in trade with ancient nations. Their trade on the Malabar Coast, during the early sixteenth century, began a new phase in international relations. In 1500, a treaty of commerce and peace was signed by the Zamorin

of Calicut. New organization with the name of feitoria was established by them, on the Calicut Coast, and it was announced to the mercantile world, which also regulated the Portuguese traders and dealt with the local authorities.⁷⁸ The Portuguese collaborated with the Muslim merchants who were already established on the Malabar coast, even though their experience in Iberia had made them apathetic toward the Muslims. The Portuguese also traded with the Central India king, Vijayanagar, and the Kalinga Indian merchants in Malacca. The main Portuguese trade between Malacca and India was from Goa Chaul, Cochin and Negapatnam.

The Portuguese made a financial breakthrough when they were able to purchase the oriental spices, as the Muslim traders dominated the land route to India, by charting a sea route, the Portuguese were able to by-pass the bottleneck. By eliminating the middlemen who were highly involved in transporting the oriental goods to Europe through Red Sea, Aden, they were able to sell spices in Lisbon at a lower price than in European markets such as Genoa and Venice, resultantly Lisbon became Europe's spice market. The Arab merchants, Venetians and Genoese were affected by the Portuguese trade established on Malabar Coast and by the closure of trade routes through Persian Gulf and the Red Sea in favor of that via the Cape of Good Hope. The Jews played a major role in internationalizing Portuguese trade, through its network that was established between the Christian and Muslim world. Venice and Genoa were established mercantile centers before Lisbon became Europe's spice market. Once the Portuguese established themselves in Goa, they were able to buy diamonds from the Vijayanagar kingdom and transport them to Europe directly.⁷⁹

India was the sole diamond supplier of the early Portuguese period; Portuguese Jews arranged for diamonds to be transported through the Jewish mercantile network to Europe for further cut and polished and to sell them. The mercantile network in Northern Europe, Mediterranean and the Near East were built up by a variety of trading families in Europe. Their trade network spread into three oceans i.e., the Indian Ocean, Atlantic and Pacific

⁷⁸ R. B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese Off the South Arabian Coast: Hadramī Chronicles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 43-62

⁷⁹ Ibid.

Ocean., creating a global market. They paved the way for other Europeans i.e., Dutch, British, French, to enter the water for the Indian Ocean and trade with Asians. Thus, the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean ushered in a new age of militarism, colonialism, and trade denominationalism, which superseded a time of comparatively stronger international collaboration. Europe.

1.2.17. Spain

Portugal was too fragile to hang on to the profitable position it had achieved on its own, and it was quickly absorbed into the Spanish sphere of influence. After Isabel la Cattolica of Castile and Fernando ell Cattolica of Aragon joined in 1474, a unified Spain was formed, with a new geographical proximity to Portugal. The Tudor monarchy in England had been in desperate need of recognition and help from Spain. With a diminished middle class, Spain, like Portugal, was ill-equipped to maintain the wealth of its global trade.⁸⁰ Profits were diverted to northern European manufacturing and financial hubs such as the Netherlands, Germany, and England. Spain needed to keep control of the northern centers under its authority because of the money outflow. The Ottoman navy led by Greeks took control of the western Mediterranean. The Spanish-Portuguese reconciliation benefited both countries' interests in the Indian Ocean. Large amounts of spices and pepper were carried across the Cape of Good Hope to Lisbon while the Portuguese blocked the Red Sea route. Spanish Jesuit missionaries were able to travel via these Portuguese commercial centers and colonies. In Goa, Malacca, China, and Japan, they are the most well-known.

The German protestant lords made an alliance with King Henry II of France in 1552, which was finalized by the transfer of French-speaking territories in Lorraine from Germany to France. Because of France's participation, the religious conflict could not be resolved in Germany until it was resolved in France. In 1585, English ships and trade were prohibited from entering Spain, and in 1588, Felipe II dispatched a powerful Spanish navy to depose Queen Elizabeth. Following England's triumph over the Spanish Armada, the Dutch resistance was reinforced, and the religious struggle switched back to Germany with the

⁸⁰ Quoted in R. J. Barendse, *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2002).

1598 edict of Nantes. While this was going on, Spain and Portugal tried to strengthen the Iberian position in the Indian Ocean. Because of their mutual interest in the Indian Ocean, the Spanish-Portuguese collaboration worked to some extent. Portuguese Goa created an oriental branch of its business centered on Manila, Nagasaki, and Macao when Spain colonized the Philippines in 1564 and took over the Moluccan spice trade. In addition, the Mughal Empire signed the Pracas do Natre in 1573, handing off the future city of Bombay to the Portuguese. The Indian Ocean became a part of a new global economy that included the Atlantic, Pacific, and American colonial worlds. Silver from the United States and Japan was used to pay for Indian Ocean goods.⁸¹

The collapse of Iberian dominance in the seventeenth century was correlated with the continuous reduction of American silver yields. Felipe III pursued a policy of retreat, establishing peace treaties with England in 1604 and the Dutch in 1609. Their use of joint stock companies enabled them to amass cash well beyond the means of a single trader, enabling them to develop factories and forts. In 1600, the East India Company received a royal license, and in 1605, the Dutch conquered Indonesia and Amboina by constructing a new trade route east from the Cape of Good Hope to the western coast of Australia and then north to Java. After the Dutch captured Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641, the Iberian and Dutch fought for control of the spice trade for years. Muslim merchants, who continued to engage in the carrying trade far into the nineteenth century.

1.2.18. Dutch and East India Company

After defeating the Spanish Armada in 1588, England had a chance to take over Spain's dominance in the Indian Ocean trade as well as global trade. While France was fighting Spain in Europe in the early seventeenth century, the English and Dutch had more freedom to establish themselves in the global oceans, and they reinforced their position in Ireland between 1588 and 1605.⁸² As they approached the Indian Ocean, they were aware of the Dutch position. The fact that Amsterdam was the global center for precious metals trading

⁸¹ Pedro Machado, *Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and the Indian Ocean, c. 1750-1850*, (Cambridge University Press 2014)

⁸² Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 206.

gave the Dutch a significant advantage in Indian Ocean trade. By 1601, the Dutch government had founded their own East India Company, which was followed by the French in 1602. The Dutch commerce with Asia benefited these businesses. The monsoon followed the Dutch trade pattern from one port to the next.

The Dutch East India Company expanded its influence over the clove trade in 1625 by limiting clove growing to their island of Ambon. Bengal became a key exporter of raw silk and exquisite textiles to Holland and England after the Dutch began trading at Hugli in Bengal in 1635. Except for the Dutch, all European traders were barred from trading with Japan, and the Japanese gained control of silver and copper in 1639. In the year 1642,⁸³ The Dutch also began a lucrative tin trade with the Malay peninsula. England conquered Cochin on the Malabar coast from the Dutch in 1663. The Dutch attempted to combat the English approach by purchasing all of the Malabar pepper, but the English succeeded because they were ready to pay greater rates for it than the Dutch. The English also prioritized commerce in the Indian subcontinent's other two corners: Madras (Chennai) and Calcutta in the northeast.

The Mughals crushed the Eurasian pirates who were obstructing trade business in the Bay of Bengal in the 1660s. On the northern Coromandel coast, Mughal ruler Aurangzeb seized Golconda and used its port of Masulipatnam to trade Indian textiles for Sumatran pepper. To challenge the British Raj, he strengthened ties with the French and established three ports: Surat (in the north of Bombay), Chandernagore, and Pondicherry (south of Madras). Following Aurangzeb's death, the empire was partitioned into several separate principalities, including Muslim and Hindu. The Safavid Empire of Persia and the Ottoman Empire of Turkey joined the Mughal Empire in the demise of huge Indian Ocean hinterland empires, putting the Europeans in a much stronger position.

The English (Dutch) East India Company sold textiles to Europe, West Africa, and America in the eighteenth century. By the 1720s, Bengali textiles were in high demand, reaching as far as Surat in Gujrat and India's southeast Coromandel coast. Chinese porcelain and silk, Yemen coffee, south Asian saltpeter, and Maldives cowry shells were

⁸³ Michael Pearson, *The Indian Ocean* (London: Routledge, 2003).

also brought by the British. With all other rivals gone, England and France focused on determining which empire would rule the world's riches, power, and Indian Ocean commerce. After years of battle, the Treaty of Paris in 1763 gave Britain control of India, Canada, and the world's waters. The English East India Company gained revenue collection rights in Bengal in 1765, giving them control of the local opium trade.

1.3. Industrial Revolution and Evolving Trade Pattern

The triumph of France propelled the English into the industrial revolution. The management of India was given to the British East India Company. The governor of the firm, Robert Clive, guaranteed the Indians that they would buy British products. Indian merchants and industrialists were obliged to pay exorbitant taxes to sell their goods at a low price to the British East India Company. When the native Indian market collapsed, British manufacturers became the primary provider to the large Indian market.⁸⁴ The mainstay objective of developing trade was British manufactured goods sent to India in return for opium, which was then transported to China and swapped for tea for sale in Europe, making the Indian Ocean a more connected global market. Indians grew increasingly reliant on Europeans as a source of raw resources in return for British manufactured goods, and although India remained impoverished, England flourished. The British East India Company was put under the administration of the Crown by the India Act of 1784.

With the establishment of a new English East India Company base in Penang, on the Malayan coast, in 1786, British control over the strait of Malacca began to develop. New colonies of Australia and New Zealand bolstered their position in the Indian Ocean. In 1790, the Spanish opened Manila to all European and British shipping. When the French invaded the Netherlands in 1795, Britain acquired control of the Dutch Cape Colony, Malacca, and coastal Sri Lanka. Meanwhile, Napoleon tried several times to undercut British authority over the high seas by forming a strategic alliance with Russia, Indian indigenous, and Arab-speaking Egyptians. Napoleon defeated a Turkish army in the Battle

⁸⁴ James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768–1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery, and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State*, 2nd ed. (Singapore: NUS Press, 2007)

of the Pyramids in July 1798. The Tiger of Mysore, Tipu Sultan, waged war on Britain. In response, Lord Mornington invaded Mysore in 1799, and the British captured Perim Island off the coast of Yemen in 1799, in the hopes of preventing Napoleon's future advance from Egypt to India.

The Napoleonic Wars sparked a sustained spread of Anglo colonization throughout the Indian Ocean region, as well as the rest of the world. His cooperation with the Egyptians and probable connections to Persia prompted a future British ambition to dominate the Mediterranean Red Sea and Persian Gulf trade routes. The British kept the Dutch Cape Colony permanently following Napoleon's conquest of the Netherlands in 1815. Three pirates aided in establishing Britain's hegemony over the eastern passage into and out of the Indian Ocean. Singapore was founded in 1819 by Thomas Raffles, an East India Company employee, on land acquired from the Sultan of Johore. During 1823, this strategic location, which controlled the Malacca Strait, had developed into a thriving free trade hub with a growing Chinese population. The East India Company merged Singapore, Malacca, Penang Island, and Port Wellesley into the Straits Settlements administration in 1826. The Cocos-Keeling Islands, southwest of Sumatra, were similarly taken over by John Clunies-Ross. In 1841, James Brooke, a former English East India Company army commander, created a paramilitary band and used a local civil conflict to seize control of Sarawak (northern Borneo). He established the Brooke dynasty, which reigned in collaboration with Britain until 1946. British control was also extended to the western entrance into and out of the Red Sea. In 1839, Britain established a protectorate over Aden at the Red Sea's entrance to the Indian Ocean, forcing the Ottoman soldiers to flee into north Yemen.

In the 1830s, Zanzibar began growing and exporting cloves to the United Kingdom and the United States. The subsequent success of Zanzibar (in comparison to the loss of Oman's India commerce to the British and Indian Hindus) persuaded Imam Sayyid Said to relocate his capital from Wahabi-infested Oman to Zanzibar in 1840. Zanzibar and the nearby island of Pemba exported four-fifths of the world's cloves by the mid-nineteenth century. Zanzibar imported cotton cloth, weapons, brass wire, beads, and rice from Britain, the United States, and India in exchange for the export of cloves, ivory, coconuts, copra,

and palm oil. The cheap goods of Britain's industrial revolution began to replace indigenous handicrafts, making East Africa dependent on and submissive to Europe, much as they had done in India. The Iberian victory in the Indian Ocean had been lost to the English; the many Dutch and French assaults to Anglo predominance in the Indian Ocean trade in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries had all been defeated; and Britannia dominated the waters.

1.3.1 British Rule

The colonies in the Indian Ocean benefited Britain greatly in terms of importing British goods. As Russia's might rose, Britain began to worry about losing her predominance on the high seas, particularly in the Indian Ocean. Napoleon's support for Russian expansion into India had created concerns about Russian security. Despite its assistance in scientific growth, Britain's expanding grip over India aggravated Indian sensibilities, resulting to an anti-British outburst. Furthermore, there were further clashes between India and the British, but the Mughal Empire was abolished, and India was given power. Direct British rule of India under a viceroy superseded the East India Company.

The completion of the Suez Canal in 1869, with its more direct route between India and Britain, stimulated a change from sailing ships to steam ships, which benefitted British merchants and seamen. Britain's imperialism and expansionism led France and Italy to join the colonial race, particularly in the Indian Ocean region. Italy intended to establish its own colony in Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, on the Red Sea coast of Ethiopia. By 1914, the Indian Ocean region's primary exports included oil from the Persian Gulf, Indonesia, and Burma; cotton yarn, foodstuffs, tea, and raw materials from India and Sri Lanka; minerals, wheat, fruit, wine, and wool from Africa and Australia; sugar from the Mascarene Islands; phosphate from Christmas Island; and rubber and tin from Indonesia and Malaysia.⁸⁵

Prime Minister Louis Botha of the Union of South Africa bolstered Britain's wartime position in the Indian Ocean, amid considerable resistance from the Afrikaners, by

⁸⁵ Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

bringing his dominion into the war on Britain's side. Treaties of protection made by Qatar's king with Britain in 1916 ended British sovereignty of the Persian Gulf's south shore. By the end of 1917, British naval dominance of East African coastal waterways had helped the British to push the Germans out of the country. On the other hand, Asian and Europeans controlled the East African trade, while the British began to export cotton, coffee, sisal, and rubber from Tanganyika. The British invaded Iraq in 1918. The ecstatic Kurds began to form their own state in northern Iraq, a place that the Turks also planned to keep under their control, but both ambitions were thwarted by British interest in the region's vast oil reserves. As Secretary of War, Winston Churchill even accepted a proposal to deploy poison gas to suppress the Kurds (a plot subsequently carried out by Saddam Hussein), although this action was ultimately superfluous. To explore these oil reserves, a British oil corporation was created (with France having a quarter part).⁸⁶

Despite this outward impression of strength, Britain had been overburdened in personnel and finances during World War I, and the Great Depression of the 1930s had weakened the country much more. Due to its antiquated and inefficient manufacturing, Britain lost many of its markets to the United States and Japan during the war and was unable to reclaim them at the war's end. Coal and iron, two established British industries, have been losing market share to up-and-coming sectors including oil, steel, chemicals, machine products, and electrical goods. In terms of standardization and mass manufacturing, the British had fallen behind the Americans. The British factories were also not brought up to date after the war due to the country's heavy war obligations.

By encouraging his ally Japan to exert its dominance in Asian waterways during WWII, Hitler was able to draw the United States into the conflict. The importance of attacking the Anglo position in the Indian Ocean was agreed upon by both German and Japanese plans for Asia, however the Japanese strategy was more important than the Nazis'. The Great Depression prompted Japan to expand its invasion of China to secure enough raw materials and a consumer market to keep the Japanese economy strong. In response to Hitler's call for an immediate Japanese occupation of Madagascar (then in the hands of friendly Vichy

⁸⁶ James Stavridis, *Sea Power: The History and Geopolitics of World's Oceans*, (Penguin Press 2017)

French officials) to prevent the Anglo powers from gaining southwestern access to the Indian Ocean, a Japanese fleet entered the Indian Ocean on March 26, 1942, and drove the British naval forces out of Sri Lanka as a prelude to conquering Madagascar. Diego Garcia Island, in the central Indian Ocean, was utilized by the British to keep an eye out for German and Japanese warships and submarines. With their success in the Battle of Stalingrad in February 1943, the Russians began to push back the German invaders (Volgograd).

In this fashion, Britain's time of leadership in the Indian Ocean developed, first successfully challenged by the Russians, and then severely weakened by German-Japanese competition. Britain's failure ushered in decolonization, and its subsequent fall resulted in a schism amongst the emerging international powers (United States and Soviet Union). During the Cold War, oil was the most important raw commodity in the Indian Ocean region. The American admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan said at the turn of the twentieth century whoever dominated the waves, ruled the world.

Strong relations between the US and Singapore and Malaysia (together with Australia) served to strengthen the US position in the eastern Indian Ocean. The United States and Japan, which became the principal suppliers of industrial items, took over Britain's former leadership role in Singapore's economy. Petroleum products and computer components were among Singapore's exports. Malaysia's key commercial partners in the rubber, palm oil, and tin export industry were the United Kingdom, Japan, and the United States. Most of the rubber production was still controlled by the British. Imports of food, particularly rice, were significant. Malaysia began exporting its newly found offshore oil in 1971, and Singapore became a major oil-refining hub. Malaysia became a significant exporter of light manufactured products and electronic equipment thanks to the earnings it gained. Spices, tin, and rubber exports from Malaysia and Indonesia, notably to Singapore, continued to be considerable. The pro-Western Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was founded in 1967 by Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand to work for regional cooperation. As a result, the United States retained its dominance in the area.

With the United States recognition as the world's sole-superpower, American leadership accelerated throughout the Indian Ocean and throughout the world. The expanding American presence in Indian Ocean trade, on the other hand, was welcomed by locals. Both Singapore and Malaysia have trade surpluses and Singapore's liberal taxation, simplified customs processes, and essentially duty-free import and export policies helped it thrive. Singapore's major commercial partner was the United States (followed by Malaysia, Hong Kong, and Japan). More than half of Singapore's electronics, computers, and industrial exports come from American-owned enterprises there. Chemicals and petroleum products were also exported from Singapore. Singapore's biggest source of imports (25 percent) came from Japan, and Singapore was a significant investor and China's fifth largest trade partner. In 1996, Singapore hosted the inaugural World Trade Organization ministerial conference. In 1994, Malaysia attempted to boost its iron and steel sector, as well as its manufactured products exports.

The United States was able to take a firm stance in defense of Kuwait when Saddam Hussein's troops attacked it in 1990, owing to the decline of Soviet support in the Middle East (detailed in the preceding chapter). Saddam Hussein had ordered the invasion of Kuwait, deceived by its oil wealth and claiming it as part of Iraq's homeland, in the false notion that the US would not resist him. The possibility of Iraq holding 40% of Middle Eastern oil, on the other hand, posed a significant threat to American influence. Globalization, on the other hand, meant westernization for Asia, which meant Americanization to a large extent, with its acceptance of suggested regional values. As China and the rest of East Asia adopted westernization, the Indian Ocean became the world's largest territory rejecting globalization and westernization.

Ocean commerce has always been a prominent indicator of a state's or region's significance and leadership from a global viewpoint, stretching from the South China Sea to the eastern Mediterranean, passing via a series of affluent urban emporia. Generally, it is assumed that there is a geographic predetermines that extends throughout history. Geography dictated that the regions of the Indian Ocean area would give emergence to the first civilizations, attracting greedy barbarians who destroyed all but save the most exposed parts of Egypt. Egypt's influence prompted its Mediterranean trading partners to join in. At the same time,

the same spread of trade encouraged China to seek a position in the Indian Ocean. Because of China's and the Mediterranean's proximity from the Indian Ocean (as well as the effect of Central Asian nomads), Mediterranean and Chinese engagement in the Indian Ocean trading panorama declined for a time. These farther-flung places eventually recovered and resumed their involvement in the commerce. However, the Mongols' renewed nomadic destructiveness against Asia and the Middle East offered Europeans a freer hand. The triumph of Venice prompted a Genoese drive for other ways, allowing Portugal to join the Indian Ocean through a hitherto unknown back door. Naturally, the stronger powers of Atlantic Europe pushed their way in. For a period, England's isolated status allowed it to dominate. However, as its dominance of the North Atlantic grew, so did the size of the overseas Anglo population on the American side, which finally gained the lead. From terrorism in Indonesia to the military occupation of Afghanistan, the alliance with Qatar, the embargo in Iraq, and missiles in Yemen, challenges to American policy in the Indian Ocean region dominated the media attention by the turn of the twenty-first century. Some argued that the US was becoming overly involved in attempting to control this region of the world, while others argued that action was required to avoid a larger problem soon. The wheel of world history, which had raised one power after another to the top for so long, has never been easy to control. Trade and politics are interwoven, as nations are bound by the interest in such a way that the whole form an articulated system which in the 21st century is known as globalization. Whatever the outcome, the Indian Ocean region continues to form, as always, the hub of the wheel and world politics is evolving. The need for political diplomacy is highly required to make the world a more united and peaceful place for nations to conduct their behaviors and fulfill their national interest based on cooperation. The ocean will persistently remain a power factor for nations to become powerful via controlling and making use of oceans in war and in peace, to influence global politics.

Conclusion

Ocean trade has always been a prominent indicator of a state's or region's significance and leadership from a global viewpoint, stretching from the South China Sea to the eastern Mediterranean, passing via a series of affluent urban emporia. Generally, it is assumed that

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Chapter Two

Political Diplomacy in Maritime Context

Oceans remain significant in the geopolitical and geo-economics context of the state. The world politics from ancient to contemporary era has been a struggle to pursue inter-continental connectivity for political, strategic, economic, and diplomatic objectives. Political diplomacy sets global actors in motion to focus on problems by building diplomatic relations through agreements, negotiations, and dialogues. The relationship between foreign policy and diplomacy is historical because states always used diplomacy as a tool to ensure their foreign policy objectives. Diplomacy, in a foreign policy setting, focuses on interactions between actors rather than on the individuals themselves, as foreign policy does. Diplomacy is the practice of communication and negotiation by which states in a system manage their relationships and accomplish their objectives without resorting to conflict.⁸⁷ Twenty-first century ushers in the process of globalization, regionalization and localization which has profound impact on the nature of diplomacy. These changes in international structure intrigued states to include multiple actors and diverse domains in the diplomatic process.

The maritime domain is crucial for pursuing national objectives related to defense and law enforcement and promotes national goals related to maritime sector growth. Alfred Thayer Mahan, the maritime strategist, developed Sea power's constituents, analogous to the "Elements of National Power." He identified six key determinants of nations' power at sea, i.e., geography, territory, population, government power, national character, and physical conformation.⁸⁸ Blue economy has become an integral part of sea power, and these states have been adopting multidimensional and more inclusive strategies to enhance its national

⁸⁷ Castes M. Constantine's, Kerrang, Paul Sharp, *the sage handbook of Diplomacy*, (2016). 67.

⁸⁸ John H. Maurer, *The Influence of Thinkers, and Ideas on History: The Case of Alfred Thayer Mahan*, (Foreign Policy Research Institute, 2016), accessed on October 28, 2020.

<https://www.fpri.org/article/2016/08/influence-thinkers-ideas-history-case-alfred-thayer-mahan/>

character. According to Frank Hoffman, "in the 21st century, strategic success is synonymous with constant development and prudent application of sea power".⁸⁹

The recent development in international structure requires Pakistan to include maritime diplomacy as a major component of its foreign policy agenda. Furthermore, it has become a need of time that Pakistan includes the maritime sector as a pivotal part of the national security strategy. This chapter summarizes the development of the Pakistan diplomatic relations with regional and extra-regional nations by focusing on the Indian Ocean's significance and its contribution in global affairs, related maritime security subjects along its analogous responses to preserve shipping and trade, and the growing naval collaboration in the Indian Ocean.

This chapter focuses (i) political diplomacy and maritime objectives (ii) Pakistan maritime stature (iii) Pakistan's maritime trade infrastructure (iv) maritime politics among Pakistan and regional actors (v) maritime environmental protection agreements (vi) Challenges and Hurdles in Implementation of Current Agreement and Mechanism.

2.1 Political Diplomacy and Maritime Objectives

The emergence of non-traditional perceptions, transnational threats, and challenges have changed the dynamics of cooperation and conflict at sea. Global attention to human security, economic cooperation, and environmental concerns, as well as the expanding demand for maritime rules, have resulted in a realistic modernization of the nature and scope of sea power.⁹⁰ Nations are enhancing maritime cooperation in a variety of fields, including marine training, information exchange, search and rescue, and data gathering. As a result, maritime activities are gaining prominence as a means of addressing developing socio-economic concerns. According to geographer Kearns, geopolitics is a

⁸⁹ Frank Hoffman, *No Strategic Success without 21st Century Sea power: Forward Partnering (war on Rocks*, 2014), accessed on November 4, 2020.

<https://warontherocks.com/2014/07/no-strategic-success-without-21st-century-seapower-forward-partnering>

⁹⁰ Naghmana Zafar Bhatti, *Blue Growth: An Emerging Paradigm of National Power- A Case Study of Pakistan*, (National Institute of Maritime Affairs, 2019), accessed on November 7, 2020.

<https://bahria.edu.pk/nima/wpcontent/uploads/2019/09/PolicyPaper004-Blue-Growth-and-National-Power-May19.pdf>.

language that describes, explains, and encourages ways of understanding how territorial forces are concentrated and experienced.⁹¹

Political Diplomacy in international relations has inevitably been driven by changing events; the points of interaction among states, which have increased with international trade, tourism, migration, development assistance, and cultural linkages. The communications revolution, the influence of modern technology, the emergence of new non-government influences (business, professionals, civil society), new risks (environmental degradation, resource scarcity), and intractable afflictions (poverty) all threaten to undermine diplomatic services' ability to pursue bilateral relations and issues. Diplomatic communication, traditionally based on "government-to-government" and "diplomat-to-diplomat" interactions, has expanded to include "government-to-non-governmental" contacts.

The interaction among sovereign states inevitably produces political diplomacy, i.e., states' dialogue about states' business. This concept is considered the "infrastructure of world politics," It has been made necessary by Paul Sharp in the term "relation of separateness," which elaborates on sovereign states politics.⁹² Diplomacy is a subdivision of these dialogues, where the broader set also includes private negotiations and personal interactions. The pattern of Negotiations includes the trading interests toward an agreement, where reaching a point of the pact is essential to moving forward on a joint project. Furthermore, it requires several actors to pursue their private interests, where coordination with other states carries the possibility of a more significant payoff than independent action. Diplomacy is inextricably linked to the concept of rule compliance, and political diplomacy is defined by political appeals invested in the concept of compliance: Diplomacy entails presenting rule-compliant explanations for the state's activities.⁹³

⁹¹ John Agnew, *A Companion to Political Geography* (New Jersey: Blackwell Publishing, 2003) 31.

⁹² James D. Fearon, *Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Theories of International Relations*, (Chicago: Annual Review of Political Science, 1998), 289-313.

⁹³ James D. Fearon, *Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation*, (International Organization Foundation, 2016) accessed on December 20, 2020. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2601276>.

Diplomacy is, in practice, more closely associated with nations than with other types of actors. This is not to say that non-state actors cannot engage in the practice; rather, it indicates that when they do, they are engaging in an activity geared toward states, namely the use of international social resources to influence state conduct.⁹⁴ It reflects the formal structure of the activity and its connection to public international law's state-centric framework: only states are obligated under public international law. Geopolitics is not determinism, but it does presume that geography dictates the boundaries and opportunities of international politics; states can use geopolitical opportunities to become the main actors in their own geopolitical situations. One objective of grand strategy is to take use of one's own geographical advantages and an adversary's geopolitical vulnerabilities. In maritime context, oceans have always played a significant role in shaping the geopolitics of nations, empires, and civilization. It is a critical conduit for both strategic dominance and trade.

The oceans are powerful assets of coastal states, where nations seek to prove their strength and (or) increase their influence through maritime activities both for strategic and economic concerns. Three-quarters of the world's population are inhabitants of littoral states, less than 200 miles from the sea, 80 percent of its capital cities are nearly all massive international trade centers (military bases also found there).⁹⁵ The littoral states are considered as trade routes, as a shared sea lane of communications (SLOC) connecting the world. The amount of seaborne commerce has substantially expanded over the past decades. According to UNCTAD, China's OBOR- One Belt and One Road project holds the potential to affect seaborne trade, reshape the world trade network and shipping routes, and generate business opportunities. The sea is an arena of competition among states and execution of power,⁹⁶ geopolitics is dynamic, not static. It depicts transnational realities and global power constellations that emerge because of the interaction of geography and

⁹⁴ Volker Stanzel, *New Realities in Foreign Affairs: Diplomacy in the 21st Century*, (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik German Institute for International and Security Affairs, 2018), accessed on December 17, 2020.

⁹⁵ Leighton G. Luke, Mr Leighton G. Luke, Mr Tas Luttrell, In *Indian Ocean: A Sea of Uncertainty*, (Future Directions International, 2012) 9-19.

⁹⁶ John J. Mearsheimer, *Anarchy and the Struggle for Power: In the Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, (New York: W.W, Norton & Company, 2001).

technology and economic development. As a result, the strategic discussion in contemporary international politics has centered on marine problems such as the US pivot to the Asia-Pacific, sea order, China's development as a naval power, and states' naval capabilities in resource competition.

Indian Ocean trade is extra-regional; it has the largest concentration of energy-rich littoral states. Regional states have national and strategic interests in the Indian Ocean region, and hence it is one of the most militarized oceans compared to the Atlantic and Pacific. It has crucial significance due to its connectivity.⁹⁷ Retrospectively, it has traditionally assisted routes to its East and West.

2.2 Pakistan's Maritime Stature

Some of the world's strategic and crucial sea lines of communication (SLOC) pass through the coast of Pakistan. Pakistan got world attention because of its geostrategic location and vital fossil fuel reserves but due to its vital chokepoint through Hormuz lies. The Indian Ocean is the center of major sea routes, and it connects the Middle East, East Asia, Europe, Africa, and the Americas along with crucial chokepoints of Strait of Malacca, Bab-el-Mandeb, Strait of Hormuz. These significant routes assist the trade in the Indian Ocean region and carry half the world's seaborne oil.⁹⁸

Besides Pakistan's strategic concerns, the primary issue of political instability in the Indian Ocean is one of the most severe concerns for Pakistan. Political rivalries and ingrained narratives have complicated the situation of demarcation of maritime borders. Political differences became the reason for inefficiency in accomplishing shared goals, i.e., eradicating piracy issues, improving management, good governance, and preserving stability at sea. At the international level, containment policy has become today's world reality, developed, and developing nations are confronting each other- from the Middle East to the Indian and the Pacific Ocean. Geopolitics is concerned with the relationships

⁹⁷ Khalid Chandio, *Major Powers' Interests in Indian Ocean: Challenges and Options for Pakistan*, (Islamabad Policy Research Institute, 2015, accessed on December 26, 2020).
<https://ipripak.org/major-powers-interests-in-indian-ocean-challenges-andoptions-for-pakistan/>.

⁹⁸ Frank G.Hoffman and Sam J. Tangredi, *Characteristics and Requirements of Evolving Security Environment: In Globalization and Maritime Power*, (University Press of Pacific, 2004), 221-241.

between the interests of international political players concentrated inside a region, a space, or a geographical feature, relationships that contribute to the formation of a geographical system. Geopolitics, according to critical geopolitical theory, is a collection of discursive activities that 'spatialize' international politics and depict it as a world defined by places.

2.3 Pakistan's Maritime Trade Infrastructure

Pakistan is strategically placed in the intersection of Asia, bordered on the north by China, on the east by India, and on the west by Iran and Afghanistan. Thus, Pakistan's strategic location enables it to develop as a vital economic, energy, and transportation corridor; more precisely, Pakistan serves as a link to Central Asian countries, Gulf states, and Eastern nations. Globally, the estimated worth of ocean assets is around 24 trillion US dollars⁹⁹, and the world has ranked the blue economy seventh if measured with the top ten global economies. Pakistan is endowed with a nearly 1000-kilometer-long coastline that stretches from Sir Creek in the southeast to Jiwani in the west, where it meets the Iranian border. The Exclusive Economic Zone stretches to 370 kilometers and the Continental Shelf to approximately 350 kilometers, covering a total area of 290,000 square kilometers. According to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (1994), coastal governments have jurisdiction over their territorial waters extending up to 12 nautical miles from the shoreline.¹⁰⁰

The most central element of maritime power is ports and harbors, significant positions on the coast where ships can dock and transfer goods and people, miscellaneous cargo materials to and from the land. Strategic position of port should be on location so that the monsoon, strong tide and winds doesn't affect the docked vessels and must have sufficient berth to dock all types of ships, with inclusion of deep draught and owning enough storage of shipments, cargo, machinery, vehicles, bulk cargo i.e., sugar. Wheat rice etc. currently, most of the cargo has been transported through two types of containers i.e., Twenty Feet

⁹⁹ *Reviving the Ocean Economy: The case for action* (United States: WWF, 2015), 7.
https://wwfint.awsassets.panda.org/downloads/reviving_ocean_economy_report_hi_res.pdf.

¹⁰⁰ *Pakistan's Coastal and Marine Resource* (Pakistan: MFF, 2016), 71.
https://www.iucn.org/sites/dev/files/pk_coastal_resources_handbook.pdf

Equivalent Units (TEU) and 40 TEU.¹⁰¹ The hinterland connection of port is another vital aspect. Ports attract stakeholders to establish industries in the neighborhood to easily import raw materials and export finishing goods and can be a pillar to economic development of a nation.

Pakistan has three main ports, Gwadar port, Muhammad Bin Qasim port, and Karachi port. Karachi port is the oldest which has been operating since 1884 and administered by Karachi Port Trust (KPT). KPT is to assist environmental, competitive, and modern cargo facilities. It includes 33 berths, 30 of which are allocated to container handling, RO-RO (roll on roll off) ships (vehicle carriers such as cars, trucks, and buses, among others), and dry cargo. The remaining three berths are used to transport liquid cargo such as oil, molasses, and so on. Docking is permitted for oil tankers with a draught of up to 12.5m. Container ships having a depth of up to 11.5m may dock at each of the East and West wharves' three slots. Karachi port carried 55 million tons of cargo in 2017-18, or almost 55% of total cargo in Pakistan. In fiscal year 2018-19, it completed 41.84 million transactions.¹⁰² The drop occurred as a result of the relocation of coal handling to Port Qasim and a general decline in imports and exports. The volume of cargo handling, including import and export peaked at 52.28 million tons, registered 25 percent growth including export in all categories of cargo recording a growth of dry cargo rising by 9 percent to 15.27 million tons as against 13.97 million tons in 2019-2020. The container handling at Karachi port was 2.29 million TEU which is remarked as the highest in KPT's history. The movement of vessels also increased by 21 percent to 1845 ships. The container carriers were reported at 868 during 2020-21 compared to last fiscal bulk and bulk cargo ships 280 against 172 ships.¹⁰³ According to Pakistan Bureau Statistics, export in FY-2021 soared to 25.3 billion dollar from 22 billion dollar in FY-2020, while the import stood at 56 billion dollars against 44.5 billion dollars in FY20,¹⁰⁴ thus keeping

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Dr. Anjum Sarfaraz, *Maritime Power of Pakistan: Prospects for Enhancing Economic Development* (Pakistan: Islamabad Policy Research Institute, 2020). 51-70.
<https://ipripak.org/wpcontent/uploads/2020/08/Article-3-Anjum-Sarfraz-JoCA-4-1and2-ED-SSA.pdf>

¹⁰³ Press release, *Karachi Port Trust*, (The financial year 2020-2021, 2021) 3.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

goods movement at twin ports alive amid issues like lockdown, port congestion, higher freight charges etc.

The second is Port Qasim, which was formed by a Parliament Act on 29th June 1973 and began operations in 1980 with the establishment of a specialized Iron Ore Coal Berth for bulk imports of raw materials for Pakistan's steel mills. The port has 18 berths, 15 of which are private, with a handling capacity of 89 million tons per year.¹⁰⁵ Merchandises ranging from minerals oils and edible oils to coals, rice, wheat, and cement, as well as fertilizers, containers, and LNG, are handled at port at state-of-the-art facilities. It is Pakistan's energy powerhouse and sole LNG port. The port is well connected to the hinterland via various kinds of transportation; additionally, it is directly connected to the national highway motorway network, which connects to Afghanistan, Central Asian Republics, and CPEC routes. Port Qasim, handles 51% of marine traffic, makes a substantial contribution to Pakistan's national economy. It has tremendous expansion potential; two new LNG terminals, one container terminal, and two multifunctional berths are now under construction. The port's operational complex consists of a 279-meter-long iron and coal berth with a handling capacity of 3.3 million tons per year for the exclusive use of Pakistan's steel mills. Its Marginal Wharf consists of four multi-purpose berths that span 800 meters and have a combined handling capacity of 6/7 million tons per year. International Container Terminal Qasim is 1,727 meters long and has a handling capacity of 0.6 million TEUs per year. The LPG terminal is approximately 230 meters long and has a handling capability of 4 million tons per year. The liquid cargo terminal is approximately 183 meters long and has a handling capability of 4 tons per year.¹⁰⁶

The third commercial port is Gwadar which is located on the western edge of the coast in the province of Baluchistan. Gwadar port is the gateway to the Persian Gulf, for landlocked CARs and Afghanistan, this port provides the shortest land route available in compassion to any other seaport located in the region. This makes its significance for regional nations as a hub for trade and commerce activities. Furthermore, it can become the hub of business,

¹⁰⁵ Port Qasim Authority: Gateway to National Prosperity.
<https://www.pqa.gov.pk/en/aboutus/introduction>.

¹⁰⁶ Port Qasim Authority: Gateway to National Prosperity.
<https://www.pqa.gov.pk/en/aboutus/introduction>.

investments in the form of desalination plants, hospitals, and airports to increase living standards. Additionally, COPHC China Overseas Ports Holding Company Limited offers a variety of programs to residents of Gwadar. The Pakistani government intends to develop opportunities for maritime tourism along the country's coast with this project. Aquaculture is a provincial duty in Pakistan, while the Fisheries Development Commissioner (FDC) oversees fisheries at a national level, reporting to the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, and Livestock (MINFAL). MINFAL has suggested a policy for fisheries and aquaculture in Pakistan for the first time, providing direction for the sector's development.

The Port received 145 TEUs (20-foot containers - Project Cargo) in 2017, with no cargo ships.¹⁰⁷ Nonetheless, with the completion of a few development projects by 2019, the Port is expected to start functioning at its full capacity. Pakistan maritime zones are abundant in living resources, it also symbolizes the oceanic phenomenon that could generate renewable and non-renewable energy resources and abundant minerals. Pakistan holds the potential reservoir trap of hydrocarbon resources in offshore zones. According to the NIO (National Institute of Oceanography) has surveyed gas reserves assessment in deep-sea indicated Pakistan among the top seven countries in terms of Methane gas reserves globally.¹⁰⁸ Fisheries is critical to Pakistan's economic and food security; it has the capacity to export fish worth 500 million US dollars and with coordinated government efforts, this capacity may be increased.¹⁰⁹ Pakistan has a coastline of approximately about 1050 km, divided between the province of Balochistan and Sindh. It further divides the Pakistan maritime area into buffer zones and exclusive economic zones (EEZ).¹¹⁰ Pakistan has a diverse range of landscapes, beginning in the northwest with the soaring Pamirs and Karakoram Range and a complicated range of valleys and plateaus, all the way down to the astonishing flat surface of the fertile Indus River plain, which drains southeast into the

¹⁰⁷ *Pakistan Gwadar Port: Symbol of prosperity*, <http://www.gwadarport.gov.pk/>

¹⁰⁸ Dr. Muhammad Pervaz et.al. "Introduction and Background." *In Gas Hydrates Resource Potential of South Asia* edited by Dr. Muhammad Pervez, Engr. Md. Lutfar Rahman. 4-10. SAARC Energy Centre. 2007. [https://www.saarcenergy.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Gas Hydrates Resource Potentail of South Asia 2010.pdf](https://www.saarcenergy.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Gas-Hydrates-Resource-Potential-of-South-Asia-2010.pdf).

¹⁰⁹ S. Pascoe and D. Greboval, *Measuring capacity in Fisheries*, (Rome, Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nation, 2003). <https://www.fao.org/3/Y4849E/y4849e00.htm#Contents>.

¹¹⁰ M. Wasim Khan, *Country Review: Pakistan*, (Marine Fisheries Department, 2004): <http://www.fao.org/3/a0477e/a0477e0q.htm#TopOfPage>.

Arabian Sea. It is crossed by a stretch of the ancient Silk Road and the Khyber Pass. Thus, based on this maritime potential, Pakistan has taken diplomatic measures to strengthen its political position which would further endorse the economic revenues inside Pakistan.

2.4. Maritime Politics among Pakistan and Regional Actors.

2.4.1. Maritime Politics between Pakistan and China

Pakistan and China have strengthened their maritime cooperation in the Indian Ocean to achieve their national interests. Pakistan has assisted China's interests in the Indian Ocean region by promoting them technologically, economically, and militarily. Pakistan and China have a complex relationship that demonstrates how two governments with fundamentally different religious, social, and political systems may coexist peacefully. China has provided economic, military, and political assistance to Pakistan, and Pakistan has functioned as China's only reliable free world diplomatic partner all through international isolation. The Gwadar Port node is essential for future maritime cooperation between the two governments under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, which links the economic belt to the 21st-century maritime Silk Road.

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) of China continues to grow and reach.¹¹¹ Pakistan and China are making a considerable effort and pledging close to USD 700 million in investment to transform as a trade hub, compete with other seaports, major road connections and trade zones. But the development regarding it seems slow. Gwadar port consists of approximately 62 billion US dollars (CPEC) which connects China's western Xinjiang province of the Arabian Sea. This project began in 2013, when COPHC acquired the port for 40 years on behalf of Pakistan, out of which about 90 percent of the port's revenue is contracted to be given to a Chinese company.¹¹² Additionally, Gwadar port's current capability allows for the berthing of 2-3 large ships with a capacity of 50,000 deadweight tons, and by 2025, it is expected to berth roughly 150 ships and hold up to 400

¹¹¹ Anwar Saeed. The Evolving Pakistan-China Maritime Economic Relationship in the Indian Ocean (Sea power Center- Australia- Soundings (2016) 3-10
https://www.navy.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/Soundings_Paper_No_13.pdf

¹¹² Zofeen Ebrahim, "Best of 2021: Pakistan's Key CPEC Port a long way from Trade and Hub Vision". <https://www.thethirdpole.net/en/regional-cooperation/pakistan-gwadar-port-long-way-from-trade-hub-vision/>

million tons of cargo. Only 24 hectares of the site's 9,200 hectares have been designated as operational. Since last year (2020), up to 5,000 tons of liquefied petroleum gas from Qatar and Oman have been arriving in Gwadar and being transferred upcountry monthly. The port is heavily engaged in transit trade with Afghanistan, with "up to 30-50 containers arriving at the port each month," according to the port.¹¹³ The cause of less development in trade is not only just poor marketing but Gwadar doesn't have proper water, power, road infrastructure, internet and cellular network or gas.

Besides, it is vital for China to secure crucial Indian Ocean's chokepoints and develop diplomatic relations with the key nations of Indian Ocean littoral states such as Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Myanmar. China is heavily reliant on energy sources which is directly linked with its sustainability and economic development and to maintain it, China must ensure the availability of energy resources for sustainability, for this reason China aims to ensure the safety of its energy passage as China is one of the biggest energy importers of Middle East and Pacific Oceans. Maritime trade is one of the crucial aspects for the modern Chinese economy, for which it is taking every possible measure to preserve Sea Lanes. In 2003, President Hu Jin Tao coined the term Malacca Dilemma which describes the challenges of critical sea routes in the Malacca Strait.

CPEC's Kashgar-Gwadar pipeline project has the potential to resolve the Malacca conundrum by facilitating the establishment of a new safe route through Hormuz. Kashgar, the border port of Xinjiang in western China, also serves as the domestic entry point for the China-Pakistan economic corridor's oil and gas pipelines. China and Central Asian countries have established oil and gas pipelines that enter Xinjiang from Khorgos and run through the Kashgar region. The string of Pearls of China from Southeast Asia to the Middle East made CPEC more crucial for the entire OBOR project. Based on common interests, CPEC, as the catalyst for the Pakistan-China maritime coupling, is destined to advance maritime security measures in the Indian Ocean. Both countries recognize that the success of CPEC is contingent upon the security of Gwadar Port and its associated sea lanes, and hence support a multilateral approach to maritime security challenges.

¹¹³ Ibid.

According to Dr. Nagi, Pakistan has somehow outcast its maritime activities to the Chinese through CPEC and the building port in Gwadar, this allows Pakistan to have a foothold in the maritime environment.¹¹⁴ Despite this engagement Pakistan seems to primarily focus on its domestic policies rather than foreign policy.

2.4.2. Political Maritime Chain between Iran and Pakistan

Pakistan-Iran shares deep cultural, linguistic, and historical ties, in 1950, both states signed the treaty of friendship. During the cold war era, both states shared a harmonious strategic outlook during the Shah's era.¹¹⁵ Pakistan was the first country to recognize the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Recently, both states are committed to exploring areas of cooperation, including trade and pipeline projects. The government of both states has maintained business networks and trade routes. In 2016, when sanctions were removed from Iran by western powers. Both countries seek partnership in creating a junction between the Gwadar and Chabahar port. Series of measures have been taken to harvest the full potential trade between Pakistan and Iran. In 2004, both states signed the PTA (Preferential Trade Agreement), which was ratified in 2005.¹¹⁶ Under this Agreement, both agreed to enhance the flow of trade. Both countries are also members of the Economic Cooperation Organization. Under ECO, Iran, Pakistan, and the other three nations have signed an agreement of ECOTA in 2003. The objective of the ECOTA is to create a free trade area among the member states.

Furthermore, both nations have established the ECO Trade and Development Bank, which in 2008, became operational. Enhancing interconnectivity and infrastructural development are essential trade facilitation initiatives. Among the key goals for improving trans-regional trade is the construction of rail and road networks. Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey have agreed to construct a rail corridor, dubbed the Islamabad-Tehran-Istanbul (ITI) Rail and Road Corridor.¹¹⁷ The corridor aims to connect Central Asian and European countries

¹¹⁴ Interview was conducted on zoom meeting. The draft of interview has been included as annex 8.

¹¹⁵ Amber Imtiaz. "Pakistan-Iran Relations: Economic and Political Dimensions." Center for Iranian Studies in Ankara- IRAM (2019): 4-8. https://iramcenter.org/d_hbanaliz/pakistan-iranrelations-economic-and-political-dimensions.pdf.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Muhammad Tayyab Safdar and Joshua Zabin. "What Does the China-Iran Deal Mean for the

via a 6,500-kilometer rail network; it is currently undergoing operationalization. China-Iran cooperation is a natural fit for all parties: China obtains low-cost Iranian oil, while Iran obtains a financial lifeline. Pakistan could become the transit hub of China's Middle East trade and energy supplies and the objective is to coordinate activities between Chabahar and Gwadar's ports to limit regional competition and make the Gwadar-Chabahar a significant hub in the Indian Ocean.

2.4.3. Pakistan's Relations with Central Asian Republics

The 21st century witnessed an era of connectivity and interdependence. China's OBOR has generated vast opportunities for growth across the continents. Its landmark project of CPEC is also essential to Central Asian Republics of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. Central Asia is rich in natural resources like coal, iron, natural gas, petrol, and commodities, but its landlocked dynamic constraints this potential.¹¹⁸ For favorable international trade volume, the sea route is most vital. CPEC, regarding this, will act as a gateway to CARs with its Gwadar port in Balochistan. Gwadar is the shortest route to the sea, offering CARs a strategic opportunity to transport their goods more swiftly and increase their competitiveness in regional and worldwide markets. Gwadar is the shortest route to the sea, providing CARs with a strategic chance to transport their goods.¹¹⁹

Chinese investment in Central Asia has increased from \$1 billion to \$50 billion in various BRI projects involving roads, trains, bridges, and telecommunications networks since the collapse of the USSR. China's prospective economic engagements include a gas trading agreement with Turkmenistan worth 55 billion cubic meters per year and the China-Kazakhstan Oil Pipeline, which transports 11 million tons of oil daily. The western Chinese region of Xinjiang borders Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, and Xinjiang

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor? China and Iran's new deal is a big win for Pakistan- and a bigger loss for India." *The Diplomat*, August 14, 2020 accessed on September 20, 2021. <https://thediplomat.com/2020/08/whatdoes-the-china-iran-deal-mean-for-the-china-pakistan-economic-corridor/>.

¹¹⁸ Conference Report. "Pakistan: A Land of Opportunities for Central Asian Republics." *Center for Global & Strategic Studies* (2018). <https://cgss.com.pk/publication/Publications/pdf/A-Landof-Opportunities-for-Central-Asian-Republics.pdf>.

¹¹⁹ Muhammad Rafiq. "CPEC: A Gateway to Central Asia." *Daily times*, June 7, 2020 accessed on January 23, 2021. <https://dailytimes.com.pk/622990/cpec-a-gateway-to-central-asia/>.

accounts for 75% of China-Central Asia commerce. Pakistan, meanwhile, is involved in projects such as CASA-1000 for hydroelectricity and TAP for gas supply to meet Central Asia's energy needs.¹²⁰ Thus, all of these Central Asian countries might be viewed as potential partners for Pakistan and China, offering enormous opportunities for regional collaboration and economic gains. Three routes connect Central Asia to Pakistan's Gwadar port on the Arabian Sea.

2.4.3.1. Khorgos-Gwadar Axis

Khorgos is the dry port of Khorgos gateway, is a Chinese city linking the border with Kazakhstan. Khorgos, having an area of 450 hectares, is in Kazakhstan as a special economic zone.¹²¹ It has the facility of changing railway tracks that assists rail cargo between Europe and China. Kashgar, located in the western province bordered by CARS, is also connected to Khorgos Dry port. Since 2011 Euro per and China Express Train is operational, it links 48 cities in China and approximately 40 cities in fourteen European countries through Khorgos. Thus, CARS can utilize Khorgos-Gwadar Axis to trade with South Asia, the Middle East, Asia Pacific, and the African region. In this regard, Pakistani companies have got themselves registered with the dry port of Khorgos.

2.4.3.2. Quadrilateral Traffic and Transit Agreement (QTTA)

Quadrilateral Traffic and Transit Agreement (QTTA): the objective of this Agreement is conducted for transit traffic and trade relating to CPEC aimed at assisting access to Gwadar port. Security issues in Afghanistan led the QTTA states to give an alternative gateway for CARS to Gwadar port; it would link CARS to the Xinjiang region of China connected with Karakorum Highway toward Gwadar port.¹²² According to Prime Minister, Imran Khan,

¹²⁰ Muhammad Rafiq. "CPEC: A Gateway to Central Asia." Daily times, June 7,2020.
<https://dailytimes.com.pk/622990/cpec-a-gateway-to-central-asia/>.

¹²¹ Henry Ruehl. "The Khorgos Hype on the Belt and Road." The Diplomat, September 27, 2019.
<https://thediplomat.com/2019/09/the-khorgos-hype-on-the-belt-and-road/>.

¹²² Mir Sher, Baz Khetrn, Muhammad Humayun Khalid. "The China Pakistan Economic Corridor: Gateway to Central Asia." China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies 5:3 (2019): 455-469.
<https://doi.org/10.1142/S2377740019500179>.

Pakistani seaport offered the most efficient and economically viable route to central Asian nations, including Tajikistan.¹²³

2.4.4 Pakistan and India Diplomatic Relations

In May 1998, India and Pakistan demonstrated their nuclear weapons capacity by conducting tests. Both countries justified their decision with security concerns, claiming that nuclear weapons would dissuade the other from launching nuclear or conventional strikes. The 1998 Lahore Declaration attempted to establish, among other things, a process of maritime engagement between the two nations. They agreed to "prevent incidents at sea to ensure the safety of navigation by naval vessels and aircraft belonging to the two sides." The underlying thrust of the declaration is that According to Dr. Zahid, geopolitics is vast terminology, it's about trade, about specific kinds of a region and it can never be disconnected with politics, every kind of trade and economics deals they involve politics in it.¹²⁴

In critical geopolitics, Identity is not viewed as something that is predetermined (something that states 'have'), but as something that is constantly renegotiated." Critical geopolitics' view of identity is inextricably linked to this conception of spaces (not as causal factors but as something formed through geopolitics). Again, like space, identity is viewed as constantly reformed. Navy-navy clashes have not happened at the same frequency or intensity as battles between land and air forces, despite the Navy's key engagement in the 1971 war and the Kargil conflict. There have been no protracted skirmishes. The Lahore Declaration and Beyond: Maritime Confidence-Building Measures in South Asia conflicts between India and Pakistan have largely been fought on land. Even during the Kargil War, the navies never reached a position of complete confrontation. Wars with India have always been the most crucial concern of Pakistan foreign policy, on which basis, Pakistan tends to make allies to benefit its own national interest (to lessen the aggressive attitude of the Indian nation).

¹²³ News Desk, "Pakistan Invites Tajikistan to Avail CPEC Facilities," *The Express Tribune*, June 2, 2021, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2303073/pakistan-invites-tajikistan-to-avail-cpec-facilities>.

¹²⁴ Interview was conducted on zoom meeting. The draft of interview has been included as annex 6.

According to Dr. Stephan Nagi, Pakistan due to its territorial issues regarding Kashmir and India, seems to be the priority of its government since its independence and has been occupied in stabilizing issues in its periphery, primarily Afghanistan.¹²⁵ Though there's a lot under the table, but there is an issue of identity that seems to be lacking in the Pakistan context. There is a limited number of resources that any nation can have, and Pakistan is primarily focused on its domestic environment and its challenges with the Indian nation, this means that they must pick and choose.

The maritime arena is the least volatile of South Asian geopolitical context and thus offers the most significant prospects for building upon the previous trust that may not be present in other areas. Cooperation on specific maritime issues is a requirement of several United Nations and International Maritime Organization-negotiated treaties (IMO). These include search and rescue (SAR), marine disaster management, and the prevention of piracy, smuggling, narcotics trafficking, and the illegal arms trade. Additionally, they promote mutual understanding of marine law, as laid out in the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). Divergent policies and opinions on any of these problems might seriously undermine shipping's safety and security. As a result, the UN and IMO agreements require maritime governments to collaborate on these challenges. Due to the persistence of persistent concerns, it is conceivable – and desirable – for the two fleets to engage constructively even during a political standstill.

2.4.5 Pakistan's Relations with Russia

Russia's Greater Eurasian Partnership (GEP) is envisaged to become a significant factor in its new foreign policy. Russia's vision to bring BRI and EAEU (Eurasian Economic Union) closer together to form the GEP. On the institutional level, growing Pakistan-Russian connectivity with CPEC as its centerpiece could bring the EAEU closer to the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC).¹²⁶ Pakistan could be the trans-regional gateway state for EAEU, and it will also provide integration with SCO and

¹²⁵ Stephen Nagi, *Zoom Interview*.

¹²⁶ Gaziza Shakhonova, and Jeremy A. Garlick. "The Belt and Road Initiative and the Eurasian Economic Union: Exploring the Greater Eurasian Partnership." *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* (2020): 1-25. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1868102620911666>.

GCC with an aspect that Gulf countries are also investing in CPEC, and through its Gwadar port, it can conduct trade with CARs. By evaluating discourses that utilize geographical reasoning to divide the globe by identifying and threatening others, critical geopolitics places a premium on the discursive nature of political geography. Its emergence coincides with politicians and the media's rediscovery of the term 'geopolitics.'

CPEC is one of the important routes that can expedite and simplify trade between China and the rest of the Asia-Pacific region, as well as the rest of the Afro-European region. It would be advantageous to connect Europe's Belt and Road ports, particularly the critical port of Piraeus, to CPEC to create a port network spanning the Pacific to Gwadar and beyond into the Mediterranean on both the African and European sides of the sea.¹²⁷ Europe, China, and Pakistan will gain from CPEC-related initiatives. Gwadar is the principal port connecting the BRI's new and expanded ports in China and Europe. Pakistan's government is pursuing larger export opportunities in order to inject new cash into the economy. Pakistan enjoys a trade surplus with the European Union and continues to be a significant export partner.

John Hugh Adam Watson, in his book "The Dialogues between States", illustrated Diplomacy as a "negotiation of political entities which acknowledge each other's independence".¹²⁸ The nation-state participates in the international system's most pluralistic organizing entity. On mutual understanding, one state establishes diplomatic relations with other governments in secret. With mutual recognition of sovereignty, nation-states employ diplomacy to attain political objectives. Diplomacy aims to manage foreign policy objectives primarily through the implementation of objectives and the formulation of foreign policy decisions.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Yunming Fang's. "From the Eurasian Economic Union to the Greater Eurasian Partnership." RIAC, February 28, 2020. <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/blogs/yufang/from-the-urasian-economicunion-to-the-greater-urasian-partnership-t/>.

¹²⁸ Christian Bueger et.al, "Beyond Sea blindness: A new Agenda for Maritime Security Studies." In *the Sea: A Cultural History* edited by John Mack 1293-1313. International Affairs. 2017

¹²⁹ Bojand AS. "The Study of Foreign Policy in International Relations." *Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs* (2018). DOI: 10.4172/2332-0761.1000337.

2.5 Political Diplomacy: Pakistan Marine Environmental Protection Agreement

Pakistan is a part of several international conventions and treaties for the protection of the environment and biodiversity. Pakistan has pledged to conserve its marine environment in accordance with the terms of these agreements and covenants. Despite this, Pakistan has serious environmental degradation challenges that have a negative impact on human existence. Pakistan's ecosystem is being harmed in a variety of ways, one of which is marine pollution. Pakistan, despite its membership in the London Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping Wastes and Other Matters, dumps a variety of debris into the sea, including plastic bags, bottles, swage, and possibly contagious hospital waste. As a result of this widespread infringement of the agreement, the naturally blue water at Karachi's iconic sea-view location has become dark.¹³⁰

The world-renowned shipbuilding sector at Gadani is the principal source of contaminants in the sea. Karachi has numerous industrial zones but lacks effective waste management solutions. Industrial pollution is eventually ingested by fish and other marine creatures, which swallow minute particles of metals, plastic, and harmful compounds. Humans consume these fish, completing the food chain, and the poisonous compounds can severely harm immunological structures. In other words, mankind is responsible for their own demise. Since 1970, there has been an increase in non-traditional security paradigms, including environmental concerns. There appear to have been scattered attempts on several fronts, but without solid combined efforts, the outcome is highly improbable. Numerous treaties, conventions, and agreements, together referred to as MEAs (Multilateral Environmental Agreements), have been adopted to address environmental concerns on a global scale.

Increased dumping of hazardous garbage into the sea, including cow dung, untreated water, and industrial waste, as well as a large amount of plastic, is wreaking havoc on fisheries resources, wreaking havoc on the economic conditions of fishing communities

¹³⁰ Jenny Howard. "Marine Pollution, explained: A wide Range of Pollution- from Plastic Pollution to Light Pollution- Affects Marine Ecosystem." *National Geographic*. <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/environment/oceans/critical-issues-marine-pollution/>.

who rely on these resources. According to a WWF study, plastic bottles, wrappers, bags, and disposable utensils account for 65 percent of trash in coastal areas.

2.5.1 Convention on Biological diversity

The Convention on Biological Diversity is concerned with the conservation and responsible use of a variety of biological resources (Plants and Animals). It was ratified in 1992 in the Brazilian city of Rio de Janeiro and entered into force in January 1993. Pakistan ratified the CBD in June 1992 at the United Nations Environment Forum in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and approved it on 26th July 1994.¹³¹ Pakistan's ecosystem is diverse, ranging from the coast in the south to the Himalayan and Hindu Kush Mountain ranges in the north, as well as plains and deserts; the primary threats to terrestrial biodiversity are overgrazing, illegal hunting, and habitat degradation due to infrastructure development. Contamination of internal waters by industrial and urban waste is the primary danger to biodiversity. Pollution also threatens coastal and marine habitats. The primary danger to marine biodiversity is netting of juvenile fish for poultry feed and trawler fishing catch of non-target species. Destruction of forest cover and degradation of watershed regions have accelerated dam siltation, limiting their water storage capacity for irrigation and power generation.

In 2000, Pakistan's Biodiversity Action Plan (BAP) was approved. It advocated for 'urgent steps' within a year, 'short term actions' within five years, and 'long term actions' within ten years. In October 2010, the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) established a biodiversity strategy plan, creating five strategic objectives and twenty international targets for the period 2011-2020, termed the "Aichi Biodiversity Targets (ABTs)". National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (NBSAP) 2017-2030 established Pakistan's strategic priorities and road map to 2030, emphasizing the large-

¹³¹ Dr. Shahid Amjad, Mr. S.H.Niaz Rizvi. "Pakistan National Program of Action Under the Global Program of Action for the Protection of the Marine Environment from Land Based Activities." *Ministry of Environment & Local Government and Rural Development, Government of Pakistan and National Institute of Oceanography*. (1999): 4. <http://www.sacep.org/pdf/ReportsTechnical/2000.03-NAP-for-Protection-of-Marine-Environment-from-LB-ActivitiesPakistan.pdf>.

scale collaborative efforts necessary to attain ABTs.¹³² The objectives defined by NBSAP are based on five strategic goals on ABT's are as following: it addresses the root causes of biodiversity loss by increasing public awareness of biodiversity at all levels of government and society, Deescalating direct vulnerabilities to biodiversity and advocate its sustainable capitalization, it enhances biodiversity status by preserving ecosystems, species, and genetic diversity , it increases the advantages of biodiversity and ecological services to all, and, enhances implementation by involving stakeholders in planning, knowledge management, and capacity building.

Pakistan has submitted periodic national reports in accordance with the convention's criteria. However, the 6th national report format for CBD 2019 is intended to represent provinces', federating units', and other organizations' interim progress toward reaching the ABTs. Throughout the country-wide consultation process, it was recognized that when targeted actions were made, the rate of biodiversity loss was halted. However, the country's biodiversity indicators, the state of specified habitats, species, and wildlife reserves, and progress toward biodiversity objectives all indicated that biodiversity loss has not been prevented and would require renewed and sustained efforts over a longer time span.

2.5.2 Chemicals and Hazardous Waste Conventions

2.5.2.1 Rotterdam Convention on Prior Informed Consent (PIC) for certain Hazardous Chemicals and Pesticides in International Trade:

The agreement promotes shared responsibility and collaboration among parties involved in the worldwide trade of certain hazardous chemicals to preserve human health, the environment, and contribute to environmentally sound use. The convention was signed in Rotterdam on 10 September 1998 and came into force on 24 February 2004. In September 1999, Pakistan signed the Rotterdam Convention and ratified it on 14th July 2005. The Rotterdam Convention made Prior Informed Consent ("PIC") to guarantee that the controlled hazardous chemicals are not exported to nations that do not wish to receive them. The Ministry of the Environment's international cooperation-IC wing is responsible

¹³² “Pakistan National Biodiversity strategy and Action Plan for achieving biodiversity Targets and Sustainable Development Goals, (Government of Pakistan 2017-2030). <https://www.cbd.int/doc/world/pk/pk-nbsap-v2-en.pdf>.

for the nontoxic management of hazardous chemicals and wastes in accordance with several conventions, including the Basel Convention, the Stockholm Convention, the Rotterdam Convention, the Strategic approach to international chemical management (SAICM), the Montreal Protocol, and the Kyoto Protocol.

Pakistan's government has designated two National Authorities (DNAs), namely the Ministry of Environment (MoE), which is responsible for industrial chemicals (under RC) used in plant protection, and the "Department of the Ministry of Food, Agricultural, and Livestock" (MENTAL), which is responsible for pesticides. Pakistan's rapid economic expansion and relentless industrialization have resulted in an uncontrolled increase in garbage production; the country creates over 20 million tons of solid waste per year, which is growing at a pace of more than 2% each year. Karachi, Pakistan's largest metropolis, generates about 13,500 tons of solid garbage per year; a substantial portion of this rubbish is burned or deposited in open-air landfills. Among the prominent issues Pakistan faces in addressing this issue is a lack of legislation or a comprehensive policy for hazardous waste management, as well as an absence of sufficient inventories of chemicals in the country. Pakistan has ratified the Basel, Rotterdam, and Stockholm conventions, but lack of institutional capacity makes implementation difficult. To resolve the issue, Pakistan has taken the initiative to collaborate with the chemicals and waste management program on a three-year project aimed at strengthening institutional capacity and developing, monitoring, and implementing an ecological chemical and hazardous waste management policy. Additionally, it requires Pakistan to propose the establishment of a national specialized directorate for chemical and waste management. Additionally, it concludes with the formulation of precise guidelines for incorporating chemical and hazardous waste management concerns into national development strategies, plans, budgets, and other broad-level decision-making processes.

2.5.2.2. Basel Convention on the Control of Trans-Boundary Movement of Hazardous Waste and their Disposal

Basel Convention deals with the controlled trans-boundary movement of Hazardous Wastes and their disposal. On 22nd March 1989, the convention was adopted, and on 5th May 1992, it was enforced. In May 1992, Pakistan signed the convention, and it ratified

in October 1994. The convention classifies certain materials as hazardous and prohibits their export to developing nations where safety regulations are insufficient or nonexistent, resulting in the use of low-cost but hazardous disposal practices. The Basel Ban Amendment of 1995 prohibits the export of hazardous waste in its entirety from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which supplies most ships to non-OECD countries such as Pakistan. However, the Basel convention, which would go a long way in helping the Gadani's workers, has not been implemented by the federation. Additionally, the Environment Protection Act (EPA) 1997 specifies in section 31 that the federal government can implement international agreements' provisions. Additionally, section 13 of the 1997 legislation states that no hazardous waste shall be imported into Pakistan or its territorial seas, exclusive economic zones, or historic waterways. Notably, the Import Policy Order 2009-10 prohibits, among other things, the import of hazardous waste as defined and categorized in the Basel convention, except when Pakistan officially approves such imports. Pakistan, via the import policy order described above, underlines that permitting ships that pose a danger is not permitted under either the import policy order or the EPA 1997. Leakage from oil tankers, air and water pollution, and biodiversity loss are only a few of the myriad negative consequences of the ship dismantling industry. Until the government begins to take international standards and safety regulations seriously, Gadani will remain a death trap for its workers.

2.5.2.3 Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic pollutants (POPs)

This convention preserves human health and the environment against the harmful effects of persistent organic pollutants (POPs); it was approved in Stockholm, Sweden, on May 22, 2001, and came into force in September 2003. On 6th December 2001, Pakistan signed the Convention 2001, ratified it on 17th April 2008, and enforced it in July 2008. The Stockholm Convention's purpose is to safeguard human health and the environment from these harmful substances. The SC has imposed a global ban or restriction on the manufacture and trading of POPs used in industrial processes and consumer goods and has mandated the reduction and minimization of POPs produced and released unintentionally as byproducts of industrial and combustion processes. Article 7 of the Stockholm Treaty requires each party to prepare and implement a plan outlining how it will carry out its

commitments under the convention. Pakistan has therefore established and updated its National Implementation Plan (NIP) to comply with SC requirements. The NIP focuses on Pakistan's compliance with the SC's obligations to eliminate POPs discharges and manage environmentally sound stockpiles of POPs-containing wastes and polluted sites that pose significant threats to human society and the environment. The goals of NIP are as following: ¹³³ To outline Pakistan's efforts in terms of inventorying, managing, and reducing the prevalence of POPs, to make recommendations to Pakistan regarding the management and eradication of POPs, as well as the prevention of these compounds entering the environment, and to apprise the Conference of the Parties and Pakistan's stakeholders of indigenous activities and projects aimed at meeting the SC's standards.

Inter-ministerial and stakeholder coordination and coordination with related national plans: At governmental level, all relevant ministries are involved in the NIP implementation in which each ministry has different responsibilities concerning its function. Activities on POPs synchronize with national plans on chemical management and waste management, and POPs are used as an impulse to facilitate related activities on the general hazardous chemical and waste management. Chemicals' waste and their supervision are essential for a range of SDGs of the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda and therefore contribute to Pakistan SDG implementation. This interministerial coordinating mechanism is considered vital in addressing chemicals and waste management issues (including POPs). At the global level, the COPs to the chemical conventions called for greater collaboration and harmonization and took actions for a more harmonized execution. Pakistan is part of the Basel Convention, the Rotterdam Convention, and other international conventions and agreements. Dangerous waste administration is an essential obligation for the suitable implementation of the Stockholm Convention and Basel convention.

¹³³ Government of Pakistan Ministry of Climate Change. "Updated National Implementation Plan (NIP) for Phasing Out and Elimination of POPs from Pakistan Under Stockholm Convention Article 7(a). *United National Environment* (2020): 6. <http://chm.pops.int/Implementation/NationalImplementationPlans/NIPTransmission/tabid/253/ctl/Download/mid/13659/Default.aspx?id=132&ObjID=20182>.

2.5.2.4 UNCLOS- United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea

This Agreement is about the peaceful uses of the seas and oceans. It emphasized efficient and fair resource utilization, living resource perseverance, and particularly protecting the marine environment. In 1982 the convention was adopted and enforced in 1994. In December 1982, Pakistan signed the convention, and in it ratified February 1997.

2.5.2.5 PART XVII: “Protection of the oceans, all kinds of seas, including enclosed and semi-enclosed seas, and coastal areas and the protection, rational use and development of their living resources.”

The marine environment – which includes the oceans, all seas, and nearby coastal regions – is a cohesive entity that serves as a vital element of the global life-support system while also serving as a positive asset with the potential for sustainable progress. International law establishes countries' rights and obligations, as well as a global framework for the protection and environmental sustainability of the coastal marine environment and its resources, as represented in the provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea referenced in the agenda 21 section. It requires new approaches to marine and coastal area management and development at the national, sub-regional, regional, and international levels, approaches that are content-driven and proactive in nature, are as following: integrated coastal management and sustainable growth, including exclusive economic zones, Protection of maritime environment, sustainability and preservation of the high seas' as well as of marine life resources, ecological capitalization and Preservation of marine living resources under state control, managing significant uncertainties in the maritime environment and climate change administration, increasing intercontinental cooperation and coordination, including regional collaboration and synchronization, and small island growth and Sustainability.

Thermal pollution, increased oil spills, tar balls, plastic, and toxic effluents, including heavy metals, all pose threats to Pakistan's coast. The Karachi Port is mostly polluted by activities unrelated to the port. Each year, an estimated 90,000 tons of oil products are discharged into the port's water from ships and port stations. The Karachi Port Trust has

signed MARPOL 1972-1979 to remedy the issue.¹³⁴ A green belt is being constructed around Karachi Port. The project will involve the planting of 150,000 mangrove trees and 350,000 other plants. To clear the coastline, the Port Qasim Authority has undertaken numerous operations, including mangrove plantations and the relocation of companies to huge industrial estates.

2.5.2.6 PART XII: “Protection and Preservation of the Marine Environment.”

Pakistan signed the convention on 10th December 1982 and made requisite policies keeping UNCLOS as the necessary guidance. After successful implementation at all levels, Pakistan adopted its first Pakistan environmental protection ordinance and ultimately ratified the convention on 26th February 1997. According to article 192, all governments are responsible for protecting and preserving the marine environment. Additionally, Article 193 establishes states' sovereign rights to utilize their natural resources: states have the sovereign right to exploit their natural resources in conformity with their environmental policies and their responsibilities to conserve and maintain the maritime environment. According to Article 195, it is each state's responsibility to avoid transferring damage or hazards or transforming one sort of pollution into another, as well as to safeguard harm or hazards from one area to another. Apart from the provisions of this convention, there is an increasing amount of hazardous waste being dumped into the sea, including cow dung, water contamination, and industrial waste, and a large amount of plastic is wreaking havoc on fisheries resources, negatively impacting the economic condition of fishing communities that are highly reliant on resources. Pakistan is confronting an existential threat from environmental degradation. This part of UNCLOS illustrates the basic sketch towards preserving the marine environment, thus providing a framework for regulating marine environmental issues that focused on ships' pollution and provided guidance for pollution from land-based sources discarding.

¹³⁴ Faiza Ilyas. “Plastic Pollution Poses Serious Threat to Marine Life.” *Dawn*, June 24, 2017. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1341332>.

2.5.2.7. MARPOL 73/78

“International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships (MARPOL 1973)” changed in 1978, then named as (MARPOL 73/78). It was enacted on 2nd November 1973 and came into enforcement on 12th September 1983. This act ensures the state remains conscious of protecting the human environment in the general and marine environment.¹³⁵ It acknowledged that the intentional, negligent, or unintentional discharge of oil and other human contaminants from ships is a significant source of pollution. It emphasizes the International Convention's relevance in averting oil pollution of the sea in 1954. (First multilateral instrument to be concluded with the primary objective of protecting the environment). KPT established marine pollution control in 1996 in Karachi harbor. It was established to resolve the marine environment issue. The harbor region, which is around 62 square kilometers in size, has been contaminated by a variety of pollutants from both land- and sea-based sources. Around 400mgd of contaminated industrial/municipal waste generated within the city, operational waste from hundreds of fishing vessels at Karachi Fisheries, refuse from various industrial and commercial establishments lies within the Harbor perimeter, and operational emissions from ships calling on Karachi Port. The objective is to achieve a clean and healthy port environment by the implementation of environmentally friendly methods, with the slogan "Today's Environment Should Be Cleaner Than Yesterday." The following objectives are established to ensure the MPCD's proper operation.¹³⁶ To manage all concerns relating to environmental protection and pollution control in all areas within the Port's jurisdiction, conduct an immediate, low-tech, cost-effective clean-up operation in the Harbor, monitor oil piers for potential oil spill exposure and to provide an immediate response, to carry out MARPOL 73/78, which Pakistan has been a signatory to since November 1994, manages the Oil Spill Contingency Plan for spills up to 1000 tons, advocacy of environmental issues in the harbor among KPT employees and port users, staff Education on Combating Marine Pollution, efficient use of Pollution Control Equipment.

¹³⁵ Raunek. “MARPOL (the International Convention for Prevention of Marine Pollution for Ships): The Ultimate Guide.” *Marine Insight*, November 4,2019. <https://www.marineinsight.com/maritime-law/marpol-convention-shipping/>.

¹³⁶ Muhammad Tahir. “Shipping Laws in Pakistan. <https://www.pljlawsite.com/2017art13.htm>.

Pakistan's Ministry of Ports and Shipping is responsible for ensuring compliance with/implementation of Maritime Laws and MARPOL 73/78 within its authority. It is governed by the Gwadar Port Authority Ordinance, 2002, and covers the entire port region. By the Federal Government's prior sanction, the authority may make regulations for carrying out this ordinance's purposes. Sindh Environmental Protection Act, 2014: Since April 2010, the Sindh Environmental Protection Act, 2014, and applicable EIA/IEE guidelines and environmental quality standards have been in force for the purpose of environmental improvement. Prior to the 18th amendment, PEPA made the following recommendations:¹³⁷ marine Pollution Control Board may be revised with the legal authority to direct any organization to take necessary pollution control measures, the establishment of standards for the quality of seawater, a harbor management plan is developed and implemented, considering the pertinent areas and specific tasks, and the target is allocated to the appropriate authorities.

2.5.2.8 South Asia Cooperative Environment Program

South Asian Seas Program- SACEP is an intergovernmental organization, established in 1982, an initiative of SAARC or government of South Asia (ratified by Bhutan, Nepal, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka) to fulfill shared objectives: to endorse the preservation, managing, and development of South Asia's environment, individually, collectively, and cooperatively, to encourage the judicious use of environmental resources to alleviate poverty, reduce socio-economic disparities, and improve people's quality of life.

The South Asian region is the 3rd largest plastic waste contributor globally, with an estimated doubling by 2050 (unless action is taken efficiently).¹³⁸ Environmental and Social Management Framework (ESMF) under SACEP has provided general guidelines, code to conduct, policies to develop to ensure the plan under the WB and ESS, WBG, and

¹³⁷ Firuza Pastakia. "Environment Protection and The Eighteenth Amendment: Impact of Constitutional Amendments on Environmental Protection Legislation, Analysis of Laws in Force, and Assessment of Implementation Issues." *National Impact Assessment Programme*. (2012). https://www.iucn.org/sites/dev/files/import/downloads/pk_niap_impact_of_18th_amd_final_draft_19_may_2012_formatted.pdf.

¹³⁸ "SAR Country Environmental Profiles: Pakistan." In *South Asia Co-operative Environment Program SACEP: Plastic free Rivers and Seas for South Asia*. Environmental and Social Assessment (ESA). 2020.

EHSGs and relevant principles and rules of the environment by the governments of the South Asian Region countries. According to the ESS, WB, and the SAR republics' respective environmental regulatory frameworks, the ESMF elucidates specific rules, guidelines, principles, and actions to measure social and environmental vulnerabilities and influences. Due to its land-to-sea migration, the Indian Ocean is also one of the world's major plastics tiers. While approximately 20% of plastic waste found in the marine environment is the result of water-based actions, plastic waste leakage from high mountain countries in the upper river watersheds travels downstream via transboundary river systems such as the Indus, Ganga, and Brahmaputra, contributing to the accumulation of waste downstream and eventually in the region's seas. It has a detrimental effect on the region's ocean ecosystems and, more broadly, on sustainable development. Additionally, Pakistan, along with Vietnam, the Philippines, and Thailand, has emerged as a new entry point for developed-country plastic trash exports, after nations such as China and Malaysia halted the practice due to vast pollution wreaking havoc on the environment and masking the benefits. Several South Asian nations are pioneers in single-use plastics bans. However, these bans are mostly unproductive. One hundred twenty-seven nations under the United Nations have agreed to adopt rules to mitigate the plastic bags used, worldwide approximately 5trillion plastic bags are manufactured, and it takes one thousand years to decompose. South Asian regions have numerous cases; for example, Sikkim initiated a plan to ban plastic bags in 1998, Bangladesh witnessed another example regarding this in 2002. It became the state to introduce a ban by introducing federal restriction over a single-use plastic bag, further followed by India who took a step in 2002, Bhutan set another example by renewing their act in 2019, Nepal and Afghanistan and Sri Lanka in 2011, and Pakistan in 2013, banned use of plastic bag at the municipal level and recently in 2020. The Ministry of Environment at the federal level is one of the primary institutions in charge of Preservation of the environment, including all urban development programs, wildlife, and marine environments. Pakistan Environment Protection Council (PEPC) and Environment Protection Agency (EPA) was established under the Ministry of Environment and is foremost authorized to protect the environment. Environment legislation is taken under PEPC, and its planning and implementation handled by EPA.

2.5.2.9. The Pakistan Environmental Protection Act, 1997

It is an essential legislative tool that empowered the government to frame regulations to protect the environment. The act implies a wide range of issues and extends to air, water, soil, marine, noise pollution, and hazardous waste handling. The law proposes the requirement for an initial environmental examination (IEE) and environmental impact assessment (EIA). Section 12(1) states that: "No proponent of a sub-project shall begin operation or construction unless he has registered initial environmental examination [IEE] under federal agency or, where the subproject is likely to cause a confrontational environmental effect, an environmental impact assessment [EIA], and has obtained from the Federal Agency approval in respect thereof."

Pakistan's Environmental Protection Act (PEP Act) of 1997 establishes two distinct forms of environmental assessments: Initial environmental examinations (IEE) and environment impact assessments (EIA). EIAs are completed for subprojects that may have a substantial environmental impact, whereas IEEs are undertaken for smaller, less important subprojects. According to the PEP Act's recommendations, the Pakistan Environmental Protection Agency's 2004 Review of IEE and EIA Regulations classifies subprojects for IEE and EIA. Schedules I and II of the Regulations define the sub projects that need IEE and EIA, correspondingly. The Environmental Protection Act (EPA) 1997 (as amended in 2013) prohibited the manufacture, marketing, and use of non-biodegradable scheduled plastic items in Pakistan. Further, owing to an order issued by the Pakistan EPA in February 2005, the Maritime Security Agency has been assigned authority over monitoring and pollution management in Pakistan's Maritime Zones. Pakistan is trailing behind in implementing international conventions, rules, regulations, and treaties due to the absence of an agency solely responsible for managing maritime pollution and the marine environment.

2.5.2.10. Indian Ocean Marine Cooperation (IOMAC)

It was established in 1985 with the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural organization to develop and foster the Indian Ocean states through negotiations (dialogues) and technical cooperation. It highlighted the Marine Environment with its other objectives, discarding toxic material and hazardous waste, spilling oil, making the

sea polluted, and potentially adversely impacting the marine environment of proposed deep seabed mining.

At its third meeting in 1988, the IOMAC Standing Committee addressed these unique concerns of Indian Ocean countries. The Secretary-General proposed that, with help from relevant international agencies, the Secretary-General concentrate on effective ways for monitoring and enhancing the regional capacity of coastal governments to avert such environmental concerns. Following consultations between the International Maritime Organization (IMO) and the IOMAC Secretariat, the Standing Committee's Seventh Meeting requested that the Secretariat take all necessary steps to expedite the establishment of an Indian Ocean network in consultation with the IMO, the United Nations Environment Program, and other interested parties. Preparatory work for hosting an Indian Ocean Environment Conference began in the mid-1990s. The meeting was intended to analyze the health of the Indian Ocean, to identify environmental issues, and to define a standard program for cooperation in this sector.

Additionally, one of IOMAC's early technical attempts was to use space technology to maritime resources. A series of earlier technical meetings laid the groundwork for the region, originally in collaboration with the United Nations' Division of Outer Space Affairs and later with Pakistan's Space and Upper Atmosphere Research Commission (SUPARCO). In July 1988, at the IOMAC Meeting on Offshore Prospecting for Mineral Resources in the Indian Ocean, helmed by the Pakistani Government in Karachi, a powerful intergovernmental mandate was established for initiating a program of cooperation in this field with the assistance and collaboration of technologically advanced states. Thus, it promotes cooperation among the regional states, but that has not produced any robust and actionable marine energy protocols.

2.6. Challenges and Hurdles in Implementation of Current Agreement and Mechanism

Although maritime sector has been considered as the beneficial region to generate revenue and sustain economic prosperity since the Harappan civilization of the Indus Valley till the modern core nations in 21st century of USA, China, as it benefits the inhabitants and

directly contribute in national as well as economic development, yet there's little public awareness about advantages of maritime sector in Pakistan. Pakistan ratified UNCLOS in 1982, and its coast stretches approximately 990 kilometers from the Indian border in the east to the Iranian border in the west, with a total maritime zone enriched by over 30% in fisheries, minerals, and hydrocarbon resources, with an extending EEZ of up to 200 nautical miles. Apart from these possible benefits, maritime security is inextricably tied to the nation's national security, human security, marine environment, and economic well-being, resulting in non-traditional maritime difficulties whose handling reflects the state's efficiency. These challenges could further lead to kind of terrorism, piracy challenges, smuggling, gunrunning, human trafficking, and environmental degradation. The magnitude of 9/11 terrorist attack and Pakistan becoming part of war on terror has never led to focus on areas where the sea can be protected, which apparently has become the threat to marine security. Pakistan on its part has never focused on development of effective maritime policy through which it can protect marine environment, besides being part of regional as well as international agreements, the focus has always been shifted due to its internal turmoil, including political cold war, interprovincial disharmony, growing social ills in society, etc.

Apart from structural challenges, Pakistan has especially remained laidback in making its own domestic legislation, as when international agreements are not conjugal to domestic law, implementation of treaties become the biggest challenge for the state, creating more difficulties due to lack of awareness. For instance, Pakistan law enforcers cannot protect ships or industries from dumping oil, hazardous chemicals, sludge or many other toxic substances into coastal water. Here, the challenges cannot only be addressed through stabilizing structural challenges but also to maintain regional partnership and effective implementation of existing signed agreement to generate more ways to protect maritime environment. According to Dr. Stephen Nagi, Pakistan even at this point, doesn't own a stable maritime identity and Maritime tradition as compared to India. Indian communities in and around the world, in the African region, including Indian trades followed monsoon wind patterns all the way to the East coast of Africa and Arabia, these communities have been engaged in trade at a vast pace. Geopolitics is not static; it is dynamic. It represents

international realities and the worldwide power constellation that result from the interaction of geography and economic development on the one hand, and technology on the other. Geopolitics is a discourse that describes, explains, and promotes perspectives on the formation and experience of territorial power. Therefore, in view of Dr. Nagi, Indians in general have a maritime identity due to their historical background. Pakistan at bygone times, not only was a part of Indian territory, but had its own vast geographical area of Bangladesh, under one government before they had been separated. Due to many issues the shared heritage that they have, doesn't seem to be emphasized in modern Pakistan state.

In view of Dr. Lassi Heininen, there exist a mains tram narrative that Pakistan is a continental state, there is misconception that territorialism only deals with land because seas are also psychical spaces, territorialism deals with physical spaces and Pakistan need to have shift from this old interpretation or doctrine that Pakistan is a continental state¹³⁹. This concept emerged when Pakistan and India got their independence after the British Empire left the continent and was aiming for ways to split British India. That became significant and so strategic- including the war factor between India and Pakistan- because politicians and scholars are not being able to get rid of that old understanding. If any authority tries to amend that, they have been shut down and asked to forget the whole idea by just focusing on the fact that Pakistan is a continental state. Although it is still not easy to change that rapidly but by focusing on the fact that Pakistan is not a landlocked region, it has its coasts. There are landlocked nations, including Afghanistan, Austria, Nepal, and CARs, but Pakistan that is not and has built maritime relations with landlocked nations, consented to agreements linked to marine development through political diplomacy.

Furthermore, he claimed that the Pakistan government must be bold enough to take alternative routes, a shift from power rivalry and land border disputes toward the sea and realizing the actual significance of the Indian ocean to earn political status to influence. There could be many factors, but then Pakistan must acknowledge the significance of maritime routes of seas and oceans including protection of the environment and consider

¹³⁹ Interview was conducted on zoom meeting. The draft of interview has been included as annex 5.

the preservation of marine life. As the value and importance of immaterial values of geopolitics comes with respect, to represent the seriousness of government toward the marine environment protection. As per critical geopolitics, they have politicized a physical space. Regarding this Pakistan needs to analyze its role, it needs to politicize the Indian ocean not against any other nation, but the focus should be highly on how Pakistan can have new aspects to cooperate to protect the marine environment. Although Pakistan has been part of many marine environment protection laws, it still must understand the crucially of matter. For this, there must be a shift from continent, land, and sea as physical space only to analyze more aspects for its development in the marine sector. Pakistan must broaden the concept of utilization, it not only means to harvest like fisheries from the sea, but by focusing on tourism, through it the tourists who like to dive there and see fisheries not to eat but to enjoy the environment.

Conclusion

Geopolitics is a discourse that explain and promote perspective on the formation and experienced for territorial power. Territorialism deals with physical spaces, Pakistan needs to shift its old interpretation or doctrine of continental nation, emphasizing a lot on territorial concerns and its related issues. In maritime context, oceans have always played a crucial role in shaping geopolitics of a states, civilization, and empires sustainability. It is crucial conduit for strategic dominance and trade. Pakistan on its part, relatively less emphasized on building effective maritime policy through which it could protect maritime environment, besides being part of regional and as well as international agreement. Pakistan is part of many regional and inter-regional conventions and treaties for protection of environment and has pledged to maritime environment protection in accordance with the term of pacts. The oceans are powerful assets of coastal state, where nation seek to prove their strength and increase their influence through maritime activities for both strategic and economic concerns.

Chapter Three

Economic Diplomacy in Maritime Context

Economic diplomacy is defined as the use of political approaches in international agreements in order to build country's economic prosperity, as well as the use of economic leverage to increase a country's political stability.¹⁴⁰ Economic diplomacy in the postmodern era, where traditional state-to-state diplomacy is being fragmented and made more complex due to the participation in international economic relations of a growing number of non-state actors and an increasing number of other government institutions. Non-state actors like business diplomats and transnational economic NGOs diplomats, with their multitude of trans border alliances, and pressure groups have the domain of economic diplomacy as a supra-territorial relations component thereby partially undermining the sovereignty of state in conducting international economic relations. Simultaneously, as a result of globalization and competition for foreign direct investment, as well as the growing influence of international economic standard-setting organizations (WTO, ITU, ILO), many nations have come to expect that diplomats specializing in economic and commercial diplomacy will serve their national interests more effectively in the economic and business spheres. Economic diplomacy, according to Geoff R. Berridge and Alan James, is concerned with economic policy and diplomacy that makes

¹⁴⁰ Maaïke Okane Heijmans, *Conceptualizing Economic Diplomacy: The Crossroads of International Relations, Economics, IPE, and Diplomatic Studies* (The Hague Journal of Diplomacy, 2011) 7-36.

use of economic resources, either as rewards or punishments in form of economic sanctions or embargo.

This chapter focus on (i) economic diplomacy (ii) maritime economy of Pakistan (iii) CPEC (iv) CPEC, Stimulator of Pakistan relation with regional and extra-regional nations, (v) challenges and hurdles in implementing Pakistan maritime Economic Diplomacy.

3.1 Economic Diplomacy

Economic diplomacy, in general, reflects the state's promotional activities, projecting the economic profile of a country in the international community. The changing dynamics of maritime politics depended on state economic or commercial realities, its geopolitical and geostrategic realities. The national power paradigm has evolved and undergone some vital variation due to changing global trends. The state's strength was envisioned in the eighteenth century to be contingent on certain quantifiable elements, including location, population size, resources, wealth, and military. New era has not witnessed wars in the 21st century but has changed the political dimension in international relations.¹⁴¹ Shift from terrestrial domain to maritime is quite visible in regions, the maritime politics mostly focused and revolved around two regions, i.e., Atlantic, and new region of Indo-Pacific.

The shift in the global balance of power compels governments throughout the international community to reassess their foreign policies, as well as their domestic interests and program, notably on the political and economic front. Economic diplomacy is an effective tool for governments to achieve their national goals peacefully in the evolving multipolar system, which has historically been more unstable than the bipolar and unipolar systems.¹⁴² Nations are more focused on relative gain through economic success and cooperation. The setting of trade and investment policy should be considered developments in the economic sector. The rise of cross-border trade in intangible goods such as business services, as well as the negotiation, defining, and enforcement of rules to control them, are becoming increasingly important for the global economy and politicians

¹⁴¹ Kim B. Olsen, *The Domestic Challenges of European Geo-Economic Diplomacy: New Realities in Foreign Affairs: Diplomacy in the 21st Century*. (Warsaw. Poland: SWP Research Paper, 2018). 42-49.

¹⁴² Andera Edoardo Varisco, *Towards a Multipolar International System: Which Prospects for Global Peace?* (E- International Relations, 2013), 1-8. <https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/38765>.

in numerous countries. Thus, the economic sector has become the focal point of foreign policy of the nation which also acts as a guiding principle for diplomacy. Besides, globalization has highly influenced the organization of international economic relationships around the world.¹⁴³ It is defined as a collection of intricate interconnections and interdependences, with a growing number of individuals fighting for influence over the outcome of these alliances. The government's economic diplomacy employs several instruments that are more economically and politically advantageous. In the power play concept, different instruments generally involve negotiations and actions that are primarily political and economic, i.e., embargo and economic sanctions.¹⁴⁴ The main objective behind this is the strategic interest of a nation or government which is based on cost-benefit analysis, and here it follows political logic. On the other side, at the commercial end of economic diplomacy, the government made some cooperative measures and established a business to achieve commercial targets to pursue national interests, these include Trade and investments projects through commercial diplomacy. In the business end, the cost-benefit calculation reflects economic logic.

Furthermore, Globalization emphasized the strategic importance of the maritime sector, which includes shipping, coastal tourism, vital ports and choke points, and offshore energy deposits; and facilitated the growth of littoral nations as significant regional and global players.¹⁴⁵ States seek power to maintain and preserve their sovereignty and security, which are reinforced via economic diplomacy. In the words of Robert Gilpin, “the struggle for power and desire for economic gain are intimately bound up”.¹⁴⁶ The most significant field for foreign policy before militarism and diplomacy is the economy, which can generate equal and positive benefits for the state’s power and for having the capability to influence the other fields. Foreign policy is heavily influenced by the coherence and

¹⁴³ Lee, Donna and Brian Hocking, *Economic Diplomacy* (Denmark, Wiley Blackwell, 2010) 1216-1227.

¹⁴⁴ John Henry. *Training for Public Diplomacy: An Evolutionary Perspective, New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 196.

¹⁴⁵ Daniel Moran, *The International Law of the Sea in a Globalized World: Globalization and Maritime Power*, (Honolulu Hawaii: University Press of Pacific, 2004), 221-241.

¹⁴⁶ Pyrrhos Papandimitriou & Victoria Piestiko. *Economic Diplomacy and Security in Sovereign States* (Kazakhstan: Procedia Economics and Finance, 2014): 42-65.
<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S2212567114000070>.

stability of a country's domestic policy, particularly in areas that create more state authority.¹⁴⁷

States at their discretion have many mechanisms and techniques for being involved in economic diplomacy, i.e., investment, agreements, commercial or embargoes, monetary sanctions, and blockades.¹⁴⁸ The fundamental objective is to exert the greatest amount of influence feasible at the transnational or regional level, to control the market, and to bolster their authority through economic diplomacy. Economic diplomacy is a critical tool that nations utilize to carry out foreign policy, and it shapes it, which is why the critical geopolitics theory is the most appropriate for analyzing it. Dynamic developments of the global economy have directly affected the forms, tools, strategies, and principles of economic diplomacy. From the beginning, diplomacy reflected the concept of conflict, trade issues, wars, and the history of consular relations highlights how trade interests emerged mostly in international relations.¹⁴⁹ Thucydides' "The History of the Peloponnesian War" reflected the use of sanctions and highlighted Athens' trade embargo of Sparta's ally Megara. Additionally, in Southern Europe, the number of merchant agents in major harbor cities expanded in response to the expansion of trade in medieval Europe, when the Lex Mercatoria (merchant law) controlled commercial activities. The cold war division shaped the outlines of international relations; the development of globalization posed new economic difficulties. Trade, conflict relationships emphasize the welfare-enhancing effects of international trade, such as the trade stimulating effect of geographical distance, colonial ties, shared language, and currency. Geo-economics is centered on geographical realities that are used and studied in order to advance the state's strategic objectives through economic methods.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ Peter Van Ham, *Power, Public Diplomacy, and the Pax Americana, the New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 47- 63.

¹⁴⁸ Tom Ruys and Cedric Ryngaret, *Secondary Sanctions: A Weapon Out of Control? The International Legality of, and European Responses to, US Secondary Sanctions* (British Yearbook of International Law, 2020), 9-15. <https://doi.org/10.1093/bybil/braa007>

¹⁴⁹ Sascha Lohmann, *Diplomats and the Use of Economic Sanctions.* "In *New Realities in Foreign Affairs: Diplomacy in the 21st Century*, (London: SWP Research paper,2018), 11.

¹⁵⁰ Justice Mensah. "Sustainable Development: Meaning, History, Principles, Pillars, and Implications for Human Actions: Literature Review." *Cogent Social Sciences*. 2-13 (2019).

Since 1970, it has been witnessed that maritime politics is more dynamic and more influential along with terrestrial politics. According to Baracuhy “geo-economic and geopolitical are two sides of same coin.” As both play a critical role in maritime power politics among states.¹⁵¹ States are developing enhanced cooperation; oceanic activities are gaining recognition as a source of solution to emerging socio-economic hurdles.

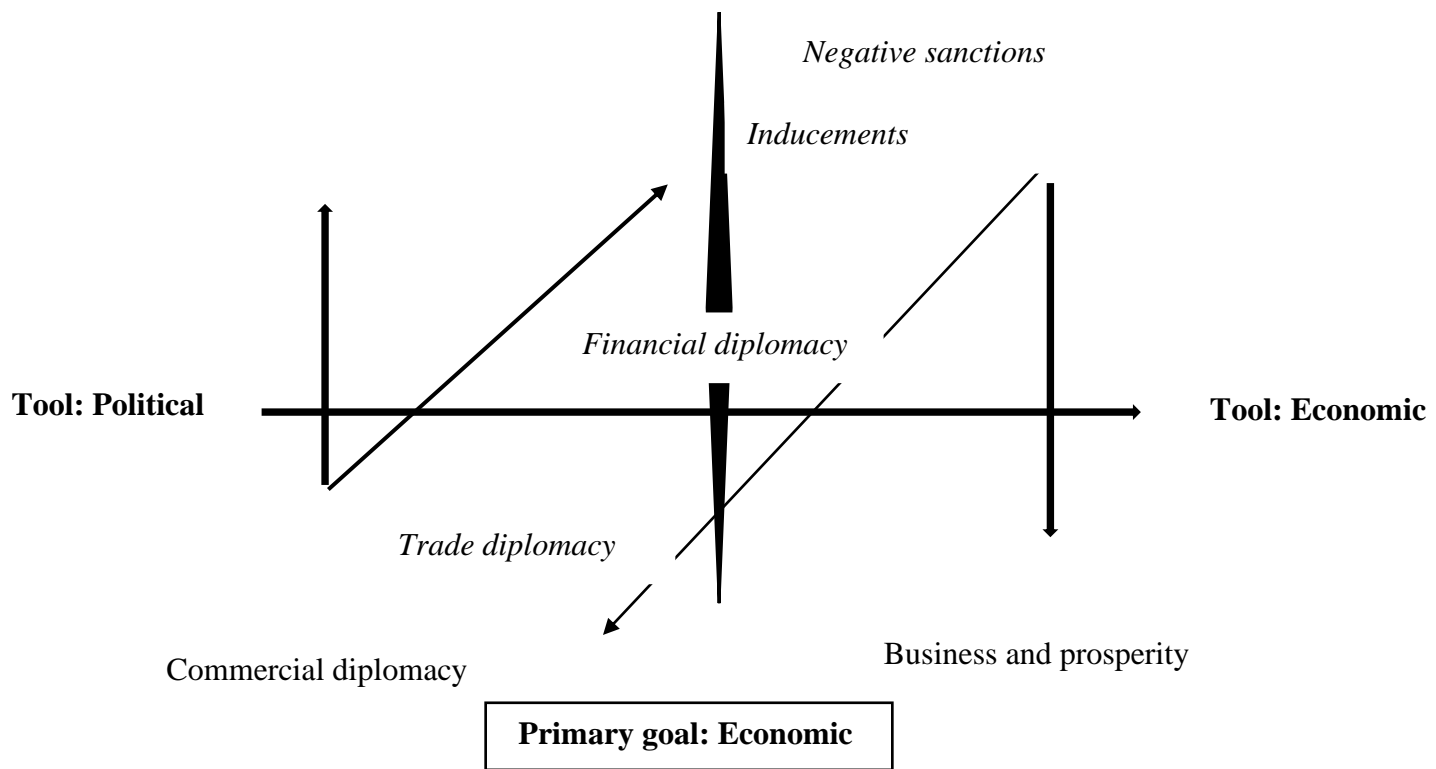


Figure 3: Strands of economic diplomacy¹⁵²

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/23311886.2019.1653531?needAccess=true>.

¹⁵¹ Maliha Zeba Khan. “From Geo-Economics to Geo-Politics: Emerging Maritime Power-Politics in the Indi-Pacific Ocean Region.” *Issra: Margalla Paper*, II (2019), 28-40. https://ndu.edu.pk/issra/issra_pub/articles/margallapaper/margallapapers2019issueii/03-From-Geo-Eco.pdf

¹⁵² Maaik Okane Heijmans. *Conceptualizing Economic Diplomacy: The Crossroads of International Relations, Economics, IPE and Diplomatic Studies*, (Leiden, Netherland: Brill publisher, 2011): 7-36.

3.2. Maritime Economy of Pakistan

Economic and environmental dimensions of the maritime domain have become equally significant as that of defense and strategic. According to Frank Hoffman, in the 21st-century strategic success is analogous with the constant progress and prudent execution of sea power.¹⁵³ Maritime transportation, being cost-effective amongst all modes of transportation, is the support of trade done internationally and shows its massive contribution to the global economy. Around 90 percent of global trade by volume and over 70 percent by value travel via sea and is handled by ports worldwide. All countries are interdependent in the global economic context. Thus, it is common for states to ensure the Sea lines of communication (SLOCs) remain open.¹⁵⁴

The blue economy is a rapidly growing popular idea centered on the protection of the world's oceans and the optimal use of water resources for sustainable development and progress. In terms of maritime venue, Pakistan is situated in the middle of the Indian Ocean, a vital coastal region, which carries out more than 95% of its trade through its three ports. Pakistan Exclusive Economic Zone consists of 290,000sq.km and its continental shelf for numerous purposes including fishing, exploration, mining, and marine research. In 2015, May Pakistan extended its continental shelf to 350 nautical miles under the ambit of UNCLOS. In 1960 and 1970s, since the containerization trade took place, the maritime economy got more strengthened, consequently influencing the states, enhancing the independence in the political and economic domain.¹⁵⁵ Pakistan's oil and gas requirements can be simply met by the surrounding Gulf region, which has accumulated the world's largest hydrocarbon reserve. Pakistan's coastal and offshore regions are abundant in fisheries, mineral, oil, and gas resources. Pakistan is endowed with significant hydrocarbon resources, the most of which remain unexplored. The original recoverable reserves were estimated to be 1514.86 million barrels of oil and 61.355 trillion cubic feet

¹⁵³ Frank Hoffman, *No Strategic Success Without 21st Century Sea-power: Forward Partnering*, (War on Rocks, 2014). <https://warontherocks.com/2014/07/no-strategic-success-without-21st-century-seapower-forwardpartnering/>.

¹⁵⁴ Professor Ji Guoxing, *SLOC Security in the Asia Pacific* (Center occasional Paper Asia-pacific Center for Security Studies, 2000). <https://apcss.org/Publications/Ocasional%20Papers/OPSloc.htm>.

¹⁵⁵ James J. Corbett and James Winebrake, *The Impact of Globalization on International Maritime Transport Activity*, (International Transport Forum, OECD, 2008), 10.

of natural gas. There are still 570.31 million barrels of oil and 20.884 trillion cubic feet of gas recoverable.¹⁵⁶

Furthermore, large pelagos caught in Pakistan consist of tuna, dolphinfish, pelagic sharks, and barracudas. The fishing fleet engaged in large pelagic species are mainly based in four coastal cities i.e., Gwadar, Jiwani, Pasni and Karachi, although there are more than 60 coastal towns and settlements along the coast of Pakistan. Tuna and tuna fishes are one of the components of pelagic resources, mainly neritic and oceanic species are caught in the tuna fisheries, its fishing fleet comprises about 709 gillnet boats. Total production of tunas and tune like fisheries including neritic and oceanic tunas, billfishes, and seers' fishes during the year 2019 was 48,320 m. tons.¹⁵⁷ In addition, Pakistan minerals production was reported at 49,947,390.00 Metric Tons in 2019.¹⁵⁸ These resources hold immense potential to contribute to the country's economic development.

In the contemporary era, maritime access to connectivity is vital along with terrestrial connectivity due to the economic benefits from seaborne trade. Pakistan is blessed with deep natural seaports and has over 1000km of coastline with three vital ports, i.e., Gwadar, Bin Qasim and Karachi Port.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ Ministry of Energy (petroleum Division, *Investment opportunities in Pakistan Upstream Petroleum Sector*, (ministry of energy, government of Pakistan, 2020).

¹⁵⁷ Muhammad Farhan Khan, *Tuna Fishery in Pakistan, Pakistan's National Report to the Scientific Committee of the Indian Ocean Tuna Commission*, (Ministry of Maritime Affairs, Government of Pakistan, 2019), 4-22.

¹⁵⁸ *Pakistan Minerals Production*, (Federal Ministry of Agriculture, Regions and Tourism, 2019).

¹⁵⁹ Baber Ali Bhatti, *Ports, and their Importance for Pakistan* (Maritime Study Forum, 2020). <https://www.maritimestudyforum.org/ports-and-their-importance-for-pakistan/>.



3.2.1 Significance of Pakistan's Maritime Sector

Pakistan's maritime sector can considerably contribute to the country's overall economic growth, and a thriving shipping industry may help save foreign cash, cut freight costs, and therefore enhance the country's foreign trade. According to UNCTAD, Pakistan's overall merchandise trade is 67.65 million US\$ in 2020 with 12.896 million US\$ transport service trade. Maritime key figures include 57 ships, fleet carrying national flag, (m) 12.168 seafarers, 3,339,165 TE container port throughput.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, in strengthening the blue economy, Ports play a vital role by providing the link between the sea and land transport and thus can generate economic benefits. Seaborne trade not only contributes significantly to economic growth, but also acts as a stimulant for home economic development and modernization.¹⁶¹ The most significant economic component of the Port is its capacity to serve as a focal point of economic activity for the surrounding region. A

¹⁶⁰ United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, (UNCTADSTAT, 2020)

¹⁶¹ Hikmat Shah Afridi, Symayya Bibi and Bilal Muhammad. "The Economic Viability of Gwadar Port: An Economic Hub for Maritime Trade." *Global Political Review (GPR)*. I (2016): 9-31

port is a maritime facility that consists of wharves where ships dock for cargo loading and unloading, as well as passenger disembarking. Ports are viewed as vital to the economic life of a nation. Pakistan has a 1046-kilometer coastline along the Arabian Sea, which is divided between the 800-kilometer Makran coast and the 246-kilometer Sindh coast. Pakistan currently has three major ports: Karachi, Bin Qasim, and Gwadar. Bin Qasim is one of the oldest, while Karachi is the busiest. Gwadar port, which benefits from an advantageous geostrategic location, was recently developed in conjunction with China. It is one of the deepest harbors in the world, capable of accommodating cargo ships up to 16 meters in length. Pakistan's topography is strategically significant due to its connectivity to a variety of regions, including western China, Afghanistan, India, the Caribbean, and Iran. Marine transport accounts for the lion's share of Pakistan's existing blue economy. It carries approximately 95 percent of trade as well as transit of goods to and from Afghanistan. Bin Qasim and Karachi port handles it and generates annual revenue of more than 20 billion rupees.¹⁶² Gwadar has the potential of refueling, transshipments, ship repair and shipbuilding and can overcome the security dilemma of Malacca strait. Pakistan has the direct sea-access to the Central Asian states, China, and Afghanistan as being the vital littoral state.¹⁶³ Pakistan has gotten an edge over landlocked nations due to its better economic potential. Pakistan, as a realistic maritime state in the Indian Ocean region, is gradually grasping the origins of the blue economy. According to Dr. Zahid, if Pakistan's foreign policy be analyzed historically, it has two national interests i.e., security and economic development, both go hand in hand. As one state owns sufficient economic assets it can moderate competent military and so on, better deterrence could be maintained as well.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² S.M. Hali. "Regional and Global Scenario of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor." In *China Pakistan Economic Corridor, A Game Changer*, edited by Minhas Majeed Khan, Ahmed Rashid Malik, Saira Ijaz and Ume Farwa, 34-60.

Institute of Strategic Studies (ISSI), 2016.

¹⁶³ Arif Rafiq. "Regional Transit Trade is not enough to drive Pakistan's Gwadar Port." *MEI*. October 14, 2020. <https://www.mei.edu/publications/regional-transit-trade-isnt-enough-drive-pakistans-gwadar-port>.

¹⁶⁴ Zahid Shahab Ahmed, Zoom interview.

3.4. China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)

CPEC is a collection of Chinese projects in Pakistan that fall under the OBOR umbrella (One Belt and One Route) and establishes a critical component in Beijing's vision for it. It was first agreed upon during a visit of Li Keqiang, Chinese Premier to Pakistan in 2013.¹⁶⁵ CPEC principally aims to connect Pakistan's Gwadar port with Kashgar, Chinese city. It includes projects: highways, railways, fiber optic network, and a deep-water port in Gwadar. Through CPEC the main objective of Pakistan is to generate economic prosperity, while strengthening its relations with a key regional nation. Beijing gains from CPEC's more direct access to the Arabian sea, as well as the political and economic benefits associated with a better security situation in a close partner. Thus, CPEC is a growth axis and a development belt featuring new benefits, collaborations, mutual benefits, and shared prosperity.¹⁶⁶ With the fundamental axis being a comprehensive transportation corridor and industrial collaboration between China and Pakistan, as well as concrete economic and commercial cooperation.¹⁶⁷ From north to south, CPEC is separated into five functioning zones. Xinjiang's foreign economic zone, the eastern and central straight economic zones, the northern border trade logistics and business corridor and ecological reserve, the western logistic corridor business zone, and the southern coastline logistics business zone. Pakistan, as a geostrategic ally situated at the crossroads of the oil-rich Middle East, densely populated South Asia with a sizable consumer market, and energy-rich Central Asian Republics (CARs), stands to gain enormously from the massive trade traffic generated by Gwadar Port. Thus, global trade trends can be used to estimate this potential. Global maritime trade trends imply an increasing demand for additional ports to accommodate and channel the expanding volume of marine trade. In 2021, Pakistan witnessed an increase in exports to China, estimated to increase by 34 percent - 2.33 billion US\$ in fiscal year 2020-21, as compared to the 1.74 billion US\$ in the previous fiscal year (2019-20). Export products include leather, textile, seafood, and

¹⁶⁵ Nick Macfie, *China's Li offers to Help end Pakistan energy Crisis*, (Reuters, 2013).

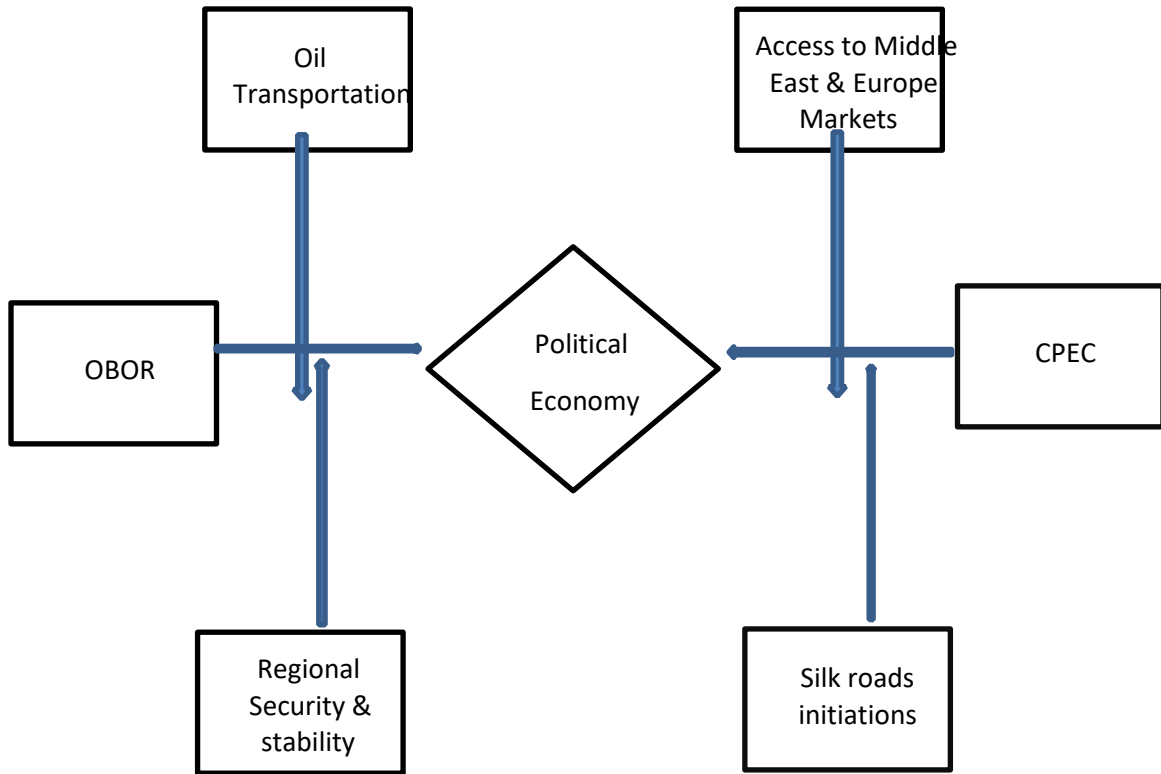
¹⁶⁶ Government of Pakistan Ministry of Planning, Development and Reform. "*Long Term Plan for China Pakistan Economic Corridor* (Gov, Ministry of planning, 2017)." <https://www.pc.gov.pk/uploads/cpec/CPEC-LTP.pdf>.

¹⁶⁷ Jacob Mardell, *The BRI in Pakistan: China's flagship economic corridor*, (Mercrator, Institute for Chinese Studies, 2020). <https://merics.org/en/analysis/bri-pakistan-chinas-flagship-economic-corridor>

agricultural products. According to Pakistan's ministry of commerce, in 2018, the trade volume was about 16.4 billion US\$ which was about 4.8 billion US\$ in 2007.

CPEC is undoubtedly a gateway to prosperity. There are six major areas to be concentrated for expansion of CPEC, i.e., trade and market access, industrial development and global value chains, socio-economic development, and poverty alleviation: Agricultural modernization and marketing, Gwadar oil city and blue economy. It will enhance regional connectivity through these potentials. Pakistan is working on the prospects of Gwadar through the concept of the “Blue economy”. The creation of the Gwadar oil city to replace the refined oil imports with crude oil are positive steps taken at Pakistan’s edge. Meanwhile, the Gwadar free zone has been opened to official investments, like shipping.

Figure 4: Conceptual Framework of political Economy

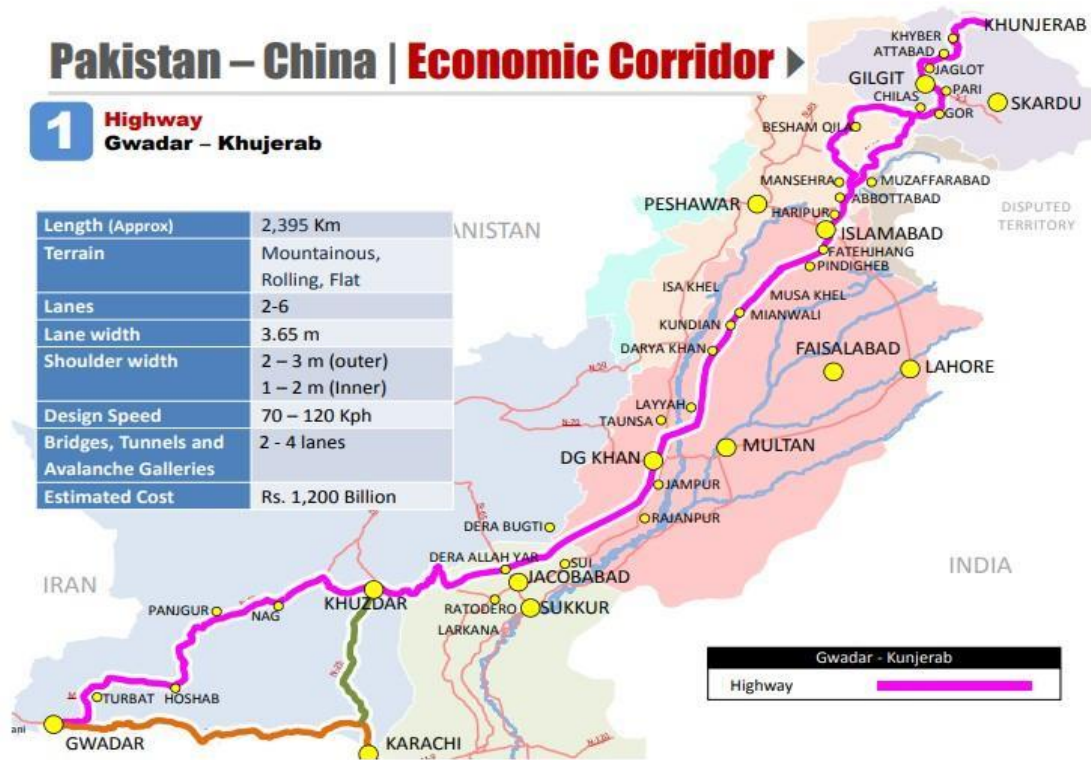


Prior to optimistic paradigm, CPEC has also sparked some critics, as its debt burden, Pakistan has gotten mountain of debt allowing China to use Debt-trap diplomacy¹⁶⁸ to gain access to strategic assets. Additionally, it lacks long-term structural reforms, which has impeded Pakistan's equitable socio-economic growth. China's ability to exert influence over Pakistan's economy has increased significantly in recent years, owing largely to Beijing's role as Pakistan's primary creditor. Pakistan's finance ministry reported that the country's total public and publicly produced external debt totaled \$44.35 billion in 2013, with 9.3 percent of the debt owed to China. According to the IMF research, Pakistan's external debt climbed to 90.12 billion dollars in 2021, with China accounting for 27.4 billion. The burden of covert and sovereign loans will continue to be a key cause of concern for Pakistan in the foreseeable future.¹⁶⁹ The Sachal Wind Farm corroborates the reports' revelations concerning the CPEC's hidden debt phenomena; the 134-million-dollar

¹⁶⁸ Uzair Younus, *Pakistan's growing problem with its China Economic Corridor*, (United States Institute of Peace, 2021).

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

project was signed between a Chinese-IPP and SEDPL,¹⁷⁰ Another unpaid debt is the orange line projects in Lahore, about which little information and progress has been provided. This vital component of CPEC is being developed as a joint venture between China Railway Corporation and China North Industries Corporation and is being financed by the Chinese Export-Import Bank. As a result of the majority benefiting from explicit or implicit host government liability protection, the distinction between private and public debt has become increasingly blurred, posing significant obstacles to Pakistan's capacity to manage its economic or financial resources efficiently.



Additionally, project progress has slowed, in part due to new administrative or political concerns. Additionally, bureaucratic obstacles hampered the CPEC authority's ability to operate as a focal point for accelerating projects. Thus, CPEC is not responsible for all troubles inside Pakistan, but it has exacerbated the long-term challenges. Additionally, the

¹⁷⁰ Tauseef Javed, *CPEC and AidData's revelations: A Test for PTI's Government*, (CSCR: Center for Strategic and Contemporary Research, 2021). <https://cscr.pk/explore/themes/trade-economics/cpec-and-aiddatas-revelations-a-test-for-ptis-government/>

Karot Hydropower project's interest rate is 5.11 percent on a 1.3-billion-dollar loan, China Three Gorge South Asia Investment Limited (C-SAIL) owns 93 percent of Karot Power Company Limited (KPCL), and Pakistan Associates Technologies owns 7 percent of KPCL (the AidData report, are still missing from official government websites in Pakistan, raising serious concerns about the transparency of CPEC projects).

3.4.1. Significance of Gwadar Port

Gwadar port, deepest seaport, located on Arabian Sea at Gwadar, Baluchistan under the administrative control of Maritime Secretary of Pakistan, operational control of COPHC. Gwadar lies in proximity of the Persian Gulf and strait of Hormuz, which is crucial world's oil conduits, via 35 percent of oil trade around the world occurs.¹⁷¹ Gwadar at first was a small fishing town, in 1954 as per survey conducted by United States Geological Survey (USGS)¹⁷² on Pakistan's coastal line, recognized Gwadar as a suitable place for construction of a seaport with least financial cost. Pakistan later bought Gwadar from Oman in 1958 and included it into its borders. Pakistan planned in 1964 to develop Gwadar into a seaport, furthermore, in 1983, National Engineering service of Pakistan conducted a survey for port feasibility. In 2001, an agreement was signed between China-Pakistan, for establishment of Gwadar port under Phase-I, with an amount, 248 million dollars, constructed under Chinese Harbor Engineering Company. It established 200m wide three multipurpose berths with 14.5m deep and 5km long channels. It could handle up to 50,000 deadweight tons bulk carriers.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Sara Hamdan, *Pipeline Avoids Strait of Hormuz*, (New York Times, 2012). <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/12/world/middleeast/pipeline-avoids-strait-of-hormuz.html?pagewanted=all&r=0>

¹⁷² Mir Sherbaz Khetran, *The Potential and Prospects of Gwadar Port*, (Strategic Studies, 2014), 2-20.

¹⁷³ Ammad Hassan, *Pakistan Gwadar Port, Prospects of Economic Revival*, (California, Naval Postgraduate School, 2015), 31.



Gwadar Phase I & II ¹⁷⁴

There are several benefits of Gwadar port, including strategic, economic, and geographic. It assists direct and shortest routes to landlocked Central Asian Nations, Afghanistan, and many other regional and international regions. Along with oil, trade for the Asia Pacific, South Asian, and East Asian nations' markets would be a viable alternative in appraising future international sea routes. 95% of Pakistan's trade is performed by sea; in 2005, the total amount of trade was approximately 39 million tons, for which Pakistan traditionally relied on KPT and Port Qasim. Of which 63% were transported via Karachi Port Trust and 32% via Port Qasim.¹⁷⁵ In 2019 Pakistan trade volume was 2635001.17 million in 2019¹⁷⁶ and 28.37 billion US\$ in 2020.¹⁷⁷

China and Pakistan began the Gwadar plan in 2015, with the goal of connecting northern Pakistan and western China to Gwadar's deep seaport by a 3,200-kilometer network of railroads, roads, pipelines, power plants, and fiber-optic cables traversing Pakistan. The

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Hassan Yaser Malilk, *Strategic Importance of Gwadar Port*, (Journal of Political Studies, 2012), 57-69. <http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/pols/pdf-files/gwadar%20article-winter2012.pdf>

¹⁷⁶ *Foreign Trade*, (Foreign Trade Statistics Section, 2019). https://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/external_trade/monthly_review/Quarterly_Review_of_Foreign%20Trade_July_Sept_2019.pdf

¹⁷⁷ *Pakistan: Trade Balance from 2010-2020*, (Statista, 2020). <https://www.statista.com/statistics/383817/trade-balance-of-pakistan/>

Karakoram Highway in northern Pakistan is undergoing extensive upgrades to ensure that it remains open throughout the year. Prior to the establishment of CPEC, a coastal highway between Gwadar and Karachi was constructed in 2004, significantly reducing travel time from 48 to 7 hours. CPEC is approaching completion of a new roadway connecting the port to existing highways. The building of Gwadar is a subset of China's wider Belt and Road program, which aims to enhance trade and economic development throughout Asia and beyond. Gwadar port is in the South of CPEC, its operation and development not only influence Pakistan economy but boost China's economic development. Gwadar is strategically located at the crossroads of three major Asian commercial routes, including the oil-rich Middle East, Central Asia (which is abundant in natural resources), and South Asia. Gwadar is the eastern entry point for energy from the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz. Gwadar has the potential to provide the Chinese with a base in the Arabian Sea, allowing them to concentrate their Navy's logistical support capabilities in the Gulf of Oman. If the Naval base in Djibouti is included, Chinese capabilities would extend to the Gulf of Aden and East African coasts. Along with this, the Chinese are constructing a facility in Oman's Duqm Port.

Gwadar port shortens the route between West Asia and China via the Malacca straits (10-12 days). The gas and oil pipeline planned along the Gwadar-Kashgar route would allow for essential shipping of west Asian oil through the pipeline, attempting to avoid the Malacca choke point, albeit at a significantly higher rate. Transshipments are defined as the transportation of containers/goods to an intermediate port before being delivered to the destination. It is critical due to infrastructure constraints in smaller area ports and shipping lines' strategies requiring their larger ships to call at a minimum number of ports. Due to its strategic location near the Persian Gulf, Gwadar port is capable of handling deep-draught ships. With a short access channel of only 4.7 kilometers in length, relatively inexpensive labor, and sufficient space to stack containers and other cargo, Gwadar port can be equipped to operate as a transshipment port. It is worth noting that, despite Singapore's small size in terms of land area, its port is the world's largest transshipment port and the second busiest after Shanghai. In 2018, it handled nearly 36.5 million

containers. Pakistan's Gwadar port also has the potential to be a prosperous transshipment hub and a source of economic development.¹⁷⁸

Additionally, Gwadar is surrounded by large, empty, and uninhabited territory, but its topography draws investors despite its isolation. It is strategically placed near maritime lanes, where the Arabian Sea meets the Persian Gulf, often known as the Strait of Hormuz. Almost 50% of China's oil is imported from the Persian Gulf by ships traveling over 16,000 kilometers to Shanghai; the Gwadar port might drastically shorten that route.¹⁷⁹ It features a deep, warm-water port that can accommodate larger ships carrying greater loads and does not freeze as much as other ports. Besides, development through Gwadar project, there are some threats which keeps on hindering the development and sustainability of port, as in 2004, during the Phase I, radicals killed three Chinese workers (engineers) in Gwadar, same happened in 2019, Insurgents from Baluchistan boarded public buses between Gwadar and Karachi and shot fourteen passengers.¹⁸⁰ In May 2019, Assailants gained entry to the Pearl Continental, Gwadar's solitary luxury hotel, and opened fire killing five people, the responsibility of which claimed by Baloch separatist that it was an attack on Chinese and foreign investors. In December 2020, the repercussions were so robust that construction activities ceased within a few weeks after the beginning of construction of the fence. China is trying to assure a more steady energy supply by securing resources through an oil pipeline linking Gwadar to China's Xinjiang Uygur independent province and bolstering control over the Indian Ocean through the Gwadar military port. On the other hand, as Dr. Zahid, there's much to provide benefits to China as well as to gain through the Gwadar project, as it has started exporting seafood to China.¹⁸¹ In this rift, industry could grow more with keeping in mind the preservation of marine life. Furthermore, Gwadar port has been given a lease to China, since then it has been witnessed as per documentary in Al-Jazeera, the local fishermen are not allowed to do fishing at the coast, even if they do, they cannot catch enough due to the presence and

¹⁷⁸ Government of Pakistan Ministry of Maritime Affairs *Transshipment* (MMA, 2020).

¹⁷⁹ Samira Shackle, *Checkpoints, Machine Guns, and Fences: This Pakistani Port is not for People*. (Hakai Magazine, 2021). <https://hakaimagazine.com/features/checkpoints-machine-guns-and-fences-this-pakistani-port-is-not-for-the-people/>

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Zahid Shahab Ahmed, Zoom Interview.

involvement of foreign companies there. At this point, Pakistan is benefitting a lot more to China through its establishment ignorance. If considered seriously and more efficiently, it can be a stable source of economic development as well as growth of local companies.

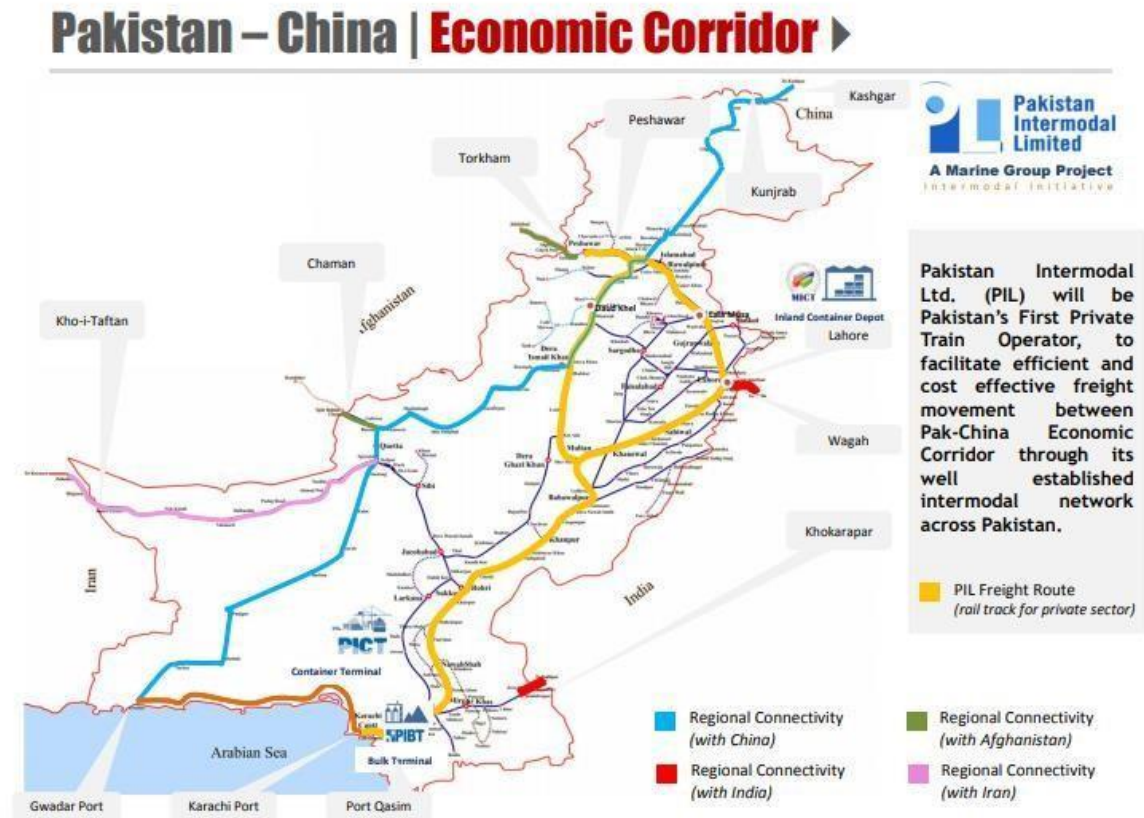
Geoeconomics is about economics in a specific region, if Pakistan produces anything, it will trade it with any nation as it is not a developed nation to focus on acquiring geo-economic and geopolitical benefits. That's the reason it trades with North America, European nations, and Gulf nations. The export of seafood is new thing for Pakistan, as it needs resources to exploit, and Pakistan own enough to build foreign and neighboring relations with other nation over marine resources. Having enough space, and resources at Gwadar port, there is possibility of exporting goods to China and in return China also desires to show that port is functioning especially to its other partners of BRI. CPEC, part of OBOR, has bigger benefits, and China being at this point is more interested in exploring more revenue resources out of Gwadar port.

3.5. CPEC, Stimulator of Pakistan's Relations with Regional and Inter-Regional Nations

Pakistan has been promoting CPEC as the pivot point of regional connectivity since 2016. It serves as a north-south trade and transit corridor between Western China and Pakistan. CPEC, which connects the Silk Road Economic Belt to the 21st-century Maritime Silk Road, is a major OBOR initiative.¹⁸² Chinese stance is that it covers the economic key areas in southern Xinjiang, economic development and sustainability and perpetual political and social stability. While Pakistan along with economic sustainability and development, aims to enhance social status, bring political and regional stability. Thus, the bilateral relation between China and Pakistan categorized by large degree of mutual-cooperation and convergence of strategic interests. This project can stimulate the building of maritime, political as well as economic relations with Afghanistan, Iran, India, and Central Asian Republics by providing direct access to landlocked nations. Strategic significance of Pakistan's geography is analyzed through Sea-lines of communication from Middle East oil abundant nations, closest to Pakistan, boosting the potential to impact

¹⁸² Ahsan Iqbal, *CPEC has Opportunities for Every Sector of Economy* (Pakistan Today, 2016).

the flow of oil. In this regards, Gwadar port, key project of CPEC, lied just 290NM from Strait of Hormuz. If it constructed and operational completely as a deep-sea transshipment port, as mentioned earlier, it can be connecting port to the landlocked market of CARs, assisting with shortest route to Indian Ocean. Thus, CPEC can be a successful project linking or converging the maritime and terrestrial economics.



3.5.1. Pakistan’s Maritime Relation with India

India and Pakistan share historical bonding, yet they both are way too far from least integrated nations, even sharing neighbors since 1947, for 73 years as sovereign states, both states have never developed stable and cordial relations and have always shown less supportive commitments towards each other. The fragmentary British legacy agenda has made the peace process vulnerable between both nations, further deepening the issue of

Kashmir has created more disagreement and peril for peace in the South Asian region.¹⁸³ Besides their animosity, CPEC can be an indicator for enhancing interdependence between Pakistan and India, raising economic sustainability for both regional nations, and directly bringing peace and prosperity inside the region. Although CPEC is an ingenious collaborative endeavor between China and Pakistan, this project was initiated with an aim to bring regional stability and enhance economic bidding between nations by building a network of road, gas and oil pipeline, and economic area through Pakistan. India inclusion in the CPEC can enhance the local progress, business and economic connectivity, a step further by granting India access to Central Asian markets, and Indian further be also allowed to trade with Afghanistan, boosting industrialization as well as technological advancement inside its region.¹⁸⁴ However, India considers CPEC as part of renewed Strings of Pearls strategy that reflect Chinese military and commercial bases in the Indian Ocean Region (containment against India or encircling India).¹⁸⁵ Fearing that completion of Gwadar port could be a major threat in the shape of the Chinese naval base, and the economic and energy security threat for India. Precisely, as per realist paradigm of Power maximization, the bilateral relation between India and China concern India position in Indian ocean as well as south Asian region. India has an anti-Pakistan stance, claiming Gilgit Baltistan as part of Indian Territory, and on other hand supporting separatist movements inside Baluchistan, Pakistan. According to the Pakistan Foreign minister Qureshi, New Delhi has distributed 22billion rupees for endorsing and resounding out the terror actions inside Pakistan.¹⁸⁶

In addition, besides CPEC, India and Pakistan have been part of TAPI (Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan, India Gas Pipeline) since 2010, signed over 7billion gas pipeline projects, raised to 9.9 billion in 2018. It is a proposed natural gas pipeline being developed

¹⁸³ S. Begum and N.S.Ahmed, *Changing dynamics of Pakistan-India relationship and Kashmir Predicament*, (Journal of Punjab University Historical society, 2016), 197-204.

¹⁸⁴ Sohial Ahmed, Areeja Syed, and Muhammad Makkey Bhutta, *Indian Inclusion in CPEC, A Path to Indo-Pak Threat Reduction via Complex Interdependence*, (Liberal Arts and Social Sciences International Journal, 2019). 11-19. <https://ideapublishers.org/index.php/lassij/article/view/17/16>

¹⁸⁵ Mominyar Khalid Butt, *is India Trying to Sabotage CPEC?* (Global Village Space: GVS, 2021). <https://www.globalvillagespace.com/indian-designs-against-cpec/>

¹⁸⁶ Zahoor Khan Marwat, *Mounting Indian Threats to CPEC*, (the News, 2020). <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/748473-mounting-indian-threats-to-cpec>

with the help of ADB (Asian Development Bank). The planned pipeline has a total length of about 814km: 214km in Turkmenistan, 774km in Afghanistan, 826km in Pakistan to reach Fazilka on the Indian-Pakistan border. TAPI is one of the connections in the inter-energy relationship between these four nations, according to CAREC approach for regional collaboration in the energy sector. It ensures energy security through balanced regional institutional and infrastructure development, strengthens market integration, and stimulates economic growth through increased trade.¹⁸⁷ Besides these optimistic views, TAPI has yet to be completed despite being in process for the past three decades.¹⁸⁸ Keeping in view interdependence or economic convergence, both nations can boost their relations as well as alleviate the past contractible conflicts and tension between them, CPEC, TAPI or building more trade relations can further boost their relations.

3.5.2. Pakistan and Afghanistan

Afghanistan, a landlocked nation, is encircled by Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Iran, and China. It is primarily agriculturally based, with exports to Pakistan, India, Turkey, and Russia. It conducts most of its imports and exports through Karachi and Gwadar ports, making it a formidable competitor for CPEC support. CPEC Afghanistan can now access Gwadar via CPEC, saving nearly 600 kilometers in comparison to its previous trade route. Pakistan, which is heavily reliant on Afghan trade, hopes to increase its trade to nearly 3 billion US dollars in the coming years, thereby strengthening its relations. According to Prime Minister Imran Khan, both Afghanistan and Pakistan stand to profit from CPEC, becoming hubs of commerce and business and further solidifying their ties by supervising the terms and negotiations of the Afghanistan Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement (APTTA).¹⁸⁹ Afghan Transit Trade began at Gwadar port in January 2020, when the first container ship arrived. Gwadar port began accepting cargo under APTTA on January 14. Afghanistan, a landlocked country, can now import and export

¹⁸⁷ *Regional: Turkmenistan- Afghanistan- Pakistan- India Natural Gas Pipeline Project. Phase 3*, (Asian Development Bank, 2022). <file:///C:/Users/Maryam/Downloads/adb-projects-44463-013.pdf>.

¹⁸⁸ *TAPI- Pipeline Remains Incomplete After 3 Decades*, (TOLO, 2022). <https://tolonews.com/business-176215>

¹⁸⁹ Asad Hashim, *For US-Pakistan Relationship, all Roads go through Kabul*, (AlJazeera, 2020). <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/11/10/for-us-pakistan-relationship-all-roads-go-through-kabul>.

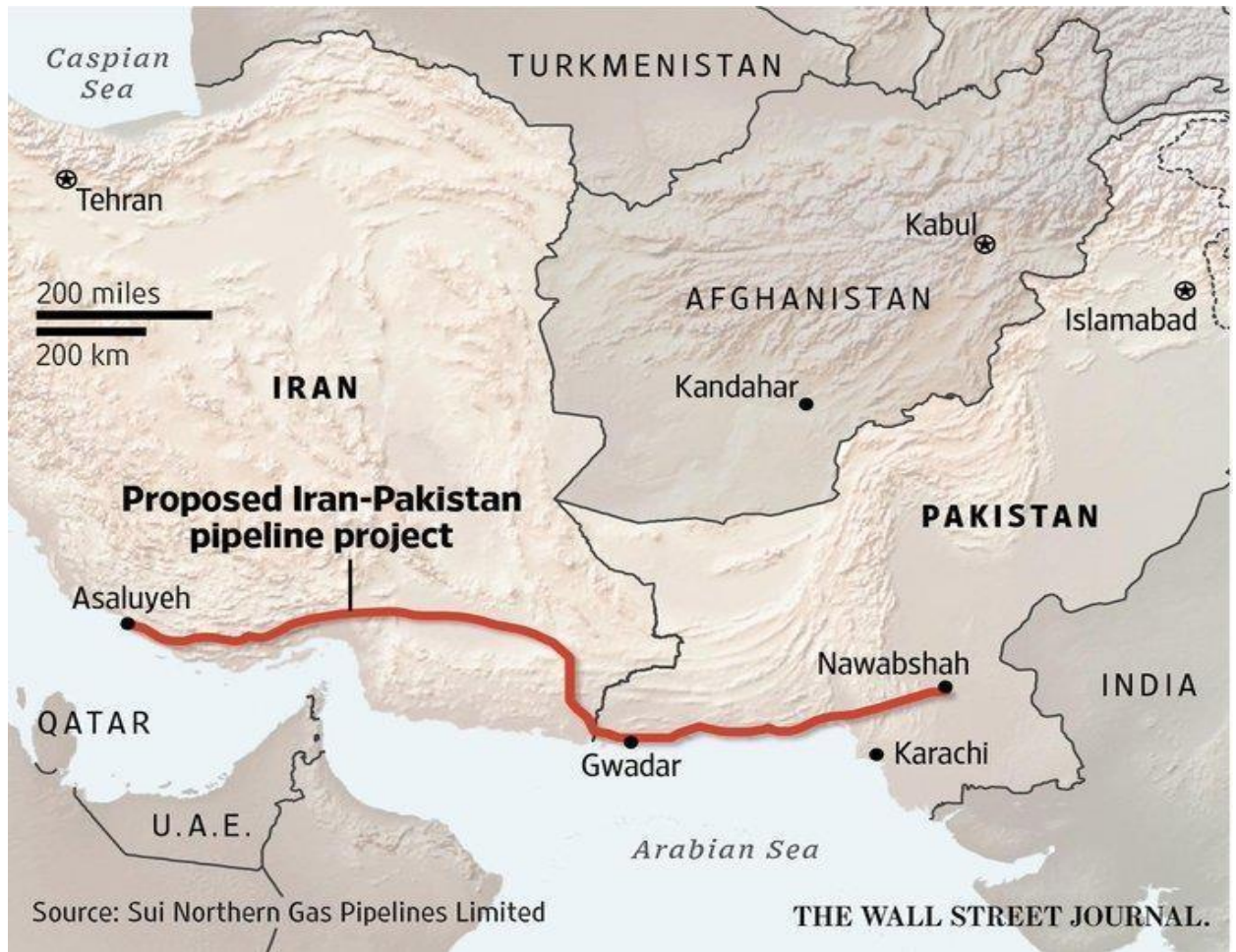
goods using Pakistan's land routes.¹⁹⁰ The first shipment unloaded at Gwadar port was chemical fertilizers, which were shipped to Afghanistan via the Chaman border crossing in Balochistan province. It was the port's first operational use for massive trade activity, demonstrating both China and Pakistan's success. Opportunities for trade, economic investments and cross-border engagements between Pakistan and Afghanistan could provide immense advantages to both sides through connections to CARs, access to Arabian sea, and India while boosting bilateral relations. Till date, threat perceptions have limited prospects for economic engagement, and both have used trade access as a leverage to secure bilateral concessions.

3.5.3. CPEC and Iran

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is one of the Silk Road Economic Belt's constituent corridors (SREB). CPEC is China's Belt and Road Initiative's largest, most audacious, and most developed component. India's support of Iran's Chabahar port project was expected to impede CPEC's natural expansion. To India, Chabahar port, located just 170 kilometers from Gwadar, represents a chance to undermine the CPEC's expansion and China's string of pearl policy encompassing Southeast Asia and the Middle Eastern region. The Sino-Iran agreement for 2020 will therefore foster the development of two major ports in Iran, namely Jask and Chabahar, while China is building one of the world's largest ports in the Indian Ocean in Pakistan, less than 200 kilometers east of the latter. Iran and Pakistan already work together on a local level. The two countries collaborate on counter-terrorism operations in Baluchistan and sell electricity to one another.¹⁹¹ Iran is pivotal to realization of China's trans-continental, focused on OBOR initiative in ways that Saudi Arabia is not. Iran's gas reserves and oil is the most extensive in the world, which will boost China's exponentially rising energy needs. Iran and Pakistan have agreed to the five-year extension to the long-pending gas pipeline project. Iran has already completed the construction of a 900 km long pipeline towards its Pakistan border.

¹⁹⁰ Anadolu, *Afghan Transit Trade via Pakistan's Gwadar Port Begin*, (The Nations, 2020. <https://nation.com.pk/27-Jul-2020/afghan-transit-trade-via-pakistan-s-gwadar-port-begins>).

¹⁹¹ Sebastien Goulard, *Iran and CPEC*. (OBOREurope: One Belt One Road Europe, 2020. <https://www.oboreurope.com/en/iran-cpec/>).



Peace pipeline¹⁹²

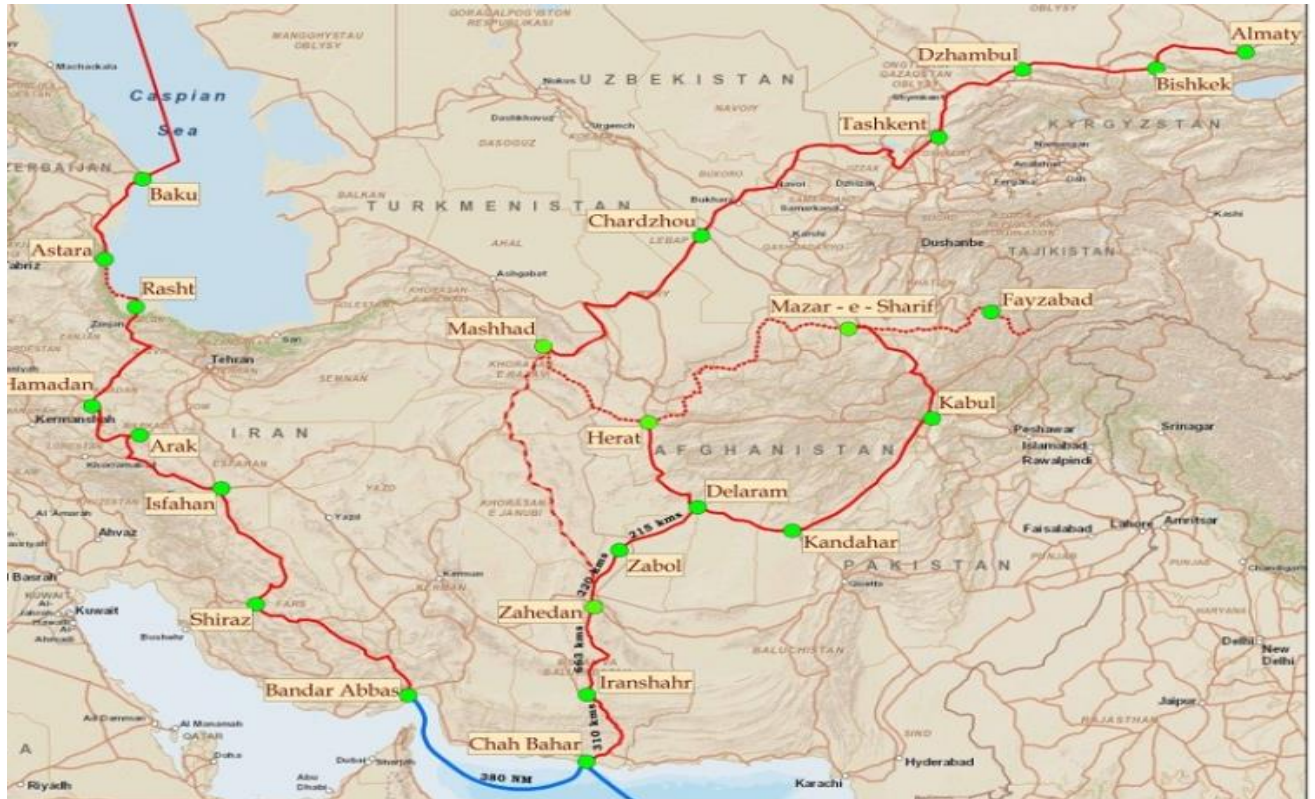
3.5.4. Pakistan Relation with Central Asian Republics

The CAR region entered the world following the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, in order to expand trade with Pakistan and bypass China. CARs benefit enormously from the CPEC route, which provides unprecedented access and opportunities. A project consisting of two corridors, one connecting Peshawar to Kabul and Tajikistan and the other connecting Quetta to Herat and Turkmenistan. These will provide access not only to Central Asia, but also to the Russian Federation.¹⁹³ Central Asian states have considerable

¹⁹² Saeed Shah, *China to Build Pipeline from Iran to Pakistan*, (the Wall Street Journal, 2015). <https://www.wsj.com/articles/china-to-build-pipeline-from-iran-to-pakistan-1428515277>

¹⁹³ Syeda Dhanak Hasmi, *China and Central Asian Republics Connectivity through CPEC*, (Modern Diplomacy, 2019). <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2019/01/01/china-and-central-asian-republics-connectivitythrough-cpec/>.

investment potential in the CPEC, its projects, and zones. CPEC's future trade and economic ties with the CAR would be practically indeterminate.



Route to CARS.¹⁹⁴

Pakistan through CPEC has an opportunity to strengthen its central role as a corridor that transports goods through its region to CARs and Afghanistan, along opening markets for the other foreign nations. Pakistan is a window to the Indian Ocean/ Arabian Sea, further explaining that it has enough resources for import as well as export to CARs and Afghanistan.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ Agha Iqar Harron, *Do Central Asian States still need Gwadar Port to reach waters of Indian Ocean*, (Eurasia News,2017). <https://dispatchnewsdesk.com/central-asian-states-still-need-cpec-gwadar-port/>

¹⁹⁵ Zoom Interview, Zahid Shahab Ahmed.

3.5.5 Pakistan and Russia

Passing through long decades of Cold war, shifting from foe to friendship, Pakistan and Russia have entered a mutually beneficial relationship. Russia and Pakistan trade turnover increased by 45.8 percent in 2020, as compared to 79.8million dollars in 2019.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, in strengthening its diplomatic as well as economic relations, Moscow is willing to invest in transmission lines of the power sector apart from extending its expertise and investment in the Pakistan maritime sector. A preliminary contract is signed between Pakistan and Russia to construct a 1,100-kilometer-long steam gas pipeline in Pakistan, labeled the flagship strategic venture, which will improve bilateral ties.¹⁹⁷

Pakistan economic policy has always been dominated by the security paradigm, sustaining economic development was not the utmost priority of the Pakistan government. Pakistan is not an industrial nation; its economic system is mostly based on the agriculture sector and trade has been conducted in the same sector. There is an agriculture competition like Mango, Basmati rice and raw cotton. These are still bigger economies, as agriculture sales are huge in terms of its contribution to Pakistan GDP, so they never look to other possibilities to diversify its economy. Pakistan is too much focused on security and territorial concerns, but with the inclusion of non-traditional security paradigms, economic concerns have taken into consideration even the state of Pakistan and the nation has started building its economic strength by considering the blue economy in its concern. But regarding this, geographically, Pakistan has always owned the sea, but it is the most neglected aspect which has never been considered as the stimulator of national as well as economic growth. One of the major aspects behind this lack is, lack of maritime awareness, and efficient maritime policy to establish a stable shipbuilding industry, and mainly due to these factors, Pakistan has never been able to capitalize on the significance of geopolitics and geostrategic. Pakistan with its weak governance, inefficient institutional structure, lack of maritime policy has failed to complete the ongoing projects and not been

¹⁹⁶ Khalid Mustafa, *New Era of Economic Cooperation with Russia on the Cards*, (The News, 2021). <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/911792-new-era-of-economic-cooperation-with-russia-on-the-cards>

¹⁹⁷ Sher Bano, *Pakistan and Russia to Strengthen Ties Through Defense and Cyber-Security Cooperation-OPED*, (EurasiaReview, 2021). <https://www.eurasiareview.com/13122021-pakistan-and-russia-to-strengthen-ties-through-defense-and-cyber-security-cooperation-oped/>.

able to maintain neighboring relations due to interprovincial disharmony as well as political turmoil along with many internal challenges. Furthermore, it has failed to initiate maritime security construct in the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean which has further exacerbated the external economic challenges, directly leading to lack of FDI (foreign direct investment). Pakistan's location on the doorstep of the world's largest energy reserves enables it to act as a conduit for landlocked nations such as Afghanistan and CARs, giving them an access to the Indian Ocean region. Through projects like CPEC, Pakistan was able to fast track in many revenue resources, but It has benefited from favorable foreign exchange rates as imports of machinery and materials increased and exports slowed. The blue or marine economy fosters long-term economic growth and development, however in Pakistan, sufficient attention has not been made to the expansion of the ocean sector. China has changed its strategic orientation, it's part of the global value chain, it must import and export energy resources, it has labor all around the world, and as a result, it has started a stable maritime orientation, not just a continental orientation. In terms of Pakistan, it is primarily terrestrially oriented in terms of trade, it does even trade with immediate neighbors and less with foreign nations. In addition, most importantly Pakistan must need to transform its statecraft and its strategic orientation. It needs to build its marine resources and platform to build market relations. Dealing with China is a matter of diplomacy, Pakistan needs to build diplomatic relations in terms of fishing policies with China. As Pakistan can gain huge economic benefit with its export of seafood not just to China but to many other foreign nations where seafood owns a huge economic supply chain. As in Australia, trade has been highly based on seafood, and most of it goes directly to Japan, a few years back it has also traded to China. But Australia has Strict rules and regulations, that in certain seasons fishing cannot be done in certain parts of the ocean. Australia supports neighboring nations and livelihoods, that's how they work together as they share their ocean. If highly noticed, this is an opportunity for Pakistan to indulge its maritime activities with its neighbors so that through seafood export, Pakistan can gain huge economic benefits by building diplomatic relations with other nations, including diplomatic discussions with Oman, Dubai as well as Iran. To sustain its marine industry, Pakistan needs to make sure that in which nation and even in Chinese companies, fishing can build its sustainable economic development revenue. China has helped Pakistan

through its CPEC OBOR project, apparently it has a risk since China focuses initiative rather than a regional one, but if that can be expanded and leveraged to create a network of land corridors through South Central Asia including Afghanistan.¹⁹⁸ That is an opportunity to expand trading platforms and help in building stable trading routes throughout the region. It on one hand creates an opportunity for Pakistan to strengthen its central role as a corridor of transport and goods to neighboring nations, and as well as opening new market chains. In addition, it further creates an alternative to China's BRI initiative, where China is building its own corridor to open up all those market chains. If visiting Tajikistan through Pakistan and Afghanistan is much closer than passing through Kazakhstan to Moscow and then to Europe, here Pakistan needs efficient policies in building alternative corridors that could link the economies with the region.

Conclusion

In strengthening blue economy, ports play a crucial role in assisting with connectivity link between sea hinterland and between different continents, thus sea transport and trade can generate enormous economic benefits. Seaborne trade not only contribute significantly to building economic strength but also act as an engine for domestic economy and act as a catalyst for development and modernization. The most significant economic component of a port is its capacity to operate as a focal point of economic activity in surrounding regions. Economic policy has a decisive role to play in establishing a security paradigm. National security and economic strength go hand in hand. As if state own sufficient economic assets, it can moderate competent military and better deterrence could be maintained as well. Pakistan is not an industrial nation, its economic system is based on agriculture sector and trade has conducted in same manner. Besides, Pakistan always owns a sea, but it is most neglected aspect which has never been taken into consideration as a stimulator of economic growth. Blue economy has been undermined by the fact as focus of Pakistan's foreign policy is dictated by territorial concern. Lack of maritime awareness, and efficient maritime policy is cornerstone of maritime economic diplomacy as well as

¹⁹⁸ Stephen Nagi, Zoom Interview.

of blue economy, which can be established by conservation of shipbuilding industry, with effective capitalization of geostrategic as well as geo-economics' aspects.

Chapter Four

Naval Diplomacy: Tactical Weapon for Blue Diplomacy

“The navy has always been an instrument of policy of states, an important aid to diplomacy in peacetime.”

(Admiral of S. Fleet Sergei Gorski 1979)

“Control of Sea by maritime commerce and naval supremacy means predominant influence in the world and is chief among the merely material elements in the power and prosperity of nations.”

(Rear Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan.)

Sea remains the wide common over which civilization may pass in all directions, the growing initiatives to enclose the sea for economic purposes have so far not limited very significantly the capability of nations to use the high sea to pass their military forces across the globe. They must still use the deter military power against neighboring or international states. The sea provides the most easily crossed two-third of earth’s surface and nations have always used them as a way of acquiring access to other regions. With development of new kinds of longer ranged weaponry systems the use of seas to ‘project power’ has become even more crucial than it has ever been. Diplomacy is the regulation of international relations, whereas marine diplomacy is management of international relations through the maritime sphere. In contemporary diplomacy, naval operations are great illustrations of notion of maritime diplomacy in general, as well as sub concepts of collaborative maritime diplomacy. The port visit, combined naval exercises, training, humanitarian support, and disaster relief are all part of operation. In modern parlance, Maritime forces refers to forces whose primary mission is to execute naval operations at, above, below, and from the sea. Surface combatants, submarines, auxiliaries, chartered boats, organic planes and helicopters, shore installations for coastal and marine defense, land troops, and shore-based aircraft and helicopters assigned to maritime missions are all included in this definition. The distinct and innate qualities of naval forces characterize them as powerful political instruments in support of national policy objectives. Navies maintain an apparent and credible capability both, to fight in hostile waters in defense of a nation.

This chapter's primary purpose is subdivided into three sections: (i) Evolution of Modern Naval Diplomacy (ii) significance of maritime diplomacy (iii) Drivers of maritime Diplomacy (iv) Pakistan’s navy Defensive Diplomacy and collaboration with other actors

(v) Pakistan's Navy vision (vi) Challenges and Hurdles in implementing Pakistan maritime diplomacy.

4.1 Evolution of Modern Naval Diplomacy

States continued to create and project military might in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to compete for access to and control of territory, trade, and resources. Nations in cooperative geopolitical contexts can preserve their interests and negotiate successfully with other states without relying on force projection capabilities, but states in competitive geopolitical situations are driven to create power projection capabilities. As the world witnessed the era of decolonization, political history of Asia, Africa and Pacific in the mid twentieth century, many states emerged at the international arena with inherited constitutional form, including western democratic models of former colonial power. During the process of democratic structure, the military became a vital cohesive entity with a sense of collective identity. Here, Gunboat diplomacy attempts to achieve its goals that are either based on deterrence or coercion, through intimidation. The offer of assistance or an ally can be included, but the main purpose is to prevent an opponent from considering an attack against an ally. Even though they require the acceptance of the state being visited, port calls by a powerful naval force can serve as a form of coercive maritime diplomacy, as they serve as a reminder to the intended audience of the visiting navy's capabilities, and thus as a possible deterrent to aggression or politics that are detrimental to the visiting state's interests.

In addition, Geopolitical rivalry is sometimes described as the possibility for coercive bargaining between each state and other states in its geopolitical context. As the possibility for coercive negotiating contacts grows, so does the intensity of geopolitical competition for each state.¹⁹⁹ In terms of operation, the amount of geopolitical competition that each state encounters is determined by a function that combines three factors: the state's geographic location, its relations with other nations, and so on. The stronger a state's desire

¹⁹⁹ Jonathan N. Markowitz & Christopher J. Faris, *Power, Proximity, and Democracy: Geopolitical Competition in the International System*, (University of Southern California). 1-35. https://dornsife.usc.edu/assets/sites/922/docs/Markowitz_and_Fariss-Power_Proximity_and_Democracy.pdf.

to invest in force projection capabilities, the greater its geopolitical competitiveness. According to dr. James, navies are driving geostrategic changes in the nation. That is that the likelihood of changes at the higher end of the spectrum now becomes more of an instrument and reality of choice for major powers like the US, China, Russia and perhaps the UK, France, Japan and maybe Australia and India. These are nations focusing on high end naval power rather than the constabulary, or on maritime law enforcement capabilities.²⁰⁰

The miscellaneous missions that come under the umbrella of cooperative maritime diplomacy demonstrate the naval forces' versatility. The military of a country is frequently seen as the best actor for missions in remote and difficult-to-reach areas. However, within the military, the navy possesses the services that may operate most freely worldwide, without the need for basing or overflight rights, and from politically neutral international seas. The deployment of naval or marine paramilitary vessels for humanitarian or disaster relief missions, which are becoming more important missions for various forces throughout the world. Pakistan navy contribution, as far as benign role is concerned, its contribution in humanitarian disasters both at home and abroad have been very significant, Tsunami 2004 witnessed its naval ships across Sri Lanka and Indonesia, where it founded its Field Hospitals and rendered exceptional aid in terms of medicine and food assistance. At home, Pakistan naval aircraft and personnel phenomenally contributed to the HADR efforts in earthquake 2005 and Super Floods 2010. Navy's efforts along the Makran Coast are very conspicuous through establishment of hospitals, schools, and community centers for the uplift of fishermen and coastal communities.²⁰¹ Cooperative naval diplomacy may however be considered as an attempt to bolster soft power by deploying hard power capabilities. It appears to be a form of soft marine diplomacy, as opposed to hard maritime diplomacy, which entails gunboats executing limited punitive actions against obstinate fleets.

²⁰⁰ Interview was conducted on zoom meeting. The draft of interview has been included as annex 4.

²⁰¹ Interview was conducted on zoom meeting. The draft of interview has been included as annex 2.

4.2. Significance of Maritime Diplomacy

In times of peace, maritime diplomacy, whether coercive, persuasive, or cooperative, and whether involving military or civilian actors, plays possibly the most important role for maritime agencies. Cooperative marine diplomacy is a broad term that refers to a variety of activities combining countries from various regions to build a unified approach. Cooperative diplomacy does not aim to bully, compel, deter, nor to persuade other nations with force, but to utilize measures of attraction, create an environment of cooperation and develop inspiration to entice or reassurance of peace. While the second type of maritime diplomacy is persuasive maritime diplomacy in which maritime agencies are basically used for political purposes in times of peace although it doesn't have cooperative measures. The basic aim of persuasive maritime diplomacy is to recognize one's national power and build prestige for other nations at regional and international level. Lastly, the coercive maritime diplomacy is also known as gunboat diplomacy, defining in a manner that it is pursuance of diplomacy through gunboats (or naval capabilities). As Nailor explained, the use of coercive maritime diplomacy has decreased in the post-imperial era, not only because of the unpopularity of using applied force for foreign policy goals midst post-imperial decline, but also because of the deficit of overseas bases, making diplomacy more expensive, more complex to manage, and more politically difficult. As a result, sending a gunboat 5000 miles to support a cause appears to demonstrate a higher level of political resolve than sending one 500 miles. The ability to operate on the high seas, and even beyond 12-nautical-mile territorial zones for innocent passage, is a crucial advantage maritime forces enjoy over other forces.²⁰² Forces at sea also exhibit flexibility by being able to approach and depart legally and with relative ease from a nation's shoreline. As Rear Admiral Bob Davidson pointed out, naval forces may exert early influence on the ground while staying flexible and able to retreat quickly if conditions on the ground shift.²⁰³

²⁰² Calmes, Jackie, *A US Marine Base for Australia Irritates China* (New York Times, November 16, 2011).

²⁰³ Bob Davidson, *Modern Naval Diplomacy- A Practitioner's view*, (Journal of Military and Strategic Studies, 2008). 9.

Another set of benefits marine forces have over other services is related to their onboard systems or inherent capabilities, often known as tactical abilities. Naval warships, for example, frequently perform many functions and are consequently outfitted with a diverse set of capabilities.²⁰⁴ Maritime forces are exceptionally well positioned to reassure, deter, or persuade others through the delicate use of presence, threat, and limited forces due to their tactical flexibility, mobility, and geographic flexibility. Nonetheless, there are several reasons why maritime diplomacy a popular strategy among most countries is still. It is usually effective, extremely versatile, and generally cost-effective in any circumstance, and it gives players a larger range of alternatives of conflict. While coercive maritime diplomacy may appear to be an indicator of rising tensions at first look, it may also serve as a stabilizing force. It functions as a safety valve, allowing any tension to be resolved without resorting to confrontation. The practice permits governments or actors to achieve their objectives in a dispute or diplomatic campaign while avoiding, and sometimes implying the use of force. As a result, maritime diplomacy is utilized as a deterrence, as well as a coercive, persuasive, and cooperative instrument.

4.3. Drivers of Maritime Diplomacy

Navies are fundamentally flexible national power tools. The combination of mobility and perseverance is one of their most important characteristics. Naval forces may maintain a sustained presence in a location without requiring the acquisition of basing rights or occupation of enemy land. Additionally, navies are beneficial across the spectrum of conflict. They may indicate presence during peacetime, influencing the conduct of other states, strengthening alliances, and deterring aggression, and most crucially, they are effective tools of peacetime competitiveness. Many factors have strengthened the utilization of maritime diplomacy, with the persuasive, cooperative and cohesive use of maritime diplomacy, the strategic uses are further going to continue and sources like nationalism, sovereignty, international law, power multipolarity, changing character of war, austerity, and recession. International system after the end of cold war, unipolarity led the international political system, despite the economic development and concomitant

²⁰⁴ Gregory Ralph Maddison, "Lead-mark: The Navy's Strategy for 2020" (Ottawa, Ontario, Canada: Directorate of Maritime Strategy, National Defence, June 18, 2001).

increase in defense expenditure of core nations i.e., China, US, and periphery nations like India while globalization has led to the emergence of nation state system undermining nationalism and empowered semi-periphery nations which in result not only developed many nation but strengthen the belligerent groups which till now has affected and continue to affecting international politics. Persuasive or coercive maritime diplomacy through presence of naval capability, becomes a powerful tool to cease full-scale war. To increase their power, co-operative maritime diplomacy was adopted by nations to increase the ability to operate with a collective coalition. International law restricted sovereignty to acquire mutual benefits, as according to Rear Admiral James F. McNulty has explained that the initiative of league of Nations agreement after WWI, and through the Paris agreement of 1928 culminating in the UN charter 1945, international community has ceased the direct war and considered this measure as a legit way of solving international differences.²⁰⁵ The development in international law and constraint on nation's sovereignty became the catalyst of maritime diplomacy, which was further bolstered by a multipolar system. Democratization process has also impacted on the use of maritime diplomacy. Thus, globalization, multilateralization of diplomacy, adjustments in the balance of power, economic movements, and conflicts have all led to a more favorable environment for maritime diplomacy in the immediate and foreseeable future.

4.4. Defense Diplomacy

In international politics, defensive diplomacy refers to the peaceful accomplishment of foreign policy goals by use of defense capabilities and resources. Through defense diplomacy, states tend to protect by adopting security policy. Basic purpose of defense diplomacy is to comply and execute state security policies, and its mission is to establish stable and long-term international defense ties. The growing role of defense diplomacy, is considered as the tool for the execution of states' foreign policy results in displacing and replacing the widely used term "military diplomacy." It has become one of the international diverse activities based on cooperation and dialogues, implemented bilaterally by the defense ministry with allies, partners and other neighboring countries to

²⁰⁵ James F. McNulty. *The Use of Force, Human Rights and General International Legal Issues, Blockade: Evolution and Expectation*, (International Law Studies, 1980). 172-190.

achieve security and goals of defense policy. In many nations, defense diplomacy plays an important role in influencing dynamics and executing security strategy. It's a specialized foreign policy tool with a permanent role in the system of international cooperation between nations and organizations.

In accordance with government policy, the Pakistan Navy is ready to contribute to regional maritime safety and security. PN accomplishments in the global commons to safeguard the marine environment for safe/secure international shipping and to combat criminal activities at sea. Maritime Doctrine of Pakistan (MDP) explains in detail the three distinct domains of navies' roles, particularly focusing on the Pakistan Navy. For the military role, Pakistan Navy has taken enormous strides, as it now has ships of its own design and requirement and all of those are brand new except 2-3 older ones. Ships, aircraft, and submarines are fitted with weapons and sensors which are current, relevant and threat centric. In its diplomatic role, Pakistan Navy has always adopted an 'outreach-focused' approach. Right from the days of its inception, Pakistan naval ships have been visiting various ports of call. Just recently, Pakistani ships circumnavigated Africa and sailed to the Gulf of Finland. PNS Alamgir, as we speak, is on its long voyage away from home to the North Atlantic.²⁰⁶ Naval diplomacy emphasized on minimizing hostilities and building trust between states. Its objective is to foster long-term and stable collaboration and transparency in the defense sector through the "peaceful employment of military troops to avert conflicts or conflict" in the framework of nations' regional and global participation. Additionally, defense diplomacy assists in the implementation of legislative norms governing broad security matters.²⁰⁷ Naval diplomacy is unique as it links seas, and seas are the global common regulated by UN convention on Laws of Seas, 1982. Seas have no demarcation of boundaries, so it virtually makes all maritime nations as neighbors. The promotion of multilateral and bilateral collaboration in the fields of military relations, defense, and security is part of naval diplomacy as a foreign policy tool. This is accomplished through the appointment and acceptance of defense attachés in state capitals,

²⁰⁶ Zoom interview, Cdre. Sohail Azmie, PN.

²⁰⁷ Lech DRAB. "Defense Diplomacy- An Important Tool for the Implementation of Foreign Policy and Security of the State." *Security and Defense Quarterly*. 2018; 20(3): 57-71. [DOI: https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0012.5152](https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0012.5152).

as well as military and civilian representations in the armed services. In Dr. James' view, developed nations like the United States, China and Japan, the United Kingdom have all dimensions of maritime power both at high spectrum and lower level of spectrum. It is due to the ascendancy of China as well as the resurgence of Russia. China understands that great power ambitions are very much attached with building marine capabilities.²⁰⁸ Maritime capabilities would be the major or one the crucial aspect of major power recognition. So, that's the reason they highly invest on both high-end capabilities like hypersonic weapons and spend highly on joint military exercises to build strong and stable neighboring as well as foreign relations. Pakistan has been developing strong maritime relations with its near neighboring nations and all Indian ocean rim land countries in Africa. Resultantly, it would be beneficial for Pakistan to have a broad approach in foreign policy not focused on one nation. The impact of training young officers and sailors on naval diplomacy, vital figures of trainees in Pakistan's military institutions reflect one simple truth: friendly nations' trust in Pakistan military education. It is due to the trust developed by Pakistan navy effort. According to Cdre. Sohail, there is one factor which makes Pakistan military education different than other is that it does not based on discrimination, once trainees rise in ranks, they support Pakistan's stances and raise the level of engagement with its nations.²⁰⁹

4.4.1. Pakistan and United Kingdom Joint Naval Exercises

The Pakistan Navy and the Royal Navy of the United Kingdom have completed the bilateral naval exercise WHITE STAR 2020 in the North Arabian Sea, as well as a Passage Exercise in the Gulf of Aden. Pakistan Navy Ships ZULFIQAR and DEHSHAT, PN Aviation fixed and rotary aircraft, and Pakistan Air Force JF-17 fighters took part in this drill in the North Arabian Sea with Royal Navy Ship HMS ARGYLL.²¹⁰ The Pakistan Navy SAIF and the Royal Navy ship HMS ARGYLL took part in the Maritime Security activities when the ships were deployed. The main goal of this naval exercise between the Pakistani and British navies was to improve collaboration and interoperability between

²⁰⁸ Zoom interview, James.

²⁰⁹ Zoom interview, Cdre. Sohail Azmie, PN.

²¹⁰ *Pak Navy, Royal Navy Conduct Joint Exercises*, (The News. August 29, 2020). <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/707444-pak-navy-royal-navy-conduct-joint-exercises>.

them via reciprocal exchanges of experiences. It featured a wide spectrum of naval missions, including anti-surface and anti-air maneuvers, as well as communication exercises to aid in optimal training. It was a step to promote regional peace and stability by strengthening naval ties.

4.4.2. China and Pakistan Joint Naval Exercises

In the North Arabian Sea, the ongoing China-Pakistan joint naval exercise named “Sea Guardians-2020” has bolstered the naval ties between both states by deploying a series of joint exercises covering navy, army and air force. It was China and Pakistan's sixth cooperative exercise, which included anti-submarine and submarine rescue training, demonstrating a high degree of strategic mutual confidence. “Sea Guardians,” like the "warrior" series of joint land exercises and the "Shaheen" series of joint air exercises, is intended to become a series of naval drills with Pakistan. The drills would be serialized and made a regular part of China and Pakistan's friendship and cooperation.²¹¹ The exercises' primary goal is to improve military cooperation, deepen strategic connections, create a safe marine environment, and reinforce navies' capacity to combat maritime crime and terrorism. Collaboration with Pakistan in the Indian Ocean is a major objective for the Chinese to defend trade lines and increase regional influence. The Type 053D destroyer Yinchuan, Type 054A frigate Yuncheng, many special troops, replenishment vessel Weishanhu, and Type 926 submarine support ship Liugong Island were among the Chinese ships that took part in the Sea Guardian. Pakistan sent two F-s22P Frigates and two fast-attack vessels manned by special troops.²¹²

4.4.3. Pakistan and South Korean Navy Conduct Bilateral Exercise- ‘PASSEX’.

The combined naval exercise reaffirms Pakistan's commitment to assisting and securing the maritime environment in the global commons for international trade as well as combating criminal activities at sea. The Pakistan Navy Ship ZULFIQUAR took part in

²¹¹ Liu Xuanzun, *China, Pakistan Joint Naval Exercises First in a Series*, (Global Times. January 7, 2020). <https://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1176034.shtml>.

²¹² Usman Ansari, *Pakistan, and China Launch Joint Naval Drills. Should India be Concerned?* (Defense News, January 8, 2020). <https://www.defensenews.com/digital-show-dailies/surface-navy-association/2020/01/08/pakistan-and-china-launch-joint-naval-drills-should-india-be-concerned/>.

the "PASSEX" exercise alongside the South Korean Navy Ship DAE JO YEONG. Its purpose was to combat piracy and maintain the safety of ships passing through critical zones. In the Gulf of Aden, the Pakistan Navy Ship ZULFIQUAR was also deployed on the Regional Maritime Security Patrol (RMSP).

4.4.4 Pakistan and Russia Joint Naval Exercises

Russia's Southern Military District Navy (Vessels of its Black Sea Fleet) would participate in the Aman exercise in 2021 off the Pakistan's Coasts with 30 other countries in the drills, with 10 engaging their fleets and the rest sending observers. The countries would be Pakistan, China, Japan, and Russia.²¹³ The practice will also include the fleets of United Kingdom, Turkey, and the United States, NATO members. During the Bold Monarch exercise off the coast of Spain in 2011, Russia took part in NATO training.²¹⁴ The goal of these biannual exercises is to improve cooperative cooperation in marine rescue missions and piracy countermeasures. Pakistan's status as a global pivot state appears to have been shared tactically by the Russian leadership. The South Asian countries hosting the Belt and Road Initiative's flagship project, China Pakistan Economic Corridor, allow it to function as a Eurasia's zipper, after which it can serve as a civilization of convergence across the Eastern Hemisphere related to CPEC projects for more closely integrating Afro-Asia via North (N-CPEC), Western (W-CPEC), and Southern (S-CPEC) branch corridors. Russia's involvement in next year's naval drills is explained by its "military diplomacy," which is the use of military measures to achieve political aims. Dmitry Bokarev, a Russian political observer, quoted Russian Ambassador to Pakistan Danila Ganich's speech at opening of year's Druzhba (Friendship) joint anti-terrorist drills, in which he praised the Pakistan Army as the "core of Pakistani statehood and society," in his article for Journal NEO.

²¹³ *Russian Navy to Join First Drill with NATO members in 10 years*, (AlJazeera. December 10, 2020). <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/12/10/russian-navy-to-join-first-drill-with-nato-members-in-a-decade>.

²¹⁴ AFP, *Russia to take part in Naval Exercises off Pakistan's Coast*, (Dawn. December 11, 2020). <https://www.dawn.com/news/1595153>

4.4.5. Exercise SEASPARK 2020

It was conducted to display strong resolve and capabilities. It culminated in the North Arabian Sea. This exercise's centerpiece was the launching of anti-ship missiles by Pakistan Navy surface, subsurface, and aviation units. To guarantee Pakistan's maritime interests are safeguarded in times of peace and conflict, it was created to maintain a constant level of preparedness and fighting power. Tri-services synergy was achieved by this exercise, which verified numerous operational principles and honed professional abilities to attain this goal.

4.5. Pakistan Navy's Vision

Pakistan Navy in pursuance of its vision has created three pillars, i.e., combat readiness, enhance maritime economy and strengthen the Islamic ideology. Regarding this PN has taken miscellaneous initiatives: to combat readiness, many exercises have been taken throughout the year. The PN professional abilities has been analyzed from the post Pulwama standoff in which a Pakistan Navy aviation unit detected an Indian Scorpaena Class modern submarine (INS Kalvari) on March 4th, 2019. On the operational side, the Pakistan Navy conducted Sea Spark exercise in February 2020. In this sea going units and shore establishments had taken part. Furthermore, it gave the opportunity to all ranks to test various warfare concepts. The AMAN exercise with the slogan of “together for Peace” along with 46 countries including, extra-regional nations like the United States of America, Russian Federation, China, Italy and the United Kingdom. The main aim is to carry out these exercises to present a positive image of Pakistan in protecting regional peace and security. The display of united resolve against maritime crime and terrorism. It also improved data collection and layered security collaboration in order to ensure a safe and sustainable marine environment. It improves regional and extra-regional fleets' tactical cooperation. The Pakistan Navy has placed a strong emphasis on expanding its deployment capabilities as well as its internal development capability. In the surface, subsurface, and aviation domains, the Pakistan Navy has already adopted numerous revised organizational plans until 2030. It has done so by reorganizing its regular destroyer and patrol boat squadrons and introducing three surface Task Groups (STG). STG 1, 2, and 3 are stationed at Gwadar, Karachi, and Ormara, respectively. Pakistan's navy has

activated air stations on the country's west coast to conduct day and night aviation operations. It has updated its defensive plan for the Creeks region to focus on offensive operations using an integrated strike force made up of Marines and Special Operations Forces (SOF) personnel. In October 2020, the Pakistan Navy declared that it would increase its surface fleet to 50 ships, with a goal of 20 significant surface warships, including frigates, as part of the expanded fleet. This increase of the fleet, according to former CNS Admiral Zafar Mahmood Abbasi, would allow the navy to carry out substantial regional patrol responsibilities as well as fulfill international commitments.²¹⁵

4.5.1. Long Range Maritime Patrol Aircraft (LRMPA)

The Pakistan Navy intends to induct three RAS-72 Sea Eagle maritime patrol aircraft (MPA) and 10 jet powered LRMPA.²¹⁶ Pakistan Navy already operated 2 of the 3, RAS-72s; the third aircraft will be introduced in 2021. The Pakistan Navy's Lockheed Martin p-3C Orion aircraft will be replaced by this.

4.5.2. Enlarging Marines and Special Operations Forces

In accordance with Pakistan Navy vision 2030, the marine branch services will enlarge into division-sized forces. Regarding this it has already shifted its marine's training center to Gwadar from Karachi. It aims to grow into a brigade-sized force by 2030.

4.5.3. Anti-Ship Ballistic Missile (ASBM)

P282 Anti-Ship Ballistic Missile is a long-range anti-ship/land attack ballistic missile that will be part of Pakistan Navy's hypersonic domain.

²¹⁵ Quwa Premium Expert, *Pakistan's A2/AD Efforts: P282 Anti-Ship Ballistic Missile*, (QUWA Defense News and Analysis Group, November 1, 2020). <https://quwa.org/2020/11/01/pakistans-a2-ad-efforts-p282-anti-ship-ballistic-missile-2/>.

²¹⁶ Quwa Premium Expert, *Outgoing Pakistan Navy Chief Sets Massive 50-Ship Fleet Vision*, (QUWA Defense News and Analysis Group, October 10, 2020). <https://quwa.org/2020/10/10/outgoing-pakistan-navy-chief-reveals-50-ship-vision-2/#:~:text=The%20first%20four%20boats%20%E2%80%93%20which,Pakistan%20in%202022%20and%202023.&text=Abbasi%20stated%20that%20a%20primary,design%20and%20manufacture%20future%20submarines..>

4.5.4. Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV)

As per Adm. Abbasi, the Pakistan Navy has consented on a pact for “Long Range-High Endurance” unmanned aerial vehicle with (SATCOM) satellite communication capability.

4.5.5. Keel Laying of Second Type 054 A/P Frigate Between China and Pakistan

This ceremony for the second ship of type 054 A/P took place at Hudong Zhonghua shipyard in China, marking a significant step forward in the induction of cutting-edge Frigates into the Pakistan Navy. On this occasion, China and Pakistan inked keel-laying procedures. The 054 A/P Frigates are technologically progressive and reinforces the capabilities of the Pakistan Navy to counter challenges related to tranquility, deterrence, and balance of power in the Indian Ocean region.

4.5.6 Istanbul Naval Shipyard Keel Laying Ceremony

The PN announced that Istanbul Naval Shipyard (INSY) laid for the first Pakistan. In vogue, Pakistan Navy is more of a technical force consisting of Submarines, Ships, Hovecrafts, aircrafts, Long Range Maritime Patrol (LRMP) aircrafts, helicopters equipped with state of art sophisticated weapons, propulsion machineries and sensors. The Naval platforms are composite units that take out anti-surface, anti-warfare and anti-submarine operations. Besides, PN operations at sea are equally demanding and challenging especially during monsoon and rough season. In peacetime, Navies contributes in pursuance of foreign policy by showing flag, preserving maritime security against threats of terrorism and piracy along with other non-traditional security threats. Furthermore, it contributes much effort in pursuing a blue economy assisting the state with surveying the oceans for gas, oil and various minerals.

4.5.7. Yarmook Visit to Turkey

Yarmook, a Pakistan Navy Ship, visited Golcuk, Turkey as part of goodwill in order to enhance collaboration.²¹⁷ Furthermore, it will develop interoperability with the Turkish Navy. It was a step to enhance brotherly relations and expand bilateral cooperation in

²¹⁷ “PNS Yarmook Visits Turkey.” (Navy News. 33-2020). 8. [https://www.paknavy.gov.pk/Navy%20News%20April%202020%20\(English\).pdf](https://www.paknavy.gov.pk/Navy%20News%20April%202020%20(English).pdf).

miscellaneous dreams. In this conference, human rights violations in Indian occupied Kashmir were also discussed and highlighted.

4.5.8 AMAN Exercise

“Maritime security being quintessentially cooperative rather than competitive.”

Pakistan, which is situated in the middle of the Indian Ocean, is a significant littoral state. The Indian Ocean acts as a link between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. The Strait of Hormuz, Bab-el Mandeb, the Horn of Africa, the Suez Canal via the Red Sea, and the Strait of Malacca all contribute to the Indian Ocean's geopolitical importance. Pakistan is situated on the Arabian Sea's edge, near the Strait of Hormuz. The warships of the United States, Russia, India, China, and Pakistan maintain a robust military presence, highlighting the importance of the Indian Ocean rim. The end of the Cold War witnessed the appearance of non-traditional security challenges in the international political arena. Globalization enhanced interdependence on one hand and on the other raised multinational and international threats, which emerged from the significance of security policies and strategies to secure national interests. Blue diplomacy shifts the dynamics of politics toward the ocean, making the ocean a source of economy. With this realization, states develop its maritime security strategies and took different initiatives for protection from miscellaneous threats of illegal activities like piracy, human trafficking, drug trafficking and smuggling of drugs and armaments through ocean. Regarding this, Pakistan being a maritime State has always taken initiative to protect maritime peace, security and prosperity in the area. Pakistan, to protect peace regionally, internationally has been a part of many UN peacekeeping missions and UN-mandated Combined Maritime Task Force 150 & 151 along with many bilateral and multilateral exercises. Since 2006, piracy incidents have increased around the world and its peak witnessed between 2009 and 2011 (410 in 2009, 445 in 2010 and 439 in 2011) particularly in the Red Sea, Arabian Sea, Persian Gulf and Gulf of Aden and Somalia Basin.²¹⁸ Presence of Navies at Sea reflects national sea power and is closely linked with stable maritime security. In the 21st century,

²¹⁸ Ibrahim Sunnetci, *Together for Peace” AMAN-19 Multinational Naval Exercise & Pakistan- Turkey Defense Cooperation*, (Defense Turkey) <https://www.defenceturkey.com/en/content/together-for-peace-aman-19-multinational-naval-exercise-pakistan-turkey-defence-cooperation-3454>.

protection from non-traditional threats at the oceans was not a task of a single nation and it was not a capacity of a single nation to assist freedom of navigation, keep sea lanes secure, safeguard the vital links in the world to protect and defend global order. In 2004, the Pakistan Naval Force (PNF) became the first regional navy to join the US-led and Bahrain-based- CMF, which was made up of three CTF-150 (maritime security and counterterrorism), CTF-151 (counter piracy), and CTF-152 (maritime security and counterterrorism) (Arabian Gulf security and cooperation). The major objectives were to combat terrorism, eliminate piracy, reduce illicit operations, and improve the marine environment. The Pakistan Navy (PN) joined CTF-150 in 2004 and CTF in 2009 and has been a key player in the global anti-piracy operation. The PN has taken several measures in this area, including the RMSP and the TF-88, as a staunch believer in collaborative maritime security. The Regional Maritime Security Patrols (RMSP) were established in 2018 by the PN to fulfill international obligations as well as protect their own national interests in the IOR. They are focused on areas of interest such as the Southern Red Sea, Gulf of Aden, Gulf of Oman, and choke points off the Maldives. The Task Force-88 (TF-88) was founded in December 2016 and became fully functional in the first quarter of 2017. Its mission is to ensure maritime security in the Gwadar and adjacent sea lanes, as well as to maintain a robust security posture in vital coastal waters and choke points in the Indian Ocean to preserve national and international shipping.²¹⁹

Pakistan for promoting peace, its Navy took initiative and commend the AMAN series of AMAN exercises in 2007. The AMAN meaning in Urdu is “peace” and its slogan is “Together of Peace”. The AMAN exercises are widely regarded as the PN's most major endeavor in the realm of maritime diplomacy, with the objective of enhancing regional maritime security and collaboration among cooperating states. Since 2007, PN has been hosting Multinational Biennially Naval Exercise AMAN. It brought ships, aviation, SOF/EOD teams, and observers from the East and West Navies together for collaborative maritime peace and security. These activities provide (RTTPs) against non-traditional threats through tactical warfare planning, followed by high-end maritime warfare serials

²¹⁹ Dr. Lee Willet, “Admiral Modernises Pakistan Navy to Meet Non-Traditional Threats.” (ARMADA. May 15, 2020). <https://armadainternational.com/2020/05/admiral-modernises-pakistan-navy-to-meet-non-traditional-threats/>.

such as Naval Gunfire, Visit, Board, Search, and Seizure (VBSS), anti-piracy operations, combined Anti-Submarine Exercise, communications, berthing, and Air Defense. main objectives include: to display of unified commitment in the maritime domain against terrorism and crime, to contribute towards regional stability and peace, to improve regional and extra regional fleets' interoperability by serving as a link between them. Pakistan has significant stakes in the marine realm, which are based on three distinct facts: increasing reliance on the oceans for trade, CPEC Operationalization, Pakistan's strategic location at the crossroads of the world's energy highway.

Pakistan promotes CPEC initiatives, which connects China's western Xinjiang with Pakistan's southern belt. However, Chinese (BRI) includes land and sea, both components, with Pakistan solely participating in the former. Due to Pakistan's internal and regional issues, as well as its security isolation in the international arena, the CPEC is critical for its growth. Pakistan Naval AMAN exercises has made significant contributions to defending the maritime environment and facilitating the development of a more comprehensive foreign policy that incorporates the CPEC, as well as a more in-depth strategic analysis of the IOR as well as the Gwadar port. The goal of this initiative is to figure out ways to maintain the oceans secure so that all good marine activities can take place without fear, threat, or danger. Exercise AMAN entails the establishment and maintenance of an environment in which warships from 46 nations may work together on a single mission: “Together for Peace”

4.5.9. World Maritime Day

World Maritime Day is observed every year in the last week of September. It was created by the United Nations (UN) via the International Maritime Organization (IMO) to acknowledge the contribution of the international maritime industry towards world economy through shipping. The day is observed with the intent to highlight the significance of maritime security, marine environment and shipping safety along with accentuating specific aspects of the IMO's work. There has always been a need to regulate and monitor the marine environment of the world and several treaties have been adopted throughout the history to improve marine safety. As a result, the UN established the IMO

whose purpose is to maintain and develop a wide-ranging regulatory framework for effective shipping around the globe.

Originally the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO), the IMO addresses the legal issues, safety, maritime security, environmental affairs and the proficiency of shipping. At first the World Maritime Day was observed in March 1978 to mark the IMO's convention into force in 1958. Presently it has 167 members and three associate members. The day is celebrated across the world including states like United States, Australia, United Kingdom, Pakistan, Philippines and numerous others. Every year the World Maritime Day has a theme allocated to it. This year the theme is "sustainable shipping for a sustainable planet" which is in sync with UN's agenda of raising awareness about the importance of sustainable development goals (SDGs). The theme will encourage the key people from various sectors including shipping, to evaluate the steps that are needed to inculcate in the policy framework so as to ensure a sustainable future. It will also enable developed as well as developing states to indoctrinate awareness regarding sustainable shipping with the objective of generating best procedures.

Shipping is vital for the international trade because of its role in the provision of cost-effective means for the transportation of huge volumes of cargo around the world. Seaborne trade is the backbone of the world economy and it has played a crucial role in the progression and development of the world through its integration as a community. The effective use of shipping is important for the economic progress of the developing as well as developed states vis-a-vis the economic growth and contribution of their domestic consumption and production along with the foreign trade. In the prevalent situation, under the onslaught of the Covid-19, the importance of the trade through shipping has been underscored. Even with the whole world under lockdown, the shipping industry has continued to deliver over 80% of the world trade containing food, essential medical supplies and other basic goods integral for Covid-19 recovery and response. That being the case, the World Maritime Day is celebrated to acknowledge the seafarers and the public who rely upon shipping for their well beings.

4.6. Challenges and Hurdles in Implementing Maritime Diplomacy in Pakistan

In the national security policy of Pakistan, sea and related policies have been taken effective consideration, in which lack of maritime awareness has played a huge role in neglecting Pakistan's shipbuilding industry. Notably, Blue economy projects vast maritime resources, explores the maritime potentials for renewable energy as well as other energy prospects, focuses on the development of coastal tourism etc. But due to the lack of maritime awareness, Pakistan has been unable to address as well as project on its geostrategic as well as geopolitical significance. According to Mahan, "sea is a great maritime common" which needs to be taken into consideration while focusing on strategic partnerships among the sovereign nation. Sea provides a means to interact among nations at international level, therefore, recognizing oceans of the world have been playing an important role world's geopolitics. In this regard, Pakistan has taken slow measures since the last maritime policy and started developing relations mostly on defense rather than on trade. Pakistan though has taken imitation of naval joint exercises, but as if taken global convergence, it's still lacking behind in developing its maritime relation. Regional relationship has still been following independence animosity and factors following since war on terror.

Besides, Pakistan's government with interprovincial harmony (Sindh and Balochistan) have always been investing on the land, ignoring the investment on the maritime field, and taken it as too low. Except, the organizational lacking, internal factors like insurgency, separation movement, issues of border, impact of Afghanistan internal turmoil inside Pakistan, maritime diplomacy has never been focused as Pakistan has a lot on its plate and inefficiency of its current and previous government rule has always been unable to address these issues. As a stable government leads to political stability and creates economic ventures but if these both are not securing its sustainable position in Pakistan, other factors are kept on getting ignored. When functioning in peacetime, maritime troops are engaged in diplomatic missions. Navies, the state's agent, are generally the coast guard and other marine forces. Because most marine operations are international in nature, they are required to operate as diplomatic tools. Naval diplomacy encompasses a wide variety of operations, from cooperative to coercive. It bridges the gap between armed conflict and

civilian diplomacy, enabling a variety of instrumental escalation to achieve short- and long-term goals. One of the key goals and characteristics of maritime diplomacy is to highlight the dynamics inside any given event, and hence the political future, which is based on balance of power and deterrence. Historically, as noted by Colin McEnaney, seas have been influential in fusing culture, creating ideas, and generating discourses, narratives on global issues. In modern times, Pakistan can gain benefit from this and can rebuild its image and present to the international community the real face by cooperating through naval diplomacy, where the media can play its big role. According to Dr. Stephen Nagi, if one wants to change the image then the states and civil society must be very proactive about providing cultural as well as other aspects of stable society. Media plays a crucial role in building the image of a nation both at regional and international level, it creates identity which defines geostrategic, geoeconomics and geopolitical pace of a nation. It is impossible to eliminate the influence of the media, but states can shift to a more positive direction to focus on the strength of Pakistan.²²⁰

According to Rear Admiral Bob Davidson, “Naval forces provide influence on the ground”. Forces at sea show flexibility by being able to approach and depart from a country's shoreline lawfully and quickly. Most ships used for diplomatic missions have a large geographic range. The extent of motivations for using marine diplomacy as a kind of political activity, rather than conflictual strategy, to achieve specific aims ranges from legal to political, moral to technological. In view of Crde. Sohail, during the war, Pakistan Navy’s principal role was to contribute to overall national deterrence to deter the adversary from abandoning the military choice. If, however, an adversary chooses to militarily engage, then the Navy’s role is to safeguard Pakistan's maritime interests. This is achieved by maintaining sea control in our own waters to deny enemy use of its surface and subsurface vessels against Pakistan’s naval, merchant ships and the coastal areas.²²¹ Through naval engagement based on international norms, Pakistan can benefit enormously by making the maritime nations support its global stances on domestic as well as

²²⁰ Zoom interview, Stephen nagi.

²²¹ Zoom interview, Cdre. Sohail Azmie, PN.

international issues. Through naval engagement based on international norms, Pakistan can attain enormous advantages.

Conclusion

Sea is a maritime common, which need to be taken into consideration while emphasizing on building strategic partnership among the regional and extra-regional nation. It provide interaction means and hence oceans of world has been playing a crucial role in global politics. In peacetime, maritime forces are mostly involved in diplomatic measures. In this regard navies coastguards and other maritime forces are state's agents and given acknowledge international character of most maritime operation, therefore, necessary acting as diplomatic agency. Naval diplomacy is a spectrum of activities that range from cooperative to coercive measures according to the circumstances. Regarding to it, media plays a crucial role in building nations strength. It creates maritime awareness which defines geostrategic, geo-economic and geopolitical pace. As it's impossible to curb the media's influence but with its positive role state can shift its identity to be at softer standing and emphasized on building maritime strength of Pakistan.

Chapter Five

Cultural Diplomacy in Maritime Context

The marine cultural domain is the consequence of a series of interactions between human activity on the coastal region and the environment, which includes the sea, coastal line, and land, across time. Coastal historical relics, both above and below water, as well as their surroundings, are all part of the marine cultural realm. In the marine environment, they are the visible product of human activity. Additionally, the vicinity of the sea affected this process. The critical objective is to increase awareness of cultural heritage in marine settings and to foster cultural tourism within a context of sustainable development.²²² According to Ford, “Landscape exists at the intersection of culture and space”.²²³ In the words of Flatman, the term “maritime culture” could be replaced by “maritime communities” as the significant element in making a cultural landscape is the social aspect or societal connection.²²⁴ Cultural resources connected to the maritime initiatives consist: Settlements, ships and other small and large vessels, shipwrecks, shipyards, harbors, wharves and warehouses, sluices and canals, navigation aids, coastal historic sites, naval facilities and communities creating different maritime cultures.²²⁵

This chapter focuses on the significance of maritime culture as well as (i) Pakistan Maritime Cultural Influence (ii) Pakistan maritime cultural initiatives (iv) challenges in protecting and promoting Pakistan’s maritime culture

²²² B.G. Ducan, *The Maritime Archeology and Maritime Cultural Landscapes of QueensCliffe: A Nineteenth Century Australian Coastal Community: PHD Thesis*, (Townsville: James Cook University. 2006). <https://researchonline.jcu.edu.au/2050/1/01front.pdf>.

²²³ B.L. Ford, *Introduction: The Archeology of Maritime Landscape*, B. Ford, *the Archeology of Maritime Landscape*. (New York: Springer), 1-10.

²²⁴ J. Flatman, *Places of Special Meaning: Westerdahl’s Comet, Agency, and the Concept of the Maritime Cultural Landscape*, B. Ford, *The Archeology of Maritime Landscape*, (New York: Springer), 311-329.

²²⁵ Marina Vladimirova, *Maritime Cultural Landscape-Cultural Tourism- Sustainable Development*, (International Journal of Cultural and Digital Tourism, 2016). https://iacudit.org/journal/volumes/v3n1/v3n1_45-54.pdf.

5.1. Cultural diplomacy in Maritime Context

Cultural diplomacy is a branch of diplomacy that focuses on using culture, art, and education to build, maintain, and promote relationships between governments on a regional and global level. Additionally, it is a proactive process of external projection in which a nation's institutions, value system, and distinctive cultural identity are promoted on a bilateral and global level.²²⁶ The basic concept of cultural diplomacy includes government-sponsored broadcasting, educational exchanges, cultural impact projects, and information or knowledge flow. Cultural work is a long-term, diffuse, and often unquantifiable response to an urgent crisis in an age of rapid solutions. It falls under the broader notion of cultural diplomacy, which is most broadly described as the dissemination of cultural and principles throughout the world. Despite its obvious obstacles, the conditions for a vibrant cultural diplomacy exist: an outward-looking, future-focused cultural establishment eager to create art that is engaged with, rather than estranged from, the world; a diverse range of public diplomacy organizations capable of handling and expanding cultural offerings; and a wide spectrum of active and potential investors. Regarding maritime context, maritime culture focuses on understanding the use of sea by the human community with organized institutions, identifiers of culture and its connectedness among the seafaring and people. The culture is strongly established in the merchant navy, according to Carol-Dekker. The merchant navy culture, in turn, shapes the identity of seafarers, maritime organizational culture, ship culture, and safety culture. Seafarers from many cultures labor in a multicultural context, speaking different cultural languages and holding diverse worldviews. According to the Adler, the cultural influence minds in terms of “Nation, Culture, and Society exert tremendous influence in the system, structuring our values, engineering our view of the world, and patterning our responses to experience. Human beings cannot hold themselves apart from some form of cultural influence”.²²⁷

²²⁶ Bill Ivey, *Cultural Diplomacy and The National Interest: In Search of a 21st Century Perspective.*” *Arts Industries Policy Forum*, (The Curb Center for Art, at Vanderbilt) <http://www.interarts.net/descargas/interarts673.pdf>.

²²⁷ Kenneth J. Gergen, *Social Construction in Question Invitation to Social Construction*, (SAGE Publication, 2015). <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781473921276>.

Maritime culture is built on a foundation of political adherence. Effective communication on board a ship is essential for a healthy maritime culture. Organizational culture is the most easily recognized culture in the merchant marine. Maritime organizations are made up of people with various national, cultural, and personal identities. The organizational culture controls the ship and safety culture. Soft skills are an important element in the advancement of holistic organizational culture. Seafarers are exposed to a wide range of nations, languages, cultures, genders, and races since they operate in a cosmopolitan workplace. The construction of a ship culture takes place in this cosmopolitan context.²²⁸ The work ethic and rules of a maritime enterprise invariably impact the culture of a ship. In short, the shipping sector has grown significantly because of modernity, improved technology, and human demands, with ship owners and Maritime Education and Training (MET) institutes playing key roles. Globalization along with technological advancement has a great impact on it (shipping industry) making it more complex.

5.2 Pakistan Maritime Cultural Initiative

Coastal zones are important in history for their land and seascapes, physical and intangible cultural assets.²²⁹ Maritime culture deals with a variety of sea and shore circumstances, both geographically and socially produced. Local natural resources are shaped by the marine environment, while local cultural resources are shaped by the maritime environment. Marine communities share a variety of connected projects and cultural manifestations in addition to maritime industry practices and initiatives.

5.2.1. World Maritime Day

Every year, the Pakistan Navy commemorates World Maritime Day to highlight the significance of maritime security, shipping safety, and the marine environment. Pakistan Navy recently commemorated World Maritime Day in 2020, with the theme "sustainable shipping for a sustainable planet". Shipping contributes to reliable connection and the most

²²⁸ Lydia Dekker, *Maritime Culture: A Sociological Perspective*, (International Journal of Maritime History, 2018). DOI:10.1177/0843871418765711.

²²⁹ Kristen Ounanian, *Conceptualizing Coastal and maritime cultural heritage through Communities of Meaning and Participation*, (Ocean & Coastal Management, 2021). <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0964569121002891>

cost-effective way of delivering commodities by connecting economies and communities all over the world. International economies in the twenty-first century are heavily reliant on shipping activities. Pakistan has a coastline of around 1000 kilometers. Sea trade has become a critical pillar of national and international economies. Over 95% of flag carriers transport 16% of all seaborne traffic. With the completion of the CPEC and the opening of the Gwadar port, Pakistan's marine activity is expected to skyrocket. The Pakistan Navy is carrying out its primary mission of seaward defense and is stepping up efforts to raise maritime awareness in the country to boost the blue economy. Through ongoing positive contacts with foreign partners and regional maritime security patrols, it is improving and reinforcing maritime security. Pakistan Marines, Fleet, and SOF components help the Coastal Security and Harbor Defense Force, which is composed of a chain of coastal security stations and a state-of-the-art Joint Maritime Information and Collaboration center in Karachi.

5.2.2. PNS MOAWIN

PNS MOAWIN, a 17000-ton fleet tanker, was commissioned at Pakistan Navy Dockyard in Karachi in an outstanding event. It is the world's biggest warship, built in conjunction with M/s Savunma Teknolojileri Muhendislik (STM) of Turkey at Karachi Shipyard & Engineering Works (KS&EW). The ship may carry out a variety of maritime activities, such as providing logistic assistance to other ships at sea by transferring fuel and other critical military supplies. It can transport two helicopters and is outfitted with medical facilities to help friendly countries during humanitarian aid and disaster relief missions. This sector's growth will boost our exports, create jobs, and increase our foreign exchange reserves. With the completion of CPEC, maritime trade and activity off Pakistan's coast would increase significantly, necessitating the deployment of a powerful Navy to provide security and seaward defense. PNS MOAWIN strengthened foreign ties and opened up new avenues for collaboration.

5.2.3. Pakistan Navy Fishing Schools

The aim of these institutions at Islamabad and Karachi will not only academically uplift the children but will act as the epicenter for personality development. This initiative was

taken to utilize modern training aids and teaching techniques to make pedagogy more effective.

5.2.4. Naval Institutions at Gwadar and Omara

The Marine Training Center was inaugurated by PN at Gwadar and at Ormara the infrastructure of 21st Air Defense Battalion was established. Institution in Pakistan MTC, or Marines Training Centre, is a renowned Pakistan naval school that was created to train basic marine officers and provide specialized professional courses to Pakistani navy personnel as well as participants from friendly nations. It was founded with the goal of meeting future training needs and enhancing presence along the coast.

5.2.5. CMSTP & BASES

The Pakistan Navy has opened (PMTSP) & (BSEAS). The major goal is to establish a national blue economy via the development of marine sciences, companies, and advanced technology. PSMTP will provide a thriving platform for government, academic, and industry collaboration, as well as policymaking that will help startups, industries, and entrepreneurs. PMSTP will also assist a variety of (RD&D), (CoEs), and other multifunctional organizations. In addition, dedicated space would help to establish and sustain a marine innovation ecosystem. A state-of-the-art Nautical Skills Development Center will also be built to teach kids in a variety of marine disciplines so that they can take advantage of the present maritime sector's potential. Additionally, it would contribute significantly to strengthening GDP and molding the nation's offshore resources.

5.3. Challenges and Hurdles in Pakistan Maritime Culture

In vogue, there is contradiction and gap exist between the cultural identity and political practices of states, particularly after the wave of globalization and liberalization of market economy, which knows no nation's boundaries and believe in construction of transnational border on basis of socio-economic and political through exchange of culture on higher place. System of States Government-created political, administrative, and legal frameworks manage and control almost all sorts of identities. Communities around the Macron coast have altered with time, for example, wooden boat manufacture has grown into major ship construction companies, and the water is no longer an important element

of the culture of those who lived along the Arabian Sea's coastlines. This part is not developed with lack of technological skills, modern knowledge, maritime awareness (fishing apparatus in this have also shown less visible sign of modern weapons and persistently following past practices). Seafarers' villages and dwelling in and near Karachi still show medieval symbolism with high signs of deprivation, illiteracy as well as low pace of social change. In Balachandran view, seafarers in South Asia, have been absent from the historian academic writing due to the persistence in conventional ways of life while on other hand developed nations like British, China and America evolved tremendously, adopted modernity, and have improved their living standards.

In Pakistan, specifically, the modern cultural transformation has still not been followed, shows failure of Pakistan's coastal communities to change into progressive ones.²³⁰ For this reason, the phrase "pervasive absence of maritime culture" has been coined to express the reality that along Pakistan's coast, connectivity between the coastal community and the sea is lacking, as evidenced by the absence of seafaring, sea sports activities, traditional fishing techniques, and other activities. Cultural diplomacy may assist member nations establish unity and concord while also overcoming the harsh realities of sovereignty and national interests. China stance of veiling confusions department as well as Chinese language in bachelor's degree: confusions institution, which was the jointly establishment by Beijing language and cultural university in 2005, has highly contributed to creating and building cultural influence of China inside Pakistan, language highly contribute to removing cultural barriers, in return building confidence and trust of each government on each other. The port of Singapore is a free port, and as such is available to ships and vessels of all nations, equally and identically to everyone, after the British colonial agent Sir Stamford Raffles purchased the island from local sultans in 1819. Singapore is still one of the world's busiest and most strategically vital marine hubs after nearly two centuries. Because of its transparency and the fact that it has a competent legal and judicial system, Singapore has retained a strong marine trade and activity influence. They have kept maritime dominance due to their innovation and comprehensive marine services ecosystem, which includes judicial, insurance, and shipbroking. It is the ideal Asian

²³⁰ John Rennie Short, *An Introduction to Political Geography*. (New York, Routledge, 1993).

gateway for global leaders in maritime finance, shipbroking, risk management, and marine insurance. Singapore is also rapidly acquiring a reputation as Asia's maritime law sustainable hub.

According to Crde. Sohail, naval diplomacy has been highly impacted by the training of young officers and sailors. Significant number of trainees in Pakistan's military institutions reflect a crucial aspect: many states trust on Pakistan's military education.²³¹ Pakistan navy has been cooperative toward the efforts to create an amiable environment for states by introducing training courses to many states around the world, including efforts to train officials and sailors from Ghana, Morocco, Egypt, Kenya, and South Africa. Pakistan military training department at the naval headquarter has been proactively engaging in various activities in African nations.²³² National identity protection is linked to governments' right to culture and self-determination, as stated in the UNESCO Declaration on the Principles of International Cultural Cooperation. The differences between civilizations, according to Samuel Huntington, are not only real, but also necessary. The changing character of international politics has transformed the landscape, giving intangible forms of power a greater role.²³³ As a result, culture has emerged as a powerful card in international relations, with a constant impact and relevance. Culture diplomacy can be considered as pivotal as political, economic, and naval diplomacy, as it could be the main driving factor in influencing these three independent pillars in foreign policy system. Modern advances in the field of international relations indicate that the twenty-first century will be a golden period for cultural players in international relations.

As in the view of Crde. Sohail, naval diplomacy is unique as it is related to the seas, and seas are a global common region which is governed within the realm of the UN convention on Law of the Sea, 1982. Sea does not have demarcation of boundaries, so it virtually makes all maritime nations neighbors.²³⁴ Retrospective manners, as defined by Colin McEvaday, have always been influential in fusing cultures, creating ideas, and generating

²³¹ Zoom Interview, Cdre. Sohail Azmie, PN.

²³² Zoom interview, Cdre. Sohail Azmie, PN.

²³³ Katerina Papainnou, *Cultural Diplomacy in International Relations*, (Greece, International E-Journal Advances in Social Science, 2017).

²³⁴ Ibid.

discourses on global issues. This aspect, of course has helped and helped Pakistan in creating its image and identity of building and letting the world know the real side of Pakistan, which the international media, particularly the hyper national Indian media, tried mutilating. Through naval engagement based on international norms, Pakistan can benefit enormously by making the maritime nation support its global position on domestic and international issues. According to Paul Collier, the opus “Bottom Billion” observes that nations having access to seas were able to progress well who had maritime outlook in their policies and strategies.

Conclusion

Human being cannot live apart from the influence of culture and relevance to it, maritime culture contends with miscellaneous condition of sea and shores, both geographically and socially constructed. Notably, political culture shapes the maritime culture, regarding it, positive maritime culture lies on efficient maritime communities on board and ships. Cultural diplomacy helps in developing unity and harmony among the member nations and can efficiently overcome the latent realities of sovereignty and serves the national interests. Maritime environment shapes local natural resources, consequently, shaping the available cultural resources with help of local communities. In addition to the techniques and imitative of maritime industry, maritime communities shape an array of interrelated initiative and build cultural expressions. Because core nation developed in 21st century has been built on maritime economic capacity by capitalizing its maritime culture. Sea is in proximity with Pakistan, have been witnessed though initiative of collaboration, alliances, that are element of established maritime nation, likewise, Pakistan cannot ignore it. Thus, it is crucial to understand the significance of sea to remain strategically involved in regional and extra-regional affairs.

Chapter Six

Challenges and Prospects of Blue Diplomacy for Pakistan

Blue diplomacy is an evolving term in the realm of international relations. It involves states' relation with each other and with non-state actors within the “Blue dimension” depending on oceans. The global diplomatic circumstances have undergone a transformation never witnessed before, involving one of the newer specialized diplomatic kinds, blue diplomacy. This newly constructed diplomatic sector operates mostly in line with the transatlantic economy's laws and regulations. Oceans have always been vital in maintaining geopolitics. Blue diplomacy sets off all diplomacy on the ocean sphere. Blue economy more precisely “ocean-based economies” is now being considered as an auspicious sector in Pakistan which refers to proper utilization of oceanic resources for

sustainable and growth in the region. Blue economy contributes both deeply in the improvement of economic development and social welfare.

This has been organized in two sections as follows, (i) Challenges to Blue Diplomacy for Pakistan, and (ii) Prospects of Blue Diplomacy for Pakistan

6.1 Challenges to Blue Diplomacy for Pakistan

Pakistan is a littoral state, but it has been the most neglected area of national policy that has received the least attention. It enables states to exert influence through soft diplomacy, but Pakistan's policy makers remain land focused mainly. Although Pakistan adopted the country's first-ever policy, its enforcement has been mostly unsuccessful. Pakistan has the potential to act as a conduit for Central Asian states, accessibility to Indian Ocean marine resources, but despite its advantageous geostrategic position in IO, it has failed to acquire maritime status. While access to, extraction from, and utilization of living and non-living maritime resources are critical components of the maritime economy, the potential of Pakistan's sea resources remains untapped. Financial irresponsibility, bad management, and the exodus of competent personnel have nearly eliminated the industrial sector's organizational ability. Along with these factors, a lack of maritime awareness becomes evident when a political choice on financial allocation for building capacity or membership in an international institution is sought.

6.1.1. National Identity as Continental State

There exists a mainstream narrative that Pakistan is a continental state, there is a misconception that territorialism only deals with land because seas are also physical spaces, territorialism deals with physical spaces and Pakistan needs to shift from this old interpretation or doctrine that Pakistan is a continental state. This concept emerged when Pakistan and India got independence after the British Empire was being prepared to withdraw from the Indian sub-continent and was aiming for ways to split British India. In view of Dr. Heninien,²³⁵ it became significant and strategic- including the war factor between India and Pakistan- because till now Pakistan's politicians and scholars have not

²³⁵ Zoom Interview, Lassi Heninien.

been able to get rid of that old understanding. If any authority tries to amend that, they have been shut down and asked to stop the whole idea by just focusing on the fact that Pakistan is a continental state. Although it is still not easy to change that rapidly but by focusing on the fact that Pakistan is not a landlocked region, it has its coasts. There are landlocked nations, including Afghanistan, Austria, Nepal and CARs, but Pakistan that is not and has built maritime relations with landlocked nations, consented to agreements linked to maritime development through political diplomacy. Furthermore, he claims that the Pakistan government must be bold enough to take alternative routes, a shift from power rivalry and land border disputes toward the sea and realizing the actual significance of the Indian Ocean to earn political status to influence.²³⁶ There could be many factors, but then Pakistan must acknowledge the significance of maritime routes of seas and oceans including environmental protection and consider the protection of maritime life. As the value and importance of immaterial values of geopolitics comes with respect, to represent the seriousness of government toward the maritime environment protection. As per critical geopolitics, they have politicized a physical space, regarding this Pakistan needs to analyze its role, it needs to politicize the Indian Ocean not against any other nation, but the focus should be highly on how Pakistan can have new aspects to cooperate to protect the maritime environment. In Dr. Mujeeb Afzal opinion, there are multiple factor which are creating challenges in creating maritime identity, as Pakistan has assumed itself as a continental power, cognitively it has not recognized itself as part of South Asian region but as a Muslim continent and align itself. Pakistan foreign policy is always diverted toward Muslim world.²³⁷ Although Pakistan has been part of many maritime environment protection laws, it still must understand the crucial importance of matter. For this, there must be a shift from continent, land, and sea as physical space only to analyze more aspects for its development in the maritime sector. Pakistan must broaden the concept of utilization, it not only means to harvest like fisheries from the sea, but by focusing on tourism, through it the tourists who like to dive there and see fisheries not to eat but to enjoy the environment.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Mujeeb Afzal, *Zoom Interview*.

6.1.2. Lack of Maritime Awareness

Since Pakistan's inception, it doesn't have maritime identity and a maritime tradition as compared to India, Japan, Singapore, and many other states. According to Dr. Stephen Nagi, the Indian communities in and around the world, particularly in the African region, the Indian traders moved using the monsoon wind pattern all the way to Africa's East coast and Arabia, engaging themselves especially in trade.²³⁸ Furthermore, Indians in general have a maritime identity because of their history. Retrospect, Pakistan, and Bangladesh used to be under one form of government, before they separated because of the 1971 war. The shared heritage that they had doesn't seem to be empathized in the existing modern Pakistan state. Pakistan due to its regional territorial confrontation in respect to Kashmir issue and Baluchistan separatist movements. This seems to be a priority of Pakistan foreign policy and its government national policy concern, in which every measure is taken to stabilize issues with India and Afghanistan. Additionally, Japan is again a good example in view of Dr. Stephen Nagi. Japan talked about its identity as being a maritime nation, and if you look back historically, Japan has had an enormous engagement with Southeast Asia and more recently with India, many of Japan's traditions come from India, many of Japan's traditions come from India.²³⁹ When Japan considers India, it talks about its relationship and being an inheritor of Buddhism, Sanskrit, and many Indian traditions. However, considering statecraft, if taken for example Japan, it has a very big maritime environment, thus it is strongly oriented toward the maritime environment or a developed nation like China, which has changed its strategic orientation toward maintaining and enhancing maritime orientation, and furthermore building its capacity to become a maritime power. In the case of Pakistan, building maritime identity is still not part of its national policy framework. Thus, inside Pakistan, the security paradigm has always been dominated in the foreign policy framework. Economic relations or trade has never been highly focused by the nation.

²³⁸ Zoom Interview, Dr. Stephen Nagi.

²³⁹ Ibid.

6.1.3. Maritime Related Industries

Pakistan has been unable to utilize its maritime resources into industrialization and has lost largely multiple opportunities of employment which could result in socio-economic development. The Shipbuilding sector is one sector which is being underutilized, that has the potential to drive all other industries. It has a weak port and harbor infrastructure, a low-standard shipbuilding sector, toxic waters, minimal fishing capacity, no coastal tourism, and a significantly unexplored Macron coastal region. Along with land, the sea provides an interacting medium for the international community, hence the world's seas have long played an essential part in global geopolitics. A national shipbuilding industry is considering to be a central aspect of maritime strength. The decline of the national merchant has had a negative impact on the shipbuilding sector. Slight modifications, extending MMP until 2030, and calling the shipping sector a strategic sector isn't enough; stakeholders believe that if the existing strategy hasn't worked, extending it for another ten years will be ineffective. Benefits were formerly withheld and restricted on a regular basis, making them unreliable for long-term financial planning. In addition to these concerns, the Merchant Shipping Ordinance of 2001 (MSO) must be revised.²⁴⁰

6.1.4. Lack of Media Sensitivity

Pakistan has been grounded with many internal conflicts, related to the inter provincial disharmony, political instability or related to the war on terror, unstable neighboring relations with Afghanistan on one hand and growing economic deprivation on other, but media inside Pakistan is highly focused on territorial confrontations with India and Afghanistan. In addition, media coverage is usually based on interstate and intrastate conflict rather than presenting a positive aspect of Pakistan maritime resources, through which Pakistan can even build its maritime identity. Media plays a vital role in building and distorting image at all levels of political and economic spheres, holding a key to postulate image in any dimension. Media coverage of any nation could be problematic. In view of Dr. Stephen Nagi, when the media covers America, it is all about guns, obesity

²⁴⁰ Afrasiyab Gul, Vice Admiral Khawar Ali Shah, *Policy Insights to Maritime Economy in Pakistan*, (PIDE Policy viewpoint, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, 2021).

and Mr. Trump, Chinese American's pro-propaganda and many issues relating to Japan.²⁴¹ The media does play a role that may be not reality of a state ongoing situation. That directly implies that if a state wants to change its image, then the state as well as civil society must be very proactive about providing cultural and social aspects of the nation. Regarding this, Pakistan must take measure rather than prioritizing its conflicts with Indian nation, it should promote its amiable attitude with China as well as proactive provider of public goods in the region, reaching out the cooperation with other nations, with highlighting Pakistan's contribution to the region in terms of human rights and assisting humanitarian aids, and promoting Pakistan maritime industry. Thus, it is impossible to eliminate the influence of the media, but the state can shift its media toward a positive direction to focus on the strengths of Pakistan maritime industry to build its maritime identity by promoting its neighboring relations through blue diplomacy. In Dr. Mujeeb Afzal views, again, the media is not giving proper coverage and is not contributing much in promotion of maritime activities and initiatives including tourism as well.²⁴² Pakistan's media has more of an inward approach rather than adoption of outside strategy.

6.1.5. Environmental Laws and Regulations Implementation Issue

In terms of foreign policy, Pakistan wants to represent Gwadar port as sustainable along stable relations with China. At the same time China aims to maximize benefits out of this economic project (CPEC-Gwadar Port), as it is a business deal. According to Dr. Zahid, China is lending out money to Pakistan, as both nations have economic advantages embedded in this project. If China can make enough profit, then it will bring more Foreign Direct Investment inside Pakistan. China is a huge market and it regulate Gwadar port and the waters around it as it is a part of the deal. China is taking advantage of maritime resources particularly seafood, as there is high consumption of seafood in part of China as compared to Pakistan, for that reason china is the biggest market for fisheries. China has huge buying and consuming power, it will buy whatever Pakistan produces at this moment. If Pakistan environmentalists consider sustainability with reference to this maritime life and seafood export to China, it can create trouble, and it is one of the main reasons that

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Mujeeb Afzal, *Zoom Interview*.

Pakistan doesn't have enough strict environmental laws and regulations. China is going to those nations, where there are not very strict policies and it gets easy to make things work, if China goes to Australia or New Zealand, there are strong rules and regulation systems, that's the reason they cannot operate freely in those nations. Additionally, from Pakistan's foreign policy point of view, Pakistan aims to take advantage of Chinese investment. China has initially promised a 64\$ Billion project, which could further grow if they see more maritime as well as economic potential inside Pakistan. As Pakistan does not have strong and stable diplomatic relations with maritime states, and on hand the biggest supporter of Pakistan is China, at political, economic and social as well. Pakistan relies a lot on China, which also could become a problem for Pakistan, as they could exploit it but there is issue management that arises here, as well as the incapability of the government. It's a matter of domestic politics, in foreign policy, sustainability would come when there is discussion on climate change and its impact. Pakistan should draft maritime environment policies like in Australia fishing is banned in certain seasons, which may be a breeding season, and restriction on certain waters.

6.1.6. Lack of Focus on Geo-Economics in Pakistan

According to Dr. Zahid, geo-economics is about trade within certain geographical territories, it cannot be distinguished with geo-politics. Considering Pakistan's foreign policy historically, its national interest since 1947, has been reflected in two dimensions i.e., economic development and other is security, which basically go hand in hand. As long as the state has enough economic assets, it can modernize the military and maintain defense. In the eyes of the west, the term pragmatism is a double game, when Pakistan tries to favor its own national interests. Ironically, when developed nations do it is known as pragmatism but when underdeveloped adopt this strategy it is a double game. Pakistan now in this phase is highly focused through the prism of its economic and diplomatic relation with China in the international community. In Dr. Lassi Heininen view, although it doesn't get recognized by classical geo-politics as the idea was to sustain power through force and do accomplish the goals at the expense of others, but critical geopolitics considers knowledge to be crucial element of power as through knowledge state can control material and immaterial power to influence other nations around the globe to fulfill

its national interest. In Pakistan, seafood consumption is less when compared with China, as seafood is mostly preferred in winters, but when it comes to prawns and other kinds of seafood, not many people actually eat them. In this context Pakistan does have a lot of maritime economic resources, as it is exporting to China as well since the start of Gwadar project, but very less concentration by state and government has been given onto this sector. Local fishermen inside Pakistan are not allowed to fish on the coast of Gwadar port, even if they fish, they cannot catch enough fish as there are big Chinese and foreign companies involved there. Regarding this, Pakistan as a geo-economic and marine resource has not been paying proper attention to generate more alternative strategies to shift their route as well as economic projects for other nations, as CARs and Europe could be bigger markets for Pakistan seafood.

6.2 Prospects of Blue Diplomacy

Ocean is not only used as a medium for trade, but it also facilitates utilization of other resources, including oil, fisheries and seafood, and minerals etc. The two facets of maritime businesses i.e., sea lines of communication and resources. States have always been demanded access to the sea; the right to transport people and goods across the water. Likewise, coastal nations have been proactive about their rights to exploit resources in conventional manner, but due to technological advancement, competition of maritime resources have been increased, putting states to claim more of maritime space for their own benefits and potentially restricting or chalking out maritime environmental policies for the other states to access. Nations particularly neighboring nations have developed and strengthened their economies through bilateral trade. Besides, depending on their population, territorial and economic aspect, states developed their diplomatic and trade relations in the same neighborhood. Pakistan has a lot to gain through factors listed below, reflecting the prospects of the Pakistan economy.

6.2.1. Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs)

From a security specialist perspective, especially in the context of the Indo-Pacific region, the primary focus is on the Maritime domain. They have critical sea lines of communications that transport energy exports and imports throughout the region.

Regarding this, Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore all are dependent on sea-lanes of communication. Consequently, when they take foreign policy into consideration, the maritime domain is their utmost priority. However, when Pakistan was initially drafting foreign policy, it was primarily dominated by the Westphalia model in which the concentration and focus was on the borders which was changing rapidly with further characterization of the European environment and global shift since WWI and WWII. Even today the formal land border issues between China-Japan, Korea-Japan, Russia-Japan, Pakistan- India, China-India, and Afghanistan-Pakistan and many others are focused on demarcation of land territories. Therefore, land-territorial borders represent significant areas that can be used eventually for exclusive economic zones for projecting maritime power and acquiring resources. Again in retrospect, Pakistan was focused on border changes and land issues persisted to remain crucial, but Pakistan started to shift towards a maritime focus in foreign policy, in the Indian Ocean. Pakistan's strategic significance can be evaluated based on current facts, such as the fact that maritime lines of communication from Middle Eastern oil abundant countries pass close to Pakistan, improving Pakistan's ability to affect oil flow. Gwadar port, especially the economic project of CPEC, lies on the Strait of Hormuz. Gwadar port, particularly the CPEC economic project, is said to be close to the Hormuz Strait. Gwadar, if constructed as a deep-sea transshipment port, will be able to connect to landlocked Central Asian countries, providing the quickest route to the rest of the globe through the Indian Ocean.

6.2.2 Embracing Maritime Identity

Unlike territories, maritime spaces have long been regarded as outside political lines. Although, social and political arena has largely been affected by maritime affairs, approximately 90 percent of global trade is transported via water, as global economy is highly reliant on the smooth workings of international maritime regimes. The structure of human association is mostly determined by shared knowledge and the identities and interests of nations are highly based on the given interest of nations. Regarding this, all nations or stakeholders have some advantages to accomplish in a specific region, either its maritime or territorial space, or any other sector, as anything that can potentially improve the welfare of a nation is beneficial to sustain, maintain and enhance power. Pakistan in

this case, according to Dr. James Pakistan should create a strong maritime identity and develop global policy not only restrained to India because India is just one element for Pakistan foreign policy. Pakistan is well situated to benefit from its position between East Asia, Europe, Middle East, and Central Asian Republics. Retrospect, the United States used to consider maritime space, strategically, which till now many nations do not, but China understands the oceans strategically and economically, as being Partner of China in economic projects, Pakistan has a lot to gain out of it. It can also be an alternative corridor to CARS and European Nations, by being highly efficient in utilizing maritime resources though creating strong blue economy policies, rules and regulations. On other hand, navies are driving these geo-strategic changes, nations like China, United States of America, Russia, United Kingdom, France, maybe Australia are highly focused on sustaining naval power rather than the constabulary, or on maritime law enforcement capabilities. Nations like China, Japan and the US have all kinds of maritime power both high level spectrum and lower level of spectrum. This is due to the Russian resurgence and ascendancy of China. In Dr. James' perspective, China fully understands that the great power ambitions are highly attached to maritime capabilities. For Pakistan maritime capabilities can be a major factor to get recognized by the major powers, and in the same rift, developed nations invest highly on both high capabilities like hypersonic weapons. Pakistan should develop maritime relations with its near neighboring nations in Indian Ocean rim land nations and African nations, Japan, US, rather than just focusing on one nation. It would be highly beneficial for Pakistan to have a broad approach in foreign policy. The most convenient strategy to build maritime identity is to build stable commercial relations with stable maritime nations around the world.

6.2.3 Utmost Utilization of Maritime Resources

Pakistan coastline of 100km long, shared by coastal provinces of Sindh and Baluchistan, leads towards the Pakistan maritime zone, which further extends up to 350NM. The integral part Pakistan's economy is constituted by marine and coastal resources, also termed nations' strategic gateway. The major industrial sector and three operational seaports are economic development hubs and present great potential for the blue economy through the given opportunity in hand i.e., China Pakistan Economic Corridor and its

related maritime routes. Marine fish stocks, mangroves, coastal small coral reef patches, sea turtles and many more, if managed properly by the Pakistan nation, can be a major source of the maritime market in the international community. China controls the Gwadar port and water around it as per agreement. Pakistan is considered as the gateway to the Indian Ocean and Arabian sea which reflect its own resources there. Pakistan has the capacity to import and export maritime resources to the landlocked nation of Afghanistan and Central Asian republics. According to Dr. Stephen Nagi, China has assisted and escorted Pakistan through the CPEC initiative, which in case be expanded its capability to create more land corridor networks through building a stable market not only in South Central Asia and Afghanistan, but throughout the European region. It is crucial to draft new policies to create alternatives to China BRI's initiative. This strategy will build new corridors on the basis of Pakistan existing maritime resources as well as link the highly industrialized maritime economies around the globe. Pakistan political leaders and policy makers need to make an assertion about the stable markets for its maritime resource, how they can sustain it, and how they take benefit from the leverage which China is giving Pakistan in terms of economic project, lastly how they can create stable trade corridor or route which would link Arabian sea and those highly developed maritime markets.

6.2.4 Potential of Gwadar Port

Gwadar port development is directly associated with the CPEC, the economic corridor which would connect the port with the city of Kashi, XUAR, giving China direct access to the Arabian sea. The development of this project covers a broad horizon of transport infrastructure, connecting Gwadar port with core artery of national highway net, expanding and reconstruction of the existing main railway line inside Pakistan and providing cross-border transport infrastructure. Gwadar port has huge potential in transforming the economy of Pakistan. Through CPEC, the corridor will help in generating economic initiatives through a land route connecting Gwadar with Kashgar, where an economic zone has already been created by China. Bangladesh and Sri Lanka can utilize Gwadar port boost their trade with Central Asian, Western China. If Chittagong, parya and Mangala Bangladesh's port, link with Pakistan three port i.e., Karachi, Bin Qasim and Gwadar port through Hambantota port of Sri Lanka, by this strategy not only Pakistan but

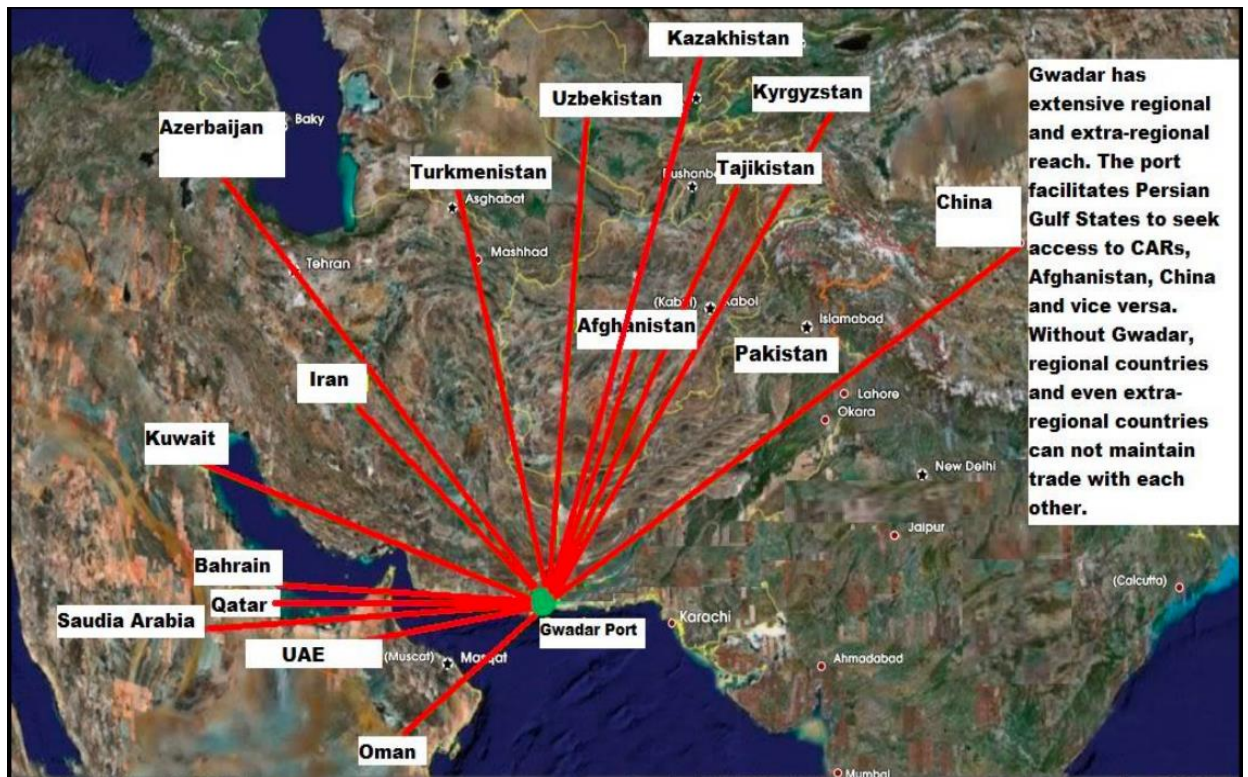
Sri Lanka, Bangladesh would get benefit but Central Asian and Afghanistan as well. Pakistan trade of textile and cement with Sri Lanka could further be strengthened by maintaining stable diplomatic relations and by ensuring connectivity with Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. Recently, Zhand Baozhong, (China Overseas Port Holding Company's chairman), claimed that Pakistan Gwadar port would become the logistic hub in the coming five years in the region, furthermore, it aims to create free zones and other social amnesty infrastructure. Transshipment is the most important port operation, in which goods are transported from the biggest to the smallest container and from one intermediate destination to another. Gwadar serves as a sister port to the other regional ports, assisting in transshipment efforts. Because of its closeness to so many ports, including those in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Oman, and Iran, the Gwadar Port might become a prominent regional commerce center for transshipment, with the potential to facilitate different nations with feeder boats. It is, however, mostly dependent on officials' ability to deliver a smooth and efficient port accessibility factor for immediate least congestion, maximum depth, and cost-effective port operations for ships.

6.2.5 Facilitation to Shippers and Seafarers through Subsidies and Relaxation on Taxes and Duties

Because of the higher costs of insurance for ships traveling towards the Persian Gulf, the security circumstances in the Persian Gulf provide Gwadar an edge over the ports of the UAE and Oman. Nonetheless, the Gwadar Port will need a lot of effort to fully capitalize on its possibility to serve as a hub. For successful regulations at the hub port, there are nine critical components that must be in place. These include the following: shippers' and carriers' preferences for port selection, management of cargo, including its cost and related mechanism, port operation efficiency measurements, the depth of navigation channel, the port's stability, accessibility to landslides, the involvement of the government and the port authority.

When a hub works directly with local exporters and importers, it becomes more cost-effective and time-efficient since the time and cost of transportation are reduced. In this regard, it is also encouraged by the free market traders with the other nations interest and consent to maximize the benefits of the hub port. Because Gwadar port is near to the

Persian Gulf states, it has huge potential to optimize the regions and other countries' untapped gas and oil reserves. Furthermore, because of its warm water, it can function all year.



According to Arthur D. Little, describes Gwadar port aggressive points:²⁴³ Industrial complexes and Labor units with low-cost land, access to oil and gas resources, as well as fast-growing Gulf countries along with import and export prospects, with relevant industries and refineries, Proximity to foremost shipping lanes, and other related agricultural and mineral resources, tax-free investment trade and export manufacturing.

Consequently, the expansion of Gwadar port offers a variety of options for both internal and external investors, including: inside Pakistan, Labor is cheap, which is the center of foreign investment attraction, the vicinity of Gwadar port to Persian Gulf oil and gas

²⁴³ Government of Balochistan, *Pakistan Balochistan Economic Report, From Periphery to Core*, (2008) 59.

resources has a direct influence on import and export prospects, it is located closest to the Indian Ocean, which enhances the building of shipping factories, the onshore proximity of Gwadar will further improve chances for food processing and mineral extraction enterprises.

Conclusion

Pakistan's coastal regions have a long history of being inextricably linked to the ocean. Not only have local economies been reliant on the ocean, but they have also been seafaring and trading along maritime channels for ages. Pakistan has given minimal attention to improving its maritime assets for the past years since its inception. This consideration can be associated with a marine unawareness in political elite, intellectuals, and people regarding the advantages that can benefit the nation through ocean resource extraction and maritime sector advancement and exploration. Pakistan has been lagging in intraregional as well as inter regional connectivity when it comes to shipbuilding and shipping sector capitalization. To maximize the advantages from maritime resources, Pakistan must prioritize maritime prosperity as a crucial pillar of its overall development plan, as well as cultivate a maritime culture that fosters maritime awareness.

Conclusion, Finding, and Recommendation for Pakistan

Conclusion

Oceans have always played a crucial role in building civilizational history, their characteristic circumstances through which empires exploit or influence economic, social, and political as well as military domains. Ocean has always been used as a medium of exchanging information, news, goods, and ideas. The economic, political, and strategic significance of oceans have made regional and international power attractive towards its expansion and plays a dominant role over it. It has been vital in building the geopolitical and geo-economic context of a nation. World politics from ancient to contemporary era has been struggling to pursue intercontinental connectivity for political, strategic as well as economic and diplomatic objectives.

Geography dictated that ocean area gave earliest civilization trade and politics, since trade and politics are interlinked, and nations are bound by their interest in such a manner that the whole form of an articulated system emerged in the 21st century is known as globalization. In this globalized world Oceans continue to form as always hub of the wheel and world politics is evolving and need of diplomacy is more than ever before. Ocean will persistently remain a power element for nations to become power through controlling it and capitalizing its condition of war and peace to influence global politics. Regarding this, ocean trade is critical, since it is a leading indication of a state or region's significance and leadership on a worldwide scale.

Additionally, maritime sector has been considered as beneficial region for revenue generation and economic sustainability, viability since Indus Valley Harappan civilization till modern time core nations like USA, United Kingdom, China as port states like Singapore, Dubai etc., as it beneficial for inhabitants and directly contributed in building nation strength in all sphere of its regional and international standing.

Findings

In Pakistan, little public awareness has been advocated about the maritime sector advantages and its prospects. Pakistan is situated at the doorstep of world's biggest energy reservoirs and can serve being channel to landlocked nations such as Afghanistan and Central Asian Republics, giving access to the Indian Ocean region. Maritime domain is vital in pursuing stable national objectives directly related to defense and law enforcement, consequently, promoting national goals related to maritime sector growth.

- The blue economy, or maritime economy, fosters economic viability on a long-term basis. But in Pakistan, adequate attention hasn't been executed in the maritime sector.
- Aside from maritime potential, maritime security is connected to national security, human security, marine environment, and economic wellbeing of a nation, but if not handled efficiently, leads to the emergence of a management crisis reflecting state inefficiency.
- In terms of national security, sea related policies are not targets of efficient practice and due to lack of awareness it has become one of reasons for failure of the shipbuilding industry.
- Apart from structural challenges, Pakistan has especially remained laid in establishing its domestic legislation, as when international agreements are not aligned with a nation's domestic situation, law implementation of agreements becomes the biggest challenge to a nation's standing. This could lead to direct emergence of piracy, human trafficking, gunrunning, smuggling and environmental degradation.
- Law enforcement inside Pakistan cannot protect ships or industries in dumping oil, hazardous chemicals, toxic substances, and sludges into coastal water. Besides, Pakistan on its part has never emphasized on development of effective maritime policy as well as maritime environmental policy by which it could protect marine environment, even been part of many regional and interregional agreements, the focus has never been shifted due to internal security quagmire, including political cold war, interprovincial harmony etc.

- These challenges have further hit by magnitude of 9/11 terrorist assault and Pakistan being part on global war on terror welcomed many external challenges which apparently become threat to Pakistan maritime security.
- Pakistan has not been able to capitalize its geopolitical as well as geostrategic significance.
- Due to its weak governance, inefficient institutional structure, lack of maritime policy, it has failed to complete the ongoing projects and has not been able to build its maritime relations.
- Additionally, it failed to initiate maritime security construct in Arabian sea and Indian Ocean which added fuel to fire and contributed at least FDI.
- Modern cultural transformation has still not been followed by Pakistan's coastal communities which become the reason for less maritime progress, as due to the lack of awareness and less media coverage.

Recommendations

- As challenges cannot only be addressed through stabilizing structural challenges but also by maintaining regional diplomatic relationships along with effective implementation of existing signed agreements in a manner to generate more ways to protect the maritime environment.
- Pakistan needs to transform its statecraft and its strategic orientation.
- It needs to build a maritime platform and capitalize its marine resources to build regional and international relations.
- With regards to its relationship with China, as it is a matter of diplomacy, Pakistan needs to rebuild its diplomatic relation in terms of fishing policies. Notably, Pakistan can gain huge benefits with its seafood export not only to China but can build an alternative market for other foreign nations where consumption of seafood is relatively high.
- In terms of corridor, Pakistan instead of only being part of CPEC, can establish an alternative corridor along with alternative market to landlocked nations, as if visiting to Tajikistan through Pakistan and Afghanistan is closer than passing via

Moscow then to Europe, here Pakistan can make a corridor to link economies with Indian ocean region.

- Through naval engagement primarily according to the international norms, it can be a maritime nations' support to its global stance on domestic as well as international issues.

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ANNEXURE

ANNEX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

Questions related to Political Diplomacy in maritime context

1. Why traditionally foreign policy of states is more focused on land geographies than oceans and seas? Even though oceans and seas can offer more resources, more connectivity and cooperation.
2. What role can ocean diplomacy play in regional integration of Pakistan with landlocked states?
3. How can Pakistan utilize ocean diplomacy in exercising its foreign policy?
4. How does the international and national popular media affect the ocean diplomacy of Pakistan? How critical geopolitics explains the condition that Pakistan is continental state.
5. Why Pakistan is not able to exploit its blue potential.

Questions related to Economic Diplomacy in Maritime Context

1. What is the correlation between geo-economics and the blue economy?
2. How can sustainability of oceans contribute to blue economic growth and foreign policy?
3. What should be the characteristics and tools of a sustainable ocean diplomacy?
4. How the geo-political positioning of Pakistan affects its blue economy.
5. How are Navies adapting to the evolving geo-political dynamics in the 21st century, both in peace and war time?

Questions related to Naval Diplomacy in Maritime Context

1. What are the biggest traditional and non-traditional security threats for Navies in oceans?
2. The Pakistani Navy has been supporting other countries in naval programs training, how do you see the impact of these training as naval diplomacy?
3. How can the notions of geography, Identity, statecraft, and vision be incorporated in a state's foreign policy through ocean diplomacy?
4. How the Navy can extend their training programs to other regions like Africa which could be yet another avenue of diplomacy.
5. How can ocean diplomacy help Pakistan in developing new discourses about its geography, identity, statecraft and vision?

ANNEXURE 2

INTERVIEW WITH CDRE. SOHAIL AHMAD AZMI

Q 1. How is the Pakistan Navy adapting to the evolving role of Navies in the 21st century, both in peace and war time?

Answer: Roles of navies, as initially compiled by Ken Booth, remain the same, which are: military, diplomatic and benign. There are of course variations within those roles. Maritime Doctrine of Pakistan (MDP) explains in detail the three distinct domains of navies' roles, particularly focusing on the Pakistan Navy. For the military role, Pakistan Navy has taken enormous strides, as it now has ships of its own design and requirement and all of those are brand new except 2-3 older ones. Ships, aircraft, and submarines are fitted with weapons and sensors which are current, relevant and threat centric. In its diplomatic role, Pakistan Navy has always adopted an 'outreach-focused' approach. Right from the days of its inception, Pakistan naval ships have been visiting various ports of call. Just recently, Pakistani ships circumnavigated Africa and sailed to the Gulf of Finland. PNS Alamgir, as we speak, is on its long voyage away from home to the North Atlantic.

As far as the benign role is concerned, Pakistan Navy's contributions in humanitarian disasters both at home and abroad have been very significant. Tsunami 2004 saw Pakistan naval ships in Sri Lanka and Indonesia, where it established Field Hospitals and rendered exceptional aid in terms of food and medicines. At home, Pakistan naval aircraft and personnel phenomenally contributed to the HADR efforts in earthquake 2005 and Super Floods 2010. Navy's efforts along the Macron Coast are very conspicuous through establishment of hospitals, schools and community centers for the uplift of fishermen and coastal communities.

During the war, Pakistan Navy's principal role is to contribute to overall national deterrence to deter the adversary from abandoning the military choice. If, however, an adversary chooses to militarily engage, then the Navy's role is to safeguard Pakistan's maritime interests. This is achieved by maintaining sea control in our own waters to deny

enemy use of its surface and subsurface vessels against Pakistan's naval, merchant ships and the coastal areas.

Q 2. What are the biggest traditional and non-traditional security threats for Pakistan in its Ocean?

Answer: Well, the biggest traditional threat cannot be other than the existential threat of India. However, the threat from the extra regional forces, which includes particularly the US, would also remain, but to a least probability. India has been forging its way ahead both militarily and doctrinally. It now aspires to operate three aircraft carriers with a fleet of 6-8 ballistic missile carrying nuclear submarines, which we call the SSBN. SSBN is a bigger size nuclear propelled submarine that can remain underwater indefinitely, theoretically. Indian Arihant SSBN can carry twelve 750-km range K-15 submarine launched ballistic missiles or in short SLBM. There are also reports suggestive of these Indian SSBNs being fitted with K-4 having a range of 3500 km.

The Indian military has also planned to transform its combat architecture on the lines of the US combatant commands. There will be 5 joint theater commands in the Indian military. One of these theater commands will be the Maritime Theater Command stewarding over the Arabian Sea. Its design and objectives clearly are against Pakistan. The joint command provides a military command with more military assets and freedom to act in pursuance of the Indian military objectives. Since the theater commands will be operating almost directly under civilian oversight, therefore, will have greater operational autonomy. These changed/ evolving circumstances make it crucial for Pakistan to review its military structure so that it remains ready, responsive and resilient.

As far as the non-traditional threats are concerned, these include: maritime terrorism, piracy, human smuggling and narco-trafficking. Among the non-traditional threats, there's also an Indian hand as well. Capture of Kalbhushan Yadev is testimony to the fact that India was preparing to sabotage the CPEC through terror efforts. Indian willingness to apply traditional military with non-traditional methods, which we term as 'Hybrid Warfare' has been significantly amplified in various incidents along the Coastal belt.

Piracy, though reduced in its intensity and character, yet is a threat that would keep Pakistan Navy's gaze on it. Human smuggling is a serious issue that is often seen at sea. Boats filled with humans are frequently caught that carry illegal immigrants to Gulf countries.

Q 3. The Navy has been supporting other countries in naval programs training their cadets. How do you see the impact of these training as naval diplomacy?

I see an exceptional impact of the training of young officers and sailors on naval diplomacy. Significant number of trainees in Pakistan's military institutions reflect one simple truth: friendly countries' trust in Pakistani military education. Had that trust not been there, we would have been left alone a long time ago. One particular feature, which I'd say distinguishes our military education from the rest of the world's military institutions, is that we do not discriminate among our own and foreign trainees. Once these trainees rise in ranks, they support Pakistan's stances and raise the level of engagements.

Q 4. How can the Navy extend their training programs to other regions like Africa which could be yet another avenue of diplomacy?

Pakistan Navy is always open to offer its training courses to anyone in the world. We have trained officers and sailors from Ghana, Morocco, Egypt, South Africa and Kenya. Most of the time, it happens that countries send their trainees on 'need-basis' that regular continuity cannot be maintained. However, our training department at the Naval Headquarters has been proactively engaging various nations in Africa for such courses.

Q 5. How can ocean diplomacy help Pakistan in developing new discourses about its geography, identity, statecraft and vision?

Answer: Naval diplomacy is unique in that it relates to the seas, and seas are a global common governed by the UN Convention on Law of the Sea, 1982. Sea has no demarcation of boundaries so it virtually makes all maritime nations as neighbors. Historically, as Colin McEvady notes, the seas have been influential in fusing cultures, creating ideas and generating discourses on global issues. This aspect, of course, can help Pakistan in its image building and letting the world know the real face of Pakistan, which

the international media, particularly the hyper national Indian media, tried mutilating. Through 'naval engagement', based on international norms, Pakistan can benefit enormously by making the maritime nations support its global takes/ stances on domestic and international issues?

Q 6. Why traditionally Foreign Policy of states are more focused on land geographies than oceans and seas? Despite the fact that oceans and seas can offer more resources, more connectivity and cooperation?

Answer: Alfred Mahan, in his seminal work 'Influence of Sea Power upon History', argues that it was the seas that helped nations rise. Paul Collier, in his opus 'Bottom Billion', observes that the nations having access to seas were able to progress well who had maritime outlook in their thoughts and policies. Julian Corbett, in his work 'Some Principles of Maritime Strategy', nonetheless notes that since men live upon land, so much of what happens at sea is the product of what goes on at land. There are diverse views on national policies being focused too much on land or at sea. One factor singles it out: those countries that had connection with the seas rose to superpower status. British rise in the seventeenth and eighteenth century was unequivocally linked with the seas; Ottoman's rise in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had a very observable sea dependence into it; and clearly the American century could never have been possible without the seas and a strong navy.

As of now, Chinese rise is inextricably linked with the seas. China's BRI initiative and Maritime Silk Road, along with debate on Malacca Dilemma, are indicative enough of a focus on the seas. However, in Pakistan's case, we have continued to suffer from a 'continental mindset' that shackled our attention on the land, for a very long time. With the establishment of the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and National Institute of Maritime Affairs one could expect a pronounced progress on that, where our policy is shifted towards the maritime sector.

Militarily, our dominant strategy has remained 'land strategy' due to the obvious long international border with India. Our strategic community also held that because of land contiguity, the probability of two neighbors fighting a war at sea could be a remote

possibility. This, nonetheless, has changed due to particular Indian focus on maritime military capability development and institution of maritime theater command.

ANNEXURE: 3

INTERVIEW WITH DR. AZHER AHMED

Q 1. How are Navies adapting to the evolving geo-political dynamics in the 21st century, both in peace and war time?

Answer: Navy needs to understand the changing geopolitics, evolving technology, and should stay alert about innovations internationally, regionally, and locally in terms of technology. Especially keep your enemy in mind in terms of technology and keep in mind your friends and how to use them. The Navy does this task in peace time electronic warfare is used to analyze to make warfare planes.

Three dimensional approach is needed for this purpose, first joint exercises with different navies like China, Saudi Arabia etc. to understand the trend. Second, send officers and sailors to different countries like Europe, Asia, and the US to understand new methods, technologies and invite foreigners for the same purpose. The Pakistani navy is well equipped and performing well.

Third, Government needs to improve the navy's finances. Government planning is short term and dominated by continental mindset, land army and air force get more finances and air force sports land forces. The Navy is an independent force and not getting enough resources.

Q 2. Why traditionally Foreign Policy of states are more focused on land geographies than oceans and seas? Even though oceans and seas can offer more resources, more connectivity and cooperation.

Answer: Pakistan perceived its traditional threat from India and always pursued defensive foreign policy. Despite the fact that the role of Navy is vital and crucial and protecting Sea lines of communications to keep the flow open during both peace and war times. Nontraditional threats like piracy, smuggling of arms, human trafficking, blocking of channels, sea terrorism etc. further enhance the roles of navy. Naval diplomacy evolves

through national policy but there is no substantial shift in national policy. But the Pakistan Navy keeps engagement with regional navies on their own.

Q 3. How can ocean diplomacy help Pakistan in developing new discourses about its geography, identity, statecraft and vision?

Answer: First maritime policy was published in 2010, but didn't revise yet, that shows the neglect of priorities. Academia is also less interested in this sector, as there are few seminars on subjects or writings. There are plenty of distractions in making naval discourse priority, first land mentally which is narrow and only see immediate threats, geopolitics in the maritime sector is different and has broader horizons. Pakistan needs to incorporate oceans in geopolitics that would enhance Pakistan's importance more. We Pakistan realizes this potential; it will increase its naval budget.

Q 4. What is the correlation between geo-economics and the blue economy?

Pakistan can give access to central Asia, the Gulf and China. The state needs to realize this potential and show it to domestic businessmen and international actors.

ANNEXURE: 4

INTERVIEW WITH DR. JAMES KROSKA

Q 1. Why traditionally foreign policy of states is more focused on land geographies than oceans and seas? Even though oceans and seas can offer more resources, more connectivity and cooperation.

Answer: Most of the countries do not think of the seas in a strategic way. The US used to think so, but this is not the case for quite some time. This is the reason a lot of countries lack focus on oceans strategically and economically. There are few countries that understand it finely, that is China in particular. China is already aware of the strategic and economic importance of oceans. These are the lessons the United States and European countries have forgotten, still not really learning.

ON PAKISTAN perspective

Though I am not an expert on Pakistan foreign policy, I would say that China hopes to include Pakistan as a junior partner in its effort to dominate the maritime domain between East Asia, Europe, and the Middle East. Pakistan is a convenient partner to China. Pakistan must decide what sort of relationship it needs to have with China and other countries.

One thing I would say is that Pakistan has developed its foreign policy in opposition to India, and I know that relationship is long and complicated. I would suggest that Pakistan should look beyond India because India is looking at the globe. Pakistan should have global policy not only restrained to India because India is just one element for Pakistan foreign policy. In my view Pakistan is well situated to benefit from its position between East Asia, Africa, and the Middle East in its own right, not merely as a secondary partner to China.

Q 2. How are Navies adapting to the evolving geo-political dynamics in the 21st century, both in peace and war time?

Answer: Well in my ways Navies are driving these geo strategic changes. That is that the likelihood of changes at the higher end of the spectrum now becomes more of reality and instrument of choice for major powers. I am thinking of the US, China, Russia and perhaps Uk France, Japan and maybe Australia and India. These are the countries focused on high end Naval power rather than the constabulary, or on maritime law enforcement capabilities. Countries like China, Japan and the US all have different dimensions of maritime power both high level spectrum and lower level of spectrum. I would suggest this is because of the ascendancy of China primarily and the resurgence of Russia. China understands that their great power ambitions are very much attached with maritime capabilities. Maritime capabilities would be the major or one of the major factors in their recognition in major powers, so they go invest heavily on both high-end capabilities like hypersonic weapons. This has led to a reaction in many countries like the US, Japan, Australia, and NATO.

Q 3. What are the biggest traditional and non-traditional security threats for Navies in oceans?

Answer: High end I would say ballistic missiles, nuclear warships, hypersonic weapons, hypersonic light vehicles, outer space capabilities and cyber capabilities, electronic warfare electromagnetic warfare. These are the greatest threats. US, Japan, Australia, and NATO countries have advantages in undersea warfare. China however has revolutionized the threat in East Asia with its vast number of lands based missiles.so that's a real innovation to be able to protect power over the ocean with land-based artillery.

Q 4. The Pakistani Navy has been supporting other countries in naval programs training, how do you see the impact of these training as naval diplomacy?

Answer: Absolutely I think Pakistan should develop solid maritime relations with its near neighbors and all the Indian Ocean rim land countries and countries in Africa. It would be very beneficial for Pakistan to have a broad approach in foreign policy and not focus on one country.

Q 5. How can ocean diplomacy help Pakistan in developing new discourses about its geography, identity, statecraft, and vision?

Answer. Well, that is possible but for that you have to reach a broad range of countries from Iran to India as well as beyond including China, US, and Japan. All these countries have different approaches and interests. I think that is the best strategy for Pakistan to have good commercial relations with all these countries.

The best way to that in my view is not being invested in Chinese alliances only rather reconcile with open countries some of which oppose each other such as United States is often in adversarial relation with IRAN and competitive position with China. I think Pakistan can maximize its position by not being drawn into a strategic position that is being used by any of this one country. Pakistan should maximize its relationship with a broad range of states.

Q 6. In your opinion what is and what can be the scope of socio-cultural diplomacy on oceans

Answer. Pakistan is Muslim country, and it certainly has its authority of influence in that regard. Pakistan has blue diplomacy roots that are helpful. These socio-cultural influences are important but you see often they are over-written by security and economic issues, and I think actually in terms of liberal world order there might be some benefits in terms of some cultural affinity. They are for greater security and economic benefits. I would suggest that Pakistan should have a more of liberal approach. One of the key drivers of quad is that these are all democratic countries. In my view Pakistan needs to move in that direction to share more trade and commonalities with QUAD countries and be able to diversify its relationship. I would say I would vary Pakistan's closer relationship with China and Iran because of their political system. I think Pakistan can have a broad range of relationships with countries, and it must have a more liberal regime.

ANNEXURE 5

INTERVIEW WITH DR. LASSI HEININEN

Question 1. How can ocean diplomacy help Pakistan in developing new discourses about its geography, identity, statecraft, and vision?

Answer. First of all, we need to understand that when talking about critical geopolitics it is different from classical geopolitics which was the first idea or theory of geopolitics. It was based on a few factors: land mass or continental one, resources are another; you may count seas' blue domain as resources or as physical space. Land seas are physical spaces and then power and in classical geopolitics that power is by state according to classical geopolitics state is the only actor having that power, being able to use that power to force others because of the power.

Critical geopolitics acknowledges several factors immaterial like values, identities, knowledge, more actors, also non-state actors which is very much global reality and represent critical geopolitics. Because we have so many actors, not only state or inter-governmental organizations but international non-governmental organizations because of climate change, environmental degradation for example.

Then there is knowledge, knowledge is a power now a days, but it was not acknowledged by the classical geopolitics because the idea was power is based on force, force other to do this, I have weapons, strong economy whatever but now one think that I have knowledge and I am clever enough to use that knowledge that is why I can have influence. That is an immaterial value. I can't touch it but it's there in our minds and we can use it.

Then national identities, off course they are part of states, state of Pakistan recognizes national identities of Pakistanis that it is also factor of Critical geopolitics, because I can represent a nation which is not in majority in state but however it can have influence within states because my identity is so strong it places an important role. But off course it depends on do I acknowledge my identity

Now we will come to Pakistan, it is a bit difficult for me to interpret how under critical geopolitics Pakistan can use blue diplomacy or not. I mean how Pakistan would present in Seas or Indian Ocean. For that, the Pakistani government has to be bold enough to take an alternate route: a shift from the great power rivalry and land border disputes, a turn towards the sea or Indian ocean and think about what new aspects Pakistan could earn by that.

There are many factors but then Pakistan must acknowledge and recognize the importance of maritime road of seas and oceans including environmental protection and respect for marine life. Because the value and importance of immaterial values of geopolitics comes with respect. Because we not only recognize them, but we acknowledge that we respect the environment. Critical geopolitics thinks that we must politicize a physical space. This is exactly what Pakistan needs to do. It needs to politicize the Indian Ocean not against anybody but how Pakistan can have new aspects there and part of that I mean Pakistan must cooperate to protect the maritime environment. There must be a shift from continent, land, and Sea as physical space only. Because it's not only physical space only but it's much more than that, therefore Pakistan must politicize it. Here politicization is not bad or negative it's only for the purpose to understand that there are other aspects. Again, as I said it's not against anybody else because if you do so, your neighbor will think that is a risk for us and a threat for us then it's not according to the idea.

Question 2. Why Pakistan is not able to exploit its blue potential.

I would say firstly. Pakistan must broaden the concept of utilization. It's not only meant to harvest like fisheries from the sea, but you can also enjoy other environments there other than fisheries. For example, there would be tourist who would like to dive there and see fisheries, not catch fisheries only for eating.

Then of course you will not count only immediate economic benefits, like overfishing is a big problem. It's a risk to marine nature because it doesn't allow nature to recover. Technology is so fast that we can empty the seas then how the seas will recover.

Q. How critical geopolitics explains the condition that Pakistan is continental state.

I mean research should be critical. That's why its critical geopolitics is because it contrasts with classical geopolitics first way to understand it geopolitics. There is a mainstream mindset that Pakistan is continental state, there is a misunderstanding that territorialism only deals with land because seas are also physical spaces, territorialism deals with physical spaces and Pakistan needs to shift from this old interpretation or doctrine that Pakistan is a continental state. I think it comes from the time when Pakistan and India got their independence after the British Empire left the continent and how to divide British

India. That became so important and so strategic and of course the war between Indian and Pakistan. Because of those politicians and scholar are not being able to get rid of that old understanding and if any parliamentarian or scholar tries to change that, they are shut down and said forget the whole idea Pakistan has been and is a continual state that's it.

But then I think it's determined but never determine because politics is never determined because

WHO do the politics people, so with knowledge they can change idea and policies that is it? It is not an easy thing, but you should start by saying that if Pakistan is not a landlocked state because it has its coast, there are landlocked countries like Afghanistan, Austria, Nepal but not Pakistan that is a fact. If Pakistan is not landlocked it has sea and ocean so it must have an approach or policy to sea and ocean and that could be through BLUE DIPLOMACY. Navies are being very active in making its blue economies because navy has its long sea lines. Pakistan has ocean and from history we know that oceans are important to mankind. Historically People use sea for travel and trade that is one more aspect. Then you have access to all oceans in world then I could be part of that BLUE DIPLOMACY. Yes of course and then this explanation is beyond the legacy of classical geopolitics like heartland and rimland explanation of the world. Pakistan is part of rim land, but heartland theory by Mackinder comes first and then rim land theory. These two are interrelated and you can't have one, one must have both. Pakistan is prisoner of rimland theory and off Course since so many things happened and so many things are happening in terms of conflicts and war in Middle East and middle Asia, so this region is very important geo strategically because of many reasons least of them is oil.

Then hard part comes that HOW Pakistani political elite are ready get rid of this and look towards the ocean

Question 3. What role can ocean diplomacy play in regional integration of Pakistan with landlocked states?

Answer. China is using economic power and using Pakistan in its mega project then this is opposite to immaterial factors because these are very material, off course they are using knowledge but focus id physical space, resources, and infra-structure and after pandemic, G 7 is also making the same mistake allocating huge amount of money to infrastructure. They say that they are going to allocate money to science, but I believe that is going to be a small amount and this a mistake because you can't solve these challenges by investing in infrastructure because you are not developing and increasing knowledge and that includes science.

The Arctic is a good example of how environmental protection is being used to reconstruct the geopolitics of the Arctic region because they think that they can solve these problems together by focusing on environmental protection. It is a success story, but they can do better. Because of this there are geopolitical stability, functioning cooperation on environmental protection etc.

Pakistan has developed its continental foreign policy on knowledge it inherits from British India then to protect its identity and borders but if Pakistan wishes to incorporate Blue in its foreign policy then first it has to recognize and it is pre condition that Pakistan recognize non state actors like NGOs, civil society, role of academia etc. and then scientific community can play its role here and act as a mediator between government and civil society if it wishes to do that.

It would be good if you say knowledge is power because it gives influence. There is traditional understanding of power which is force but then knowledge as a power to influence people that is I would not force you to do something but I will let you have enough knowledge to influence others when it comes to shift in Pakistan's foreign policy that you don't need to force ministers and political elite but you give them enough knowledge good points, and arguments to make shift natural and smooth.

ANNEXURE: 6

INTERVIEW WITH DR. ZAHID AHMAD SHAHAB

Q 1. How can ocean diplomacy help Pakistan in developing new discourses about its geography, identity, statecraft, and vision?

Answer. First of all, we need to understand that when talking about critical geopolitics it is different from classical geopolitics which was the first idea or theory of geopolitics. It was based on a few factors: land mass or continental one, resources are another; you may

count seas' blue domain as resources or as physical space. Land seas are physical spaces and then power and in classical geopolitics that power is by state according to classical geopolitics state is the only actor having that power, being able to use that power to force others because of the power.

Critical geopolitics acknowledges several factors immaterial like values, identities, knowledge, more actors, also non-state actors which is very much global reality and represent critical geopolitics. Because we have so many actors, not only state or inter-governmental organizations but international non-governmental organizations because of climate change, environmental degradation for example.

Then there is knowledge, knowledge is a power now a day but it was not acknowledged by the classical geopolitics because the idea was power is based on force, force other to do this, I have weapons, strong economy whatever but now one think that I have knowledge and I am clever enough to use that knowledge that is why I can have influence. That is an immaterial value. Knowledge I can't touch but it's there in our minds and we can use it.

Then national identities, off course they are part of states, state of Pakistan recognizes national identities of Pakistanis that it is also factor of Critical geopolitics, because I can represent a nation which is not in majority in state but however it can have influence within states because my identity is so strong it place an important role. But off course it depends on do I acknowledge my identity

Now we will come to Pakistan, it is a bit difficult for me to interpret how under critical geopolitics Pakistan can use blue diplomacy or not. I mean how Pakistan would present in Seas or Indian Ocean. For that, the Pakistani government must be bold enough to take alternate routes: a shift from the great power rivalry and land border disputes, a turn towards the sea or Indian ocean and think about what new aspects Pakistan could earn by that. There are many factors but then Pakistan must acknowledge and recognize the importance of maritime road of seas and oceans including environmental protection and respect for marine life. Because the value and importance of immaterial values of geopolitics comes with respect. Because we not only recognize them, but we acknowledge

that we respect the environment. Critical geopolitics thinks that we must politicize a physical space. This is exactly what Pakistan needs to do. It needs to politicize the Indian Ocean not against anybody but how Pakistan can have new aspects there and part of that I mean Pakistan must cooperate to protect the maritime environment. There must be a shift from continent, land and Sea as physical space only. Because it's not only physical space only but it's much more than that, therefore Pakistan must politicize it. Here politicization is not bad or negative it's only for the purpose to understand that there are other aspects. Again, as I said it's not against anybody else because if you do so, your neighbor will think that is a risk for us and a threat for us then it's not according to the idea.

Q 2. What is the correlation between geo-economics and the blue economy?

Answer: I would say firstly. Pakistan must broaden the concept of utilization. It's not only meant to harvest like fisheries from the sea, but you can also enjoy other environments there other than fisheries. For example, there would be tourist who would like to dive there and see fisheries, not catch fisheries only for eating.

Then of course you will not count only immediate economic benefits, like overfishing is a big problem. It's a risk to marine nature because it doesn't allow nature to recover. Technology is so fast that we can empty the seas then how the seas will recover.

Q 3. How the geo-political positioning of Pakistan affects its blue economy?

Answer. I mean research should be critical. That's why its critical geopolitics is because it contrasts with classical geopolitics first way to understand it geopolitics. There is a mainstream mindset that Pakistan is continental state, there is a misunderstanding that territorialism only deals with land because seas are also physical spaces, territorialism deals with physical spaces and Pakistan needs to shift from this old interpretation or doctrine that Pakistan is a continental state. I think it comes from the time when Pakistan and India got their independence after the British Empire left the continent and how to divide British India. That became so important and so strategic and of course the war between Indian and Pakistan. Because of those politicians and scholar are not being able to get rid of that old understanding and if any parliamentarian or scholar tries to change

that, they are shut down and said forget the whole idea Pakistan has been and is a continual state that's it.

But then I think it's determined but never determine because politics is never determined because who do the politics people, so with knowledge they can change idea and policies that is it. It is not an easy thing, but you should start by saying that if Pakistan is not a landlocked state because it has its coast, there are landlocked countries like Afghanistan, Austria, Nepal but not Pakistan that is a fact. If Pakistan is not landlocked it has sea and ocean so it must have an approach or policy to sea and ocean and that could be through Blue Diplomacy. Navies are being very active in making its blue economies because navy has its long sea lines. Pakistan has ocean and from history we know that oceans are important to mankind. Historically People use sea for travel and trade that is one more aspect. Then Pakistan is part of rim land, but heartland theory by Mackinder comes first and then rim land theory these two are interrelated and you can't have one, one has to have both. Pakistan is prisoner of rimland theory and off Course since so many things happened and so many things are happening in terms of conflicts and war in Middle East and middle Asia, so this region is very important geo strategically because of many reasons least of them is oil. Then hard part comes that how Pakistani political elite are ready get rid of this and look towards the ocean.

Q 4. How can Pakistan utilize ocean diplomacy in exercising its foreign policy?

Answer: China is using economic power and using Pakistan in its mega project then this is opposite to immaterial factors because these are very material, off course they are using knowledge but focus id physical space, resources, and infra-structure and after pandemic, G 7 is also making the same mistake allocating huge amount of money to infrastructure. They say that they are going to allocate money to science, but I believe that is going to be a small amount and this a mistake because you can't solve these challenges by investing in infrastructure because you are not developing and increasing knowledge and that includes science.

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ANNEXURE: 7

INTERVIEW WITH Dr. MUJEEB AFZAL

Q 1. Why Traditionally Foreign policy of states are more focused on land geographies than oceans and seas? Even though oceans and seas can offer more resources, more connectivity and cooperation.

Answer: When Pakistan got independence it inherited more land area and perceived itself as a continental state. Due to strategic threats from land borders Pakistan army dominated the political domain as well. India and Pakistan both perceived themselves as continental states, but India gradually incorporated maritime domain in their strategic culture. India derives identity from secularism and pessimism, but Pakistan derives its identity from Muslim ummah context that create kind of identity crises for the country. To protect its sovereignty against land borders threats Pakistan became part of western led alliances but India considered itself as British successor that's why US presence objected.

Q 2. How the geo-political positioning of Pakistan affects its blue economy?

Answer: First, reality is in Pakistan decision makers' decisions prevail. Pakistan despite having a sea is not focused on Sea. Society is not prone to the sea; it's kind of sea blindness in a country. There are multiple factors which are hindrance in creating maritime identity, first Pakistan perceive itself as a continental power, cognitively Pakistan do not consider itself as part of South Asia but part of Muslim world, so Pakistan's foreign policy is always diverted toward Muslim world. Political administrations get their education and political training from the west, so they are pro west and not focused on their own region. Still foreign policy options are west because of longevity, resources, and war technology. If we analyze Cold war or war on terror main utilization was and is land and focus remained army that is way maritime sector is absent from mainstream political narratives. Sea strategically and politically absent from the main political and academic narrative. Secondly resources are limited which are being used to meet strategic threats from land borders. Problem is decision making which has continental mindset. One can assess sea

blindness by the fact that the naval academy is in Lahore instead of somewhere near the Sea.

Q 3: How sustainability of oceans can contribute to blue economic growth and foreign policy?

Answer: In Pakistan the concept of geo-economics is still a rhetoric clear principle are not defined yet. There is civil-military ambiguity on the concept, clear debate is needed between both institutions and for that there is a need for a clear strategic shift. Geo-economics needs time to flourish but still India and Kashmir conflicts are dominating the strategic narratives. The other problem is political instability in Afghanistan, it has blocked the way to Central Asia, though CPAC provide alternate route from China to central Asia but still until Afghanistan problem is not solved regional integration is not possible.

Q 4. How are Navies adapting to the evolving geo-political dynamics in the 21st century, both in peace and war time?

Answer: Navy is engaged in projects which have profound impact on Pakistan 's image abroad like Amman exercises, cooperation with Chinese navy and other projects against piracy and humanitarian issues in the Indian Ocean.

Q 5: How does the international and national popular media affect the ocean diplomacy of Pakistan?

Media is not giving proper news and does not promote maritime activities like tourism etc. Pakistani media has more of an inward approach rather than an outside approach.

ANNEXURE 8

INTERVIEW WITH DR. STEPHEN R NAGI

Q 1. Why Traditionally Foreign policy of states are more focused on land geographies than oceans and seas? Even though oceans and seas can offer more resources, more connectivity and cooperation.

Answer: If you are speaking to a security specialist, especially in the context of Indo-pacific. The primary focus is on the Maritime Domain. Because they have critical sea lines of communications that transport energy exports and imports throughout the region. With that in mind, countries like Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore all these regions and countries are dependent on the sea-lanes of communication. As a result, when they are thinking about security and foreign policy, they are very much thinking about the maritime domain. However, when we were initially creating foreign policy, it was primarily dominated by the Westphalia model that the concentration and the focus of the foreign policy was the rapidly changing borders that characterize the European environment and the global that we saw in WW1 and WW2. Even today, we see the formal land borders being negotiated, argued over and annexed as in the case of Crimea. We see land border issues in and around China and we see land and territorial issues between China-Japan, Korea-Japan, Russia-Japan and many others. Therefore, land and territorial borders represent important areas that can be used eventually for exclusive economic zones for projecting maritime power and acquiring resources. Again historically, we were focused on the border changes in around the most developed countries of Europe but today I think that the foreign policy, although land issues continue to remain important, but I think there has been a large shift towards a maritime focus in foreign policy, particularly in the indo pacific. My sense is that Pakistan does not really have a Maritime identity and a Maritime tradition compared to India. If we look at the Indian communities in and around the world, in particular in the African region, the Indian traders moved using the monsoon rains all the way to the East coast of Africa and Arabia. They engaged in trade quite extensively, historically. Therefore, I think that Indians in general have a Maritime identity because of their history. You know this better than me that we have India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

They used to be under one form of government before they divided. For whatever reasons, the shared heritage that they had doesn't seem to be emphasized in the modern Pakistan state. I'll also add that I think Pakistan, because of its territorial issues with regards to Kashmir and India, seems to be the priority of the Pakistani government and stabilizing issues in its periphery, primarily Afghanistan. Though there's a lot under table, I think there is an issue of identity that seems to be lacking in the Pakistani context. Priorities with regard to Afghanistan and the border of India, and lastly, I think resources. There is a limited number of resources that any country can have, and Pakistan is primarily focused on its domestic environment and its challenges with India, this means that they have to pick and choose. Pakistan has somehow outsourced its maritime activities to the Chinese through CPEC and the building of the port in Gwadar, this allows Pakistan to have a foothold in the maritime environment. But Pakistan seems to primarily focus on its domestic policy and foreign policy. Japan is a very good example of this. Japan talked about its identity as being a Maritime country, and if you look back historically Japan has had a huge amount of engagement with Southeast Asia and more recently with India, many of Japan's traditions come from India. If we go to the city called Kyoto, there is a temple called Sanjugo, and this temple has ten thousand Buddhist monks and statues. What is interesting is that they look like Indians and their names are all in Sanskrit. When Japan talks about its relationship with India, it talks about being an inheritor of Buddhism or an inheritor of Sanskrit and many Indian traditions. This is how Japan has created a strong relationship with India, and the current Indian PM Modi and former Japanese PM Abe really talked about their shared culture, identity, and how it was a platform for their cooperation. In the case of Pakistan, as a Canadian when I talk to my Canadian Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi friends, they are the best of friends. They share music, they share bhangra and food but when you put them back in India and Pakistan, they do not like each other. ----- In my understanding Pakistan within the region, it does have ties with Saudi Arabia and Wahhabism and the interpretation of Wahhabism that does not have that kind of value as in non-Muslim countries that may be a kind of a burden that Pakistan is having. India doesn't have that kind of a conservative reputation as Pakistan have in terms of Islam, and it affects its ability to build strong relations with more moderate

countries. Whether that is true or not is a different story, because mostly it is about impression rather than reality.

Q 2. How can the notions of geography, Identity, statecraft, and vision be incorporated in a state's foreign policy through ocean diplomacy?

Answer: I think when we are thinking about statecraft, we must take the first step in the context of strategic orientation. So, a country like Japan, it has a very big maritime environment, so it's strongly oriented toward maritime environment or a country like China that has never been a Maritime country is strongly oriented towards a continental identity. Therefore, whatever the strategic orientation of the country is, the question is, is there a need to change the strategic orientation of a country. And today, China has changed its strategic orientation, it's both a continental power and it's building the capacity to be a maritime power. Because it's part of the global value chain, it has to import and export, protect energy resources, it has a labor force all around the world and as a result, China has now started to create a maritime orientation, not just a continental orientation. So, when we are looking back at Pakistan, I think Pakistan is primarily terrestrially oriented in terms of its trade, it does most of its trade with its immediate neighbors and very little in the overseas or the maritime arena and what that means is that Pakistan must transform its statecraft and its strategic orientation. Then it has to have interests in the other part of the world. It needs to build resources and platforms and build a market that it needs to secure. At this stage, I do not think that Pakistan is in that position. I think that, the orientation of a country is when they move from a primarily agricultural society, there is no need for traders and finding new supply chains, and supply routes. Once it transforms into urban areas that are linked to the region or many regions, then you have to start to create supply chains and markets and secure resources, and once you start doing that then you begin to have a larger vision of your strategic orientation.

Q 3. How can Pakistan utilize ocean diplomacy in exercising its Foreign policy?

Answer: At this stage Pakistan is a window to the Indian Ocean/Arabian Sea ----- I think if you are a window to the Arabian Sea that means that means you have the access to the resources there, and importing/exporting resources from the port there through Pakistan to

the Afghanistan and to the South Central Asian States, China of course. Now China has helped Pakistan through the CPEC initiative, which has risks since it's a China focus initiative rather than a regional one, but if that can be expanded and leveraged to create networks of land corridors through South Central Asia including Afghanistan. That is an opportunity to expand your trading platform and your trading routes throughout the region. I think that's an opportunity for Pakistan to strengthen its central role as a corridor that transports goods through Pakistan into South Central Asia and Afghanistan, but also opening up those markets through Pakistan to the world. It is very important; it is creating an alternative to China's BRI initiative, where China is building corridors to open up all those markets. If we think about it realistically, going to Tajikistan through Pakistan and Afghanistan is much closer than going through Kazakhstan to Moscow and then to Europe. I think it is about creatively thinking about how to build alternative corridors that link the economies within the region. As you know there are lots complications within that part of the world, e.g. the ethnic groups do not like each other, different interpretations of Islam and Afghanistan taken over by Taliban, we don't know about the directions of Afghanistan's development.

The Pakistani political leaders and policy makers need to make an assignment, where are the stable markets and how can we secure them and how can they leverage the help that China is providing through the CPEC to create stable and sustainable trade corridors that can link the Arabian Sea and those markets. There is a continuum of ideas that you can have. The most extreme of course is to quickly settle the border issue with India, and I would be very unsurprised that once this happens then you will have an expanded trade, migration and access to markets. That is one end of the spectrum, it is idealistic but it will open up many doors. If you think about this that how many resources of Pakistan are used to defend the border with India, and if you compare Pakistan from ago to now in terms of its economic strength, it is weaker and more isolated. If the border issue is solved then much of the Pakistan's, many of its resources can be used for developing the economy, opening up markets and fundamentally changing the life of the ordinary Pakistanis. Secondly, Pakistan's diversification of its interests are very much important, I feel Pakistan is overly dependent on China and it need to think about how it can build alternative markets and how it can engage in trade with outside its immediate region.

Therefore, initiatives such as the regional comprehensive economic partnership is a possibility where Pakistan can perhaps join the comprehensive regional partnership may be encouraging Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka to join with Pakistan. This is to open the Pakistani market to South East Asia and North East Asia, the more access Pakistan has to other markets; it means there would be more opportunities for Pakistan to engage in diplomacy, not just maritime but many kinds of diplomacy. Probably the regional economic comprehensive partnership is the most realistic objective compared to settling the border issue with India, but I think both are important. The other thing is reaching out to the US and finding opportunities to cooperate in the maritime environment in the Western Indian Ocean or Arabian Sea. There are non-traditional challenges there; piracy, illegal fishing and climate change. This is the opportunity for Pakistan to work with the US and perhaps Europe on dealing with these issues. What is interesting about non-traditional security issues, they should be apolitical. This means that there is potential there to cooperate with India and other players; for example, dealing with piracy issues, illegal fishing issues. That is the way to expand Pakistan's maritime footprint through cooperation on political issues, such as non-traditional security issues.

Q 4. How does the international and national popular media affect the ocean diplomacy of Pakistan?

I think the media coverage of any country is problematic. When the media covers America, it is all about guns, obesity and Mr. Trump, bad news about China, and different issues in Japan. The media does play a role that is probably not realistic of that country. That means if you want to change that image then the state and the civil society has to be very proactive about providing the cultural aspects and other aspects of the society. Countries like Japan are successful internationally because of the civil society, not so much the government, and China is the opposite because the government does all the promotion and it does not do a great job at promoting itself the same way as other countries do. I guess Pakistan has to be more than just a border issue with India, rather than a friend with China but a proactive provider of public goods in the region, reaching out to cooperating with other countries, highlighting Pakistan's contribution to the region in terms of human rights and humanitarian aid and highlighting Pakistani culture and food. It is impossible to eliminate

the influence of the media but you can shift to a more positive direction to focus on the strengths of Pakistan.