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Iranian Nuclear Deal: US Withdrawal and Regional implications

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ABSTRACT

The Iranian nuclear program has been a contentious issue between Iran and the western powers, particularly the United States. While the former has always claimed that its nuclear program is solely for peaceful purposes but the latter has viewed it with skepticism and suspicions. There, as well came a time when both the states were on a brink of war over the issue. Finally, during the Barack Obama, s presidency sanity prevailed and both the parties decided to hold dialogue on the problem. This involved a marathon round of talks between Iran, United States, France, China, Britain, Russia and Germany. After a lengthy process of comprehensive dialogues an accord was signed in July 2015, in which Iran committed itself to taking various steps in order to scale back its nuclear related activities and in return it was offered with the lifting sanctions imposed by the United Nations and the US. But Donald Trump during his presidential campaign severely criticized the deal and promised to reverse it once gets into office. So, after assuming his office, only a year later in 2018 he announced the annulment of the deal and re-imposition of the US related sanctions on Iran. A tension and an uncertainty in relations between the United States and Iran are once again being witnessed, with the potential to destabilize the Middle Eastern region.

Key Words: JCPOA, Iranian Islamic Revolution, Persian Gulf, Nuclear Crisis, Regional politics, NPT, NATO, Uranium, Centrifuges, Ballistic Missiles.

Introduction

The Nuclear program of Iran has been a major concern for the western countries. For decades, it remained bone of contention for the normalization of the relations between Iran, USA and the European powers. Iran says its nuclear program is purely for peaceful aims and it has no war ambitions against any country. But the United States believes that the Iranian program is aimed to counter Israel and may use it at a time of a conflict with the Israel. As the rhetoric of threats and counter threats continues between them and Iran has not recognized Israel existence as a state and considers it an occupying power on the Palestinians lands. The bilateral relations of Iran and the US have been strained since the Islamic revolution in Tehran in 1979 and the overthrowing of Reza Shah the United States ally from the power. And the subsequent, embassy hostage crisis added fuel to the tensions between them which continued for 444 days. Therefore, since then the United States has always looked at Islamist regime of Tehran as a threat to its interests in the region. The provocations and the threats by the revolutionary government of Iran have further strengthened the US suspicions.

The successive governments of the United States have claimed to go into any extent to stop Tehran from developing nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles. During the reign of President George W. Bush, a war was imminent when Iran was labeled among axis of evil states, the phrase which was used for Iraq, North Korea and Iran by the US when Iraq was invaded by the NATO in 2003. The United States has openly declared that it considers Iran an open threat to its allies and national interests in the region. Although, the fact of the matter is

that it was in 1970s when, Iran started developing its nuclear technology. The help and assistance for this was provided by the United States Atoms for peace program which was spearheaded by Shah the then ruler of Iran. Iran as a non-nuclear state signed NPT in 1968 and ratifies it in 1970 under the leadership of Reza Shah. It was in 1979 when it had developed some baseline of its nuclear infrastructure when the Iranian revolution put it in jeopardy when its nuclear talent left the country. It is believed that the supreme leader of Iran Ruhollah Khomeini was opposed to nuclear technology in the beginning of the revolution but later in 1980s with some sort of assistance from Pakistan it had restarted its nuclear program (BBC, 2018).

But sanity and good sense prevailed finally and both sides decided to address the issue through negotiations. It was in June; 2013 a moderate leader Hassan Rouhani became the president of Iran. With his oath of the president office in Iran, the hope for an amicable solution of the problem increased. So, it was in September 27, 2013 when the Iranian president Hassan Rouhani and US President Barack Obama held a telephonic conversation to a great surprise of the world. This positive gesturing continued till the formal beginning of the talks and final signing of the accord in July, 2015. But the situation took a new turn in 2017 when Donald Trump became the president of the United States. He had during his presidential elections campaign lambasted the deal as an “ever worst” deal the US had ever signed in its history. Moreover, he promised to reverse it once gets into office of the US presidency. Therefore, complying on his promise and election manifesto on 8th May 2018, he announced the US withdrawal from the nuclear deal which sent shock waves across the globe.

The United States EU allies and other partners of the deal have announced to adhere with the deal in letter and spirit till the time Iran complies with its conditions. The USA

has declared that any company doing business with the Iranian firms, banks and companies under sanctions may invite the US wrath and get blacklisted from the USA. But on the other hand China, Russia and the European states are adamant that they have assured their companies to continue to do business with their Iranian counterpart with disregard to the US sanctions. Although, many among them have already wrapped up their businesses and closed their offices from Iran due to the fears of US latest sanctions. The relations between Iran and the United States are once again in deep strain, which has thrown the whole Middle Eastern region into turmoil of another military confrontation. The region which has been witnessing civil wars, destruction, catastrophe and horrors since Arab spring of 2011 may once again plunge into another crisis if the US and Iran relations continues to deteriorate. This has the potential to destabilize the whole region and may disrupt the supply of oil to the international market in case of a military confrontation between them.

Iran Nuclear Deal

To the much satisfaction of the world and the international community after a long period of tension and turmoil in relations between the Iran and the United States the ice began melting. With the sworn of newly elected president Hassan Rauhani in August 2013, who was perceived to be a moderate leader in an ultra-conservative Iran, there appeared a chance of normalization in their relations. The phone call by the US President to his counterpart in Tehran soon after taking oath was a major development for bilateral engagement between the two countries. This proved to be positive step in right direction for achieving durable peace in the region and beyond. Thus later on the formal dialogue between Iran and the group of six countries started which include America, china, Russia, France, Britain and the

Germany.(Kerr, 2016)This resulted in a comprehensive accord between them, which is also known as Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA). This is an international accord which gave the starving economy of Iran a sanction relief for its willingness to leave its nuclear program. Therefore, in July 2015 the Group of six countries unanimously decided to give a sanction relief to Iran in exchange for its nuclear program. In the agreement Iran committed itself not to make a nuclear bomb to the international community. With the sanctions lifted Iran would get the opportunity to access the global market and economy. Under the said accord the uranium enrichment, capacity levels and the stockpile were restricted for a particular period.(Fakheri, 2017)Iran was having more than 20 thousand centrifuges but according to the agreement it could have not more than 6,104 old model centrifuges. These centrifuges were used for enriching uranium. Iran was also directed to amend its Arak heavy water reactor so that it couldn't produce nuclear weapons grade plutonium. But the site could "host peaceful medical and industrial nuclear research".

The accord as well bound Iran to stop uranium enrichment at the Fordow site and change it into an isotopic research center. Moreover, Iran also committed itself to permitting the IAEA officials to inspect its nuclear facilities for ensuring its compliance whenever it desires to do so. Hitherto it was thought Iran capability was two to three months away from making a nuclear bomb but as a result of the deal now it would take a year for her to make such a bomb. Furthermore, some parts of the accord were considered as controversial by many quarters. They particularly pointed out towards some of the elements which the document contained such as lifting of limitations of centrifuge after the passage of eight years. And also after the period 15 years' restrictions on enriching uranium and its stockpile size would come to an end. (Aljazeera, 2018)

Under the deal Iran would negotiate for the lifting of ban on the export and import of ballistic missiles and conventional arsenals, which ignited a lot of criticism from many corners. The deal included “Iran reaffirms that under no circumstances will Iran ever seek, develop or acquire any nuclear weapons” (Nazir Hussain, 2015). It is also argued that many parts of the deal contained sunset clauses which would expire automatically with the passage of time by permitting Iran to attain further nuclear energy research. Iran committed itself not to produce such lethal weapons in the future in any way. It agreed to expose all its nuclear related activities to the international monitoring bodies and watch dogs. The purpose of the whole deal was to scale back the Iranian nuclear program to a level that in near future it becomes impossible for Iran to attain a nuclear bomb. And till 2018 all the international monitoring agencies through various reports have categorically stated that Iran is sticking all the obligations and commitments under the deal. The deal was viewed by the international community as a milestone of Barack Obama’s administration. Almost it took more than two years to the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and Germany (P5+1) to broker the deal which is also known as JCPOA. (Erdman, 2018)

The US Withdrawal

The president of United States of America announced on 8th May 2018 that he has withdrawn the US from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCOPA) nuclear deal. The deal which was signed by his predecessor after over a period of more than two years of hectic negotiation with Iran curbed the latter nuclear program in exchange for sanctions relief to its crippling economy. The accord was considered a major achievement by the Obama administration which saved the Middle Eastern region from another confrontation. Moreover, this was hailed by

the international community as a milestone for curbing nuclear activities across the world. This not only stopped Iran from pursuing its current program which it calls a peaceful program but imposed such restrictions on the country that in near future it would not be able to make a nuclear bomb even if it desires to do so. The deal had ensured that the international nuclear monitoring watch dogs would continuously look into the nuclear facilities of Iran and submit its reports to the United Nations Security Council so that to make sure it does not attempt to produce such a bomb in the future. The Israeli lobbies in the US were not happy with the accord since its signing and were making efforts to roll it back but it was not possible for them to do so during the Obama administration. The state of Israel had openly criticized the deal from the day first and regarded it against to its interests in the Middle East. It had developed serious differences with the USA over this agreement.

Saudi Arabia another ally and staunch opponent of Iran had also publicly opposed the deal and declared it against its interests in the region. It perceived that this deal would make Iran stronger economically which would result in the shape of more Iranian proxies and interferences in the other regional states. That's why it was against of giving any economic incentive to its regional rival Iran. Therefore, both the US allies through their lobbies in the Washington DC were trying to get the United States out of this accord and they knew that its withdrawal would automatically end the deal. During the presidential elections in the US, Donald Trump a presidential candidate started openly criticizing the Iran-US nuclear deal and promised to the people that he would reverse the deal once he gets elected to the office. He called it the worst deal the US had made in its history. So, when he reached in the presidential office he continued to oppose the accord and threatened to withdraw the USA out from this. (Landler, 2018)

Trump was particularly opposed to the sunset clause which would end the accord by 2031 and exclusion of Iranian ballistic missiles system. He stated that this deal would bring Iran closer to getting a nuclear bomb rather than putting it far. He is of the opinion that he would get a better deal from Iran by exercising more and more economic pressure on her. Trump argued that Iran is not a US ally and it works against the US interests in the region. In October 2017 the president Trump lambasted on Iran by saying that its government exports terrorism and violence in the Middle East. And moreover the Iranian have not obliged to the deal to its true spirit. Trump also did not like the restrictions in the accord which have dates to end such as on the uranium enrichment and usage of centrifuges. In January 2018 President Trump warned that if the flaws in the accord were not addressed he would withdraw the US from the agreement. He actually wanted to impose new tougher restrictions on the Iranian ballistic missile program, and removing sunset clauses on uranium enrichment and centrifuges restrictions. Although, the deal got three times waivers from the president Trump on the advice of his advisers but he promised not to give it a fourth time waiver in any way. As a result, on 9 May 2018, the US president declared that its country is withdrawing from the Iran nuclear deal by defying his western EU allies advises not to do so.

The American allies in Europe made their last ditch effort to salvage the deal but were unable to convince the President Trump and his administration. According to the President Trump it was a bad deal that should never have been made. The critics of the accord also agree that it was a temporary solution to the Iranian nuclear issue and does not include the non-nuclear weapons and its missile program which is a matter of grave concern for the Israel and Iran. (McKernan, 2018)

Regional Implications

The president Donald Trump unilaterally withdrew its country from the Iran-US nuclear deal which was described a historical deal by his predecessor. He was in a mission to revise all the milestones achieved by the previous administration including this deal. The withdrawal revived and re-imposed all the US sanctions which were once placed on Iran. The brief relief which the Iranian economy gained through the nuclear accord came to an end abruptly. The president Trump announced that he would get a better deal from Iran through economic sanctions and other means of pressures. The rhetoric of war and threats which had ended after the deal revived once again. The initial response from the Iran president Hassan Rouhani was that its country would abide by the conditions of the deal but at the same time would negotiate with the other parties which include China, Russia, Germany, France and UK. (Alcaro, 2015) And if a solution which could guarantee the economic interests of Iran, which it would get under JCPOA, were not ensured then its government would began enriching uranium more than ever before. However, the supreme leader of Iran Ayatollah Ali Khamenei expressed his deep reservation and stated his suspicions of European ability to deliver without the USA and argued that Iran would not stick to the accord without a clear guarantee from the European powers. Iran declared the US non-trusted party to dialogue with. And this further reinforced the views of hardliners in Iran who are opposed to doing any kind of dialogue with the United States. (Mousavian, 2018)

The response from the international community varied from country to country and depending on their national interests. France, Germany and United Kingdom in a joint statement regretted the USA decision of leaving the deal. The French president wrote on his twitter account; “the nuclear non-proliferation regime is at stake”. The

foreign minister of UK wrote; “UK remains strongly committed to the JCPOA, and will work with E3 (UK, France and Germany) partners and the other parties to the deal to maintain it”. China also said it will continue to protect and preserve the deal as it is. Russia said despite the US withdrawal it will struggle to make the deal functioning. Israel and Saudi Arabia welcomed and hailed the Trump decision.(Mahapatra, 2016) The UN secretary General in a statement said he is “deeply concerned” and stress the other countries to abide by the deal. The former US foreign secretary of state who was the US front man in these negotiation said in a statement “Today’s announcement weakens our security, breaks America’s word, isolates us from our European allies, puts Israel at greater risk, empower Iran’s hardliners and reduces our global leverage to address Tehran’s misbehavior, while damaging the ability of the future administrations to make international agreements”. (Aljazeera, 2018)

The sanctions were re-imposed on Iran in two phases in the first phase Iran’s its banking sector, commercial sector such as buying of aircraft, services, exports such as carpet, food, and trade in gold were targeted in the next phase its industries such as petrochemicals, oil, shipping and energy sectors were targeted. These sanctions would directly hit the already crippling economy of Iran. It will not only target the export of other goods to the international market but also oil which is the lifeline for the Iranian economy. And thus if the economic situation in the country deteriorated it may force Iran to get itself out from the nuclear deal and re-start its nuclear program again. This may result into confrontation between the US and Iran. The economic condition of Iran is aggravating day by day. In recent past massive levels of protests have also been witnessed against the regime and its policies because people are directly bearing the brunt of government confrontation with the US.(Vukovic, After the Iran Nuclear Deal: Europe Pain and Gain, 2015)A

region which is already facing multi prong challenges from civil wars to sectarian conflicts and ethnic tensions. The policies of the current regime of the US may further add to the problems of the region. Middle East is reeling from the episode of Arab spring which brought disastrous and horrific consequences in which around five lack people were only killed in Syria alone and more than a million have been affected in the region. Iran is a powerful country of the region it has stakes and influence in various states from Syria to Iraq and Lebanon. She is alleged of assisting all the Shiite militants operating in different countries in Persian Gulf such as Hezbollah and Hamas. Any direct military confrontation between the US and Iran will further complicate the regional security environment. This may lead to the disruption of oil supply to the international market from the region. As Iran has repeatedly warned that it would block the Strait of Hormuz from where world forty percent oil gets transported. Iran may activate its proxies in the region to harm the interests of US and its allies.

Moreover, it will engulf the volatile region into other crisis of big magnitude which can threaten the peace of the whole world. For the most policy makers and strategic thinkers is difficult to comprehend why president Trump would go for creating another nuclear proliferation crisis when stakes are high for high level talks with the North Korean regime on the same subject a state, which is believed to have produced Nuclear weapons.(Tarock, 2016) Indeed some have suggested that the Trump decision is going to put negative impacts on its diplomatic negotiations with the North Korea and few others have viewed them less harmful and through this he has sent a clear message to Trump that how tough could be on such talks. Iran which is already known for its Shiite proxies in the region may further destabilize the region if it is left with no deal and its relations with the US get deteriorated. The former has established strong links with the Hezbollah, based in Lebanon and its stand

and support to the Houthis rebels in Yemen has also been exposed. This may endanger the already volatile region with new patterns of terrorism and extremism. It would have more repercussions than proliferation. The regions of Middle East and South Asia have already been ripped with conflicts and crisis. Iran can also create problems for the US in Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan where it has established links with many factions operating there. (Slavin, 2017)

The success of Hassan Rouhani in 2013 elections was nevertheless a blessing for those countries of the world who wanted to see a moderate government in Tehran. This replaced the ultra-conservative and orthodox government of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad with whom the US had bitter relations during his entire period in office. With the nuclear agreement the Iranian economy had just witnessed some sort of opening and relief after a long period of severe sanctions which had almost crippled its economy leaving the country vulnerable economically and youth unemployed. (Sameen, 2020) Consequently, this also benefited the strong elite force of Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) which operates a huge network of businesses throughout the country and directly report and controlled by the Supreme leader.

Meanwhile, a large portion of the state funds were also diverted towards its proxies in the region such as in Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Jordan to increase its regional stature. One of the main arguments which president Trump has forwarded while taking his step of US withdrawal from the nuclear deal was the fear that Iran would use the waiving of the sanctions to increase its dominance and clout in the MENA region. (Khodadadi, 2018) Iran has a significant presence and influence in Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Jordan. Other than economic advantages the deal had put various checks and balances on the Iranian nuclear activities. But, the contentious point was how the West could through this accord put a check on the insurgents

and non-state actors Iran uses to bolster its regional clout and what is in it for the ballistic missile program of Iran which Israel perceives a direct threat for its security. Although the shocks of JCPOA being fallen apart would be felt across the globe but much of the repercussions would have to be faced by the President Rouhani and moderates of Iran being the most vocal voice for engaging the US through dialogue on the nuclear standoff. After passing of every few months the general masses in Iran take to the streets to protest for more jobs and economic opportunities despite the fact that it was open to global market from 2015 to 2018. So, with the re-imposition of crippling economic sanctions the more harsh times are awaited for the general public of Iran.(Cherkaoui, 2018)If the economic conditions get deteriorated with high inflation, price hike and devaluation of its currency, the chances for further mass protests and agitation remain high which may engulf the whole country. People have already shown their resentment and discomfort on the one going state of affairs especially on the economic front few months before. The president Rouhani in a statement in January 2018 had clearly concurred with the protesting people narrative by arguing that the masses are not worried about the economic conditions of the country but are also concerned about the societal and political direction of the country. (Harsh V. Pant, 2018)

Conclusion

The Iran-US nuclear deal to the much satisfaction of the international community was signed in July 2015 between the US and the P5 +1 state, officially called JCPOA. There was jubilation across the world that a deadly imminent war was avoided in the region, which if happened could have not only destabilized the whole region but also disrupt the crucial oil supply to the international market. It was nevertheless regarded a significant achievement of the Obama administration in

the foreign policy front. The American foreign policy experts and think tanks appreciated it a lot. The European major powers were part of the process throughout the negotiations. They became a signatory of the final deal. Moreover, the accord was endorsed by the United Nations Security Council. Iran gave guarantees to the international community that it would embrace on certain limits with respect to its Uranium enrichment and centrifuges. It promised to let the international atomic energy agency to regularly inspect its nuclear sites and issue annual reports on its nuclear program. So, Iran took practical steps and implemented the steps it had committed herself to the world. In return Iran was provided a much needed relief in the economic front. Its frozen accounts were reopened. The process for lifting the sanctions was started. It was decided to remove all the sanctions step by step in order to make sure that Iran is meeting its commitments made to the world. The cash inflows of around millions of dollars were transferred to Iran through banking channels as a sanction relief. But the president Trump had many objections over the deal. He called it the most horrible deal the US has ever made. He had strong reservations on the sunset clause of the deal. So, the sunset clause ensured that after the passing of ten years (2025) the restrictions on centrifuges would end automatically. And by 2030 the limitations on the Uranium enrichment would end. The US president was also irritated over the ballistic missiles test carried out by the Iranian regime after every few months when the accord was signed. The pact did not cover the ballistic missile program of Iran which further added to the Trump and Israeli lobby concerns. Finally, in May 2018 the president Trump unilaterally announced to withdraw the United States from the nuclear accord and re-imposed all the lifted sanctions on Iran. The fate of the deal remains uncertain now, although other European powers claim to be part of the accord bypassing the threatening tone of the US. Since the American withdrawal from the deal the

region has become more volatile. The US has stationed a warship in the Persian Gulf after increasing incidents of violence in the region, this sent alarm bells across region especially in Iran. More recently Iran destroyed an American surveillance drone which it claimed to be within its territory but the US rejected its claim and said it was in the international airspace. Therefore, the overall political and military temperature in the region is getting hotter day by day which may lead to another catastrophic conflict after the Iraq war if precautionary measures are not taken from both sides.

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Gwadar Port and CPEC: Connecting China with Middle East

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ABSTRACT

The dream of China is to become global leader and to gain prominent place in the economic and political affairs of the world. To achieve this goal China tries to export its human and financial resources in developing and least developing countries of the world. The Chinese demand for a harmonious world, desire for peace and acting in good faith with neighboring countries. The two initiatives under banner of One Belt One Road are the Maritime Silk Route Initiatives and the Silk Road Economic Belt. Firstly, Maritime Silk Route Initiatives is of same nature of Eurasian “Silk Route” to connect the ports and coastal regions of the Mediterranean Sea, East, and East West Asia to East Africa. Secondly, the construction of Silk Economic Belt starting from inside China via Central Asia towards Europe. The CPEC is best understood within the greater vision of China’s Belt and Road Initiative. CPEC will fit into master plan of the Belt and Road Initiative through development of Gwadar Port in the South of Pakistan. Thus, allowing China access to Arabian Sea. Gwadar port is gaining importance on basis of its strategic location and deep warm waters sea from east to west. The success of the Gwadar port is its location at bottle neck of strait of Hormuz and origination from Persian Gulf. It will be used for monitoring of Sea Line of Communication by Pakistan. This research paper focuses on CPEC and Gwadar port which connect China with the Middle East.

Key Words: China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, Gwadar Port, Belt and Road Initiative, Middle East, and Regional Connectivity.

Introduction

Gwadar port is gaining importance on basis of its strategic location and depth, warm water sea from east to west and far away from India and having distance from India of 460 Km. The success of the Gwadar port is its location at bottle neck of strait Hormuz and origination from Persian Gulf. It will be used for monitoring of Sea Line of Communication by Pakistan and under consideration to construct Naval Base at Gwadar or Ormara with joint cooperation of Pakistan and China in-order to counter the Indian Navy and USA navy presence in Arabian Sea at Persian Gulf. Moreover, the inspiration of India to become Blue Water Naval. In-order to monitor the activities of both allay in Arabian Sea (Malik, 2012).

The CPEC provides access to China to Middle East via Gwadar Port proximity to Arabian Sea. The interests of global players on Gwadar port are focused on its close proximity to the strategic Hurmuz Strait. The key global players are as Middle East, China and many other countries. One Belt One Road initiatives was first time revealed by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013 on his visit in Indonesia and Kazakhstan. It is actually vision of Chinese President Xi Jinping and spirit to better plan of revival of the old silk route. The key motivation behind this plan is free trade via Sea lanes, railways and roads. It consists of the various mega projects particularly including Silk Road Economic Belt and Maritime Silk Route (Jianmin). Gwadar is situated at Oman Sea and called as Golden Bird. It is Gwadar that share sea boundary with Middle East countries particular Oman. The transit route of the Gwadar route is shortest, affordable and accessible to all world economy. China is second largest importer of oil from KSA. It is golden

opportunity for KSA and Middle East to expand their economies.

China has limited its role in the export of the weapons to Middle East particularly Saudi Arabia or Iran due to non-intervening policy or neutrality in the Middle East Crisis. Neither, China export arms to any Middle East countries. The reason behind this strategy is the economic power; heavily reliance on Middle East for fulfillment of energy instead of military presence or military power in the Middle East. CPEC network or using of Gwadar port for military purposes if needed. China can project its military power in the Arabian Sea, Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. Whereas, the security to Persian Gulf is being provided by US Maritime Security and its stability. Russia, United States of America and other countries keep in mind the presence of China for formulating policies for Middle East.

Gwadar Port

Gwadar is becoming center of attraction from all over global? Gwadar port is key reason of its attention. It is major agent of change in region and regional players because Gwadar has potential to be full-fledged regional hub for transit trade in future and acquire the center position of the gate way to strait of Hormuz. It has capacity to compete with UAE seaport providing improvement of exiting links to Caspian region, provision of better trade routes to Caspian region. However, UAE and Iran have conflict of interest with Gwadar Port due to global dynamics on conflict of junctions. Contrary, China has economic interests in development of Gwadar Port whereas USA is against Chinese interests and diverging nature in this regard. Gwadar will be subject of discussion among regional and international powers on various prospects. It will be helpful in monitoring of Sea Line of Communication by Pakistan. It is under consideration to construct Naval Base at Gwadar or Ormara with joint cooperation of

Pakistan and China in-order to counter the Indian Navy. Whereas, USA navy presence in Arabian Sea at Persian Gulf. Moreover, the inspiration of India to become attain blue water naval power in order to control and influence the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea region. (Chaliand, 1995).

The Malacca Strait is under control of USA. Therefore, Gwadar is strategically important for china because it may provide the alternative route instead of Indian Ocean. It lies on the lanes of the communication and can be used for monitoring of lanes of the communication. The 60% of energy requirements of China is being attained from Persian Gulf. The shortest route for transit route of trade goods and energy transmission is Gwadar Port. The Gwadar Seaport is considered as rival of Iran and UAE. The Chabahar Port is nearer port and lies on same locality of Oman Sea. Whereas, Gwadar can serve as alternative route to Dubai Port of UAE. The reason behind the objection over development of Gwadar port is that it cut the economic and trade share of the countries. Therefore, Indian, USA and UAE have grave concerns on the development of the Gwadar port. These are factors which lead to the importance of the Gwadar port. China wants its dominance in the Persian Gulf whereas, USA and Indian dominance on the Indian Ocean (Nixon, 1999). The aim of China is to achieve its dominance through naval power (Yeuh, 1972). China has aim to expand its economy from trade with Middle East, Africa, Far East and Central Asian countries and reducing distance from 2500 Km to 1000 Km which can be provided through Gwadar Port (Khalid, 1974).

China has keen interest in the development of the Gwadar particularly Gwadar port, Gwadar Airport and its infrastructure. China is providing full assistance for development of the Gwadar; the project is known as name of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). The loan of \$230 million for development of Gwadar Airport has been converted into grant. Moreover, \$ 140 Million loan for connectivity of Express Way to coastal

Highway of Gwadar, distance of 19Km; this loan was later declared as interest free loan. This type of commitment is only development of Gwadar but this generosity is never shown by China in other countries and projects.

CPEC: Critical Component of Belt and Road Initiative

One Belt One Road initiatives was first time revealed by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013 on his visit in Indonesia and Kazakhstan. It is actually vision of Chinese President Xi Jinping and spirit for of revival of the old silk route. The key motivation behind this plan is free trade via Sea lanes, railways and roads. It consists of the various mega projects particularly including Silk Road Economic Belt and Maritime Silk route (Jianmin). It is project that used for connecting of Baltic Sea with Pacific Ocean via Sea lanes, railways and roads with motivation of free trade. It is not game changer only for China but also for participating countries. Almost, the participating countries are 65 countries and comprised of 80% of the world population. The estimated cost of the project is \$26 Trillion. This is forecasted that this project is going to be wind of change towards prosperity and economic expansion for these 65 participating countries and going to their zenith.

The second part of the OBOR initiatives is Silk Road Economic Belt. The key motivation of this project is to build road infrastructure over land communication in regard of connecting of china with other countries. It paves for construction of high ways, motor ways and super ways and railways. The mega initiative includes construction of overland road infrastructure from China, Bangladesh, India and Myanmar corridor, China Central Asia and West Asia corridor and China, Mongolia and Russia via land corridor. The Chinese President Xi Jinping has chalked out a plan for special economic corridor for its partner country “Pakistan”. The project is

known as name of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and shown in red line in the map. There is a famous Chinese proverb is to “if you want to be rich so, build first the roads”. The entire scheme is based on this proverb is to build road infrastructure over land communication via motor ways and railways. On the other, it is call up for regional integration and regional economic development as well. The corridor under the umbrella of One Belt and One Road is important either is land corridor or Sea route corridor. CPEC is most important corridor among these project due to its strategic location with respect to militarily and economic aspect. It is only the corridor which helps in connecting with other corridors and provides access of sea to land lock countries. It provides access to deep sea water port to China. Therefore, China so much interest in developing of CPEC.

Primarily, Shah (2015) defined the concept of CPEC as a well-planned economic corridor comprising of various projects sectors including energy projects, infrastructure and transportation network and free economic zones in Pakistan. This investment comes under umbrella of OBOR initiatives including 21st century Maritime Silk Road and Silk Road Economic Belt (Caixin, 2014). The investment worth of CPEC is USD60 billion to uplift the existing infrastructure and transportation network and enhancing the energy capacities of Pakistan. More specifically to Special Economic Zones (SEZ's), Small (2016) stated that SEZ's will be established providing the success of energy projects, infrastructure and transportation network. The key element is to join the Kashgar (Xinjiang Province of China) to Gwadar Port (Balochistan, Province of Pakistan) to passages of the goods and service between both countries on proposed route. It provides access to China to Middle East via Gwadar Port proximity to Arabian Sea.

According to Walsh (2013), this segment is very important to Pakistan economy as it was in a state of war; causes energy deficiencies in power generation sector.

Ultimately, these trends of energy shortage led to reduction of 2 to 2.5 percentage in GDP Growth. Furthermore, Malik (2015), the major component of the CPEC is energy sector. It contributes 72% of overall investment and an amount of \$33 Billion out of \$46 Billion investment. It is used energy resources development like generation of electricity through Coal and Natural Gas. In addition, Shah (2015) stated that \$2.5 Billion added in construction of LNG (Liquefied Natural Gas) pipelines from Iran in-order to supply further to Nawab Shah and Gwadar.

The second largest component of the CPEC is to invest in Infrastructure and Transportation Network including Railways and highways network. The worth of investment in this sector is \$11 Billion out of \$46 Billion; which is 24% of total investment of CPEC. It comprised of 1100 km construction of motor way for connecting Karachi and Lahore. It would be beneficial in provision of economic growth and interconnectivity. In addition, Aslam (2015) stated that it embedded with new plans of network or revamping of existing one including railway line of Karachi and Peshawar and Karakorum high from Rawalpindi to Kashgar. The sources of fund for these projects are the China Development Bank, EXIM Bank, Industrial and Commercial Bank of China. These financial institutions provide concessionary loans for infrastructure project financing (Butt 2015).

As CPEC comes under subordination of OBOR, the salient feature is to interconnect regions in Eurasia continent. The Special Economic Zones are formulated to promote regional growth. These Special Economic Zones facilitates the growth of industries in the strategically located areas and key financial centers in Pakistan. The key examples of this type of facilitations are investment in Gwadar Port of Balochistan. Gwadar is approximately 300 km from Sultana Oman. According to Gwadar Port Authority, the Gwadar geographical proximity to Arabian Sea is conducive to China in order to access to Middle East. Furthermore, Yousafzai

(2016), stated that LNG facility from Pakistan Iran pipeline planned under this corridor. It helps to transport 500 Million Cubic Feet LNG from Gwadar to Nawab Shah Portion. According to Yan (2015), Chinese Government established the Special Economic Zones in Hong Kong and Shanghai confirming these market orientation and facilities implementation in the Gwadar. The National Development and reforms Commission and top Chinese economic planner come to discuss about conversion of Gwadar into market orientation and economic aspect of CPEC.

Connecting China with Middle East

On basis of religious and cultural bonds, Pakistan and Middle East are enjoying friendly and brotherly relationship. Moreover, China is 2nd largest importer of petroleum products from Middle East. China has non intervening policy or neutrality in the Middle East Crisis being a trade partner. For-example, Saudi Arabia and Iran are engaging in proxy wars and intense relationship of Saudi Arabia with Qatar in 2017. Therefore, China and Middle East are also enjoying friendly relationships. In the current scenario, Prime Minister Imran Khan wants to strengthen the relationships with Middle East. Therefore, he has visited Saudi Arabia, UAE and Qatar. Moreover, the official visits of Crown Prince Muhammad Bin Salman to Pakistan herald new avenues of cooperation between the two strategic allies. The role of neutrality of Pakistan during the Gulf crisis has been imperative. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and Pakistan has a peculiar relation when it comes with Pakistan relationship to Iran. Pakistan has deep rooted military relation with Saudi Arabia and currently ex-Army Chief of staff of Pakistan is head of Islamic troop headed by Saudi Arabia. The dark shadow on the relationship of Pakistan with GCC is relationship with Iran as neighbor country. In addition, current Army Chief General Bawaja had visited Saudi Arabia in 2017 and similar visit had been paid to Tehran. Pakistan shows

its neutrality and positive role in building relation in-order to avoid from sectarian violations in its country. Secondly, GCC plays prominent role in financial assistance and worker remittance from GCC to Pakistan (Siddiqa, 2019).

It will be helpful in monitoring of Sea Line of Communication by Pakistan. It is under consideration to construct Naval Base at Gwadar or Ormara with joint cooperation of Pakistan and China in-order to counter the Indian Navy. Whereas, USA navy presence in Arabian Sea at Persian Gulf. In addition, China uses Gwadar port to establish its Naval Base there under CPEC. It will boost its capacity to transport its military equipment and personnel. If Pakistan permitted China to do so. Resultantly, the Chinese influence can enhance on Indian Ocean, Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf providing transportation military equipment and personnel under CPEC (Hababi and Zhu, 2020).

The diplomatic relation between Middle East and China began from 1992. The Arab Israel war deepen the economic relation and cooperation of both regions. The import of oil started from 1993 from Middle East to China. The causes of the growth in relation of Middle East and China are only energy security and petrochemical importer. Moreover, China deployed 12000 troops in UN peace keeping in Sudan in 2012. According to Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi in 2014 stated that the political role in Middle East will grow but no way to back out from it. Therefore, Beijing is focused only on its energy security centered region. It is enhancing its power through economic power to counter other powers and having a neutral role in the Middle East.

Gwadar is situated at Oman Sea and called as Golden Bird. It is Gwadar that share sea boundary with Middle East countries particular Oman. The transit route of the Gwadar route is shortest, affordable and accessible to all regional economies. China is second largest importer of

oil from KSA. It is golden opportunity for KSA and Middle East to expand their economy. As Figure 5 shows distance between both ends. The distance between China to Middle East via Gwadar port is 10000 km. whereas, the distance via Strait of Malacca is 25000 km. Gwadar provides short accesses proximity through Arabian Sea. It saves the fuel cost and time in-order the goods are delivered on its due time.

Middle East is highly energy rich region of the world. Therefore, every country has interest to have friendly relationship with them. China is one of largest oil and gas importer of Gulf Cooperation countries. China becomes important partner being oil and gas buyer. The revenue and financial capital of the Gulf Cooperation countries comes from oil and gas. Therefore, it is need of hour to evaluate impact of CPEC on this aspect. Perhaps, CPEC has significant impact on the economic expansion of the China and strategic relation with Middle East. It boosts the Chinese economy and helps in its expansion strategy with effective and short trade transit in route via CPEC.

The largest supplier of crude oil and gas is Middle East to China. Currently, these energy resources are being transit through sea routes to Eastern China. Its industrial hub of the China and mostly industries are located there. It will be economical for China for passage of these energy resources from Gwadar Port to western China under CPEC providing the development of the infrastructure includes roads, railways and pipelines for gas. This project is initiated under the “Western China Development strategy” and core motivation of this strategy is to relocate some of its energy intensive industries to Western China. CPEC route is less costly as compare to Indian Ocean route for passage of energy resources. The second stage of CPEC includes the development of CPEC railways and pipelines. It is expected that it will play prominent role in the energy products trade between China and Middle East. Near future, the CPEC provides a new route for trade transit

for flow of goods and services in both wards from China to Middle East and from Middle East to China. It provides accessible connectivity between China and Middle East and increases the interdependency on each other. It strengthens the China position relatively to industrialized nation in the Middle East.

China has interests in development of Gwadar Port and various projects under CPE particularly deep sea port and signed a long run lease agreement for the Gwadar port. Whereas USA is against Chinese's interests and has a diverging nature in this regard. Gwadar will be subject of discussion among regional and international powers on various prospects. In addition, China uses Gwadar port to establish its Naval Base there under CPEC.

If china seeks its naval presence in the Gwadar and Arabian Sea providing grant of permission from Pakistan. Pakistan may not reject the Chinese request to use Gwadar port and Arabian Sea and may grant permission to China because Chinese military and Pakistan military have strong ties since 1960. Both countries are neighbors and enjoying friendly relationship but having a mutual rivalry with India. Currently, China is largest arm supplier to Pakistan and many weapons are manufactured by mutual cooperation of China and Pakistan including JF-17 thunder. But there is no formal announcement from both countries Pakistan and Chinese government for establishment of Naval Base in Gwadar.

According to Herald (2018), Pakistan Navy has lesser branch than other arm forces. It is supposed to claim that Pakistan and China are partners in building naval base in Gwadar because the current presence and growing numbers of the armed forces in the Gwadar and its surrounding and massive acquisition of land of Gwadar. China is interested in fully development of Gwadar. But naval base will be available for Chinese use either formally or informally. Resultantly, CPEC network will

be used by Chinese and Gwadar military base will also be used. It provides the strength and enhancement of capabilities to Chinese government in respect to trade and military presence in Indian Ocean, Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf. It helps to improve the capability and strengthen its power in term of having strategic location and geo political relations with Middle East. Whereas, China has non intervening policy or neutrality in the Middle East Crisis being trade partner. For-example, Saudi and Iran proxy wars and tense relationship of Saudi Arabia with Qatar in 2017. China never challenged the US dominance. The security to Persian Gulf is being provided by US Maritime Security and its stability. China never object over it being heavily rely on the Middle East for energy.

China has limited its role in the export of the weapons to Middle East particularly Saudi Arabia or Iran due to non-intervening policy or neutrality in the Middle East Crisis. Neither, China export arms to any Middle East countries. The reason behind this strategy is the economic power, heavily rely on Middle East for fulfillment of energy instead of military presence or military power in the Middle East. CPEC network or using of Gwadar port for military purposes if needed. China can project its military power in the Arabian Sea, Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. Whereas, the security to Persian Gulf is being provided by US Maritime Security and its stability. Russia, United States of America and other countries keep in mind the presence of China for formulating policies for Middle East.

China has keen interest in the development of the Gwadar particularly Gwadar port, Gwadar Airport and its infrastructure. The loan of \$230 million for development of Gwadar Airport has been converted into grant. Moreover, \$ 140 Million loan for connectivity of Express Way to coastal Highway of Gwadar, distance of 19Km; this loan was later declared as interest free loan. This type of committed is only development of Gwadar but this generosity never shown by China in other

countries and projects. CPEC is long term plan providing the completion of its project. Gwadar will be major player in the trade hub for strengthen the Chinese economic relation with North Africa and Middle East.

China has lease agreement for Gwadar for 20 years. Therefore, it is keen interest of China to develop Gwadar and be involved in development of the various projects. The project includes establishment of Gwadar port, Gwadar Airport, oil terminal and petroleum complex, water desalination plant, coal generation plant and infrastructure. Moreover, it includes the Special Economic Zones and commercial ports. Gwadar is depending on Public Private Partnership to allure international investment in various sectors particularly commercial and industrial segments. Pakistan government has announced various tax free zone and investment incentives for Gwadar. It can contribute in better Chinese and Middle East economic relation.

First one is related to cost effective route in transportation and shipment and passage of goods and services. Upon the completion of the Gwadar Port and CPEC, it will be cheaper route for transportation and shipment of goods as compare to Indian Ocean. Gwadar will be major player in the trade hub for transportation and shipment of the goods. It will capture the share of Dubai Seaport services as it is used for transport of goods in Middle East. The Chinese products are re-export through Gwadar to other countries and minimize the usage of Dubai Seaport services. Therefore, it is source of strengthening the Chinese economic relation with North Africa and Middle East. Secondly, Special Economic Zones and re-export Zone are under construction currently; it will allure foreign direct investment of many countries particularly Middle East countries. Recently, Qatar has lost the access for use of Dubai Seaport Services but it remained participant of the UAE economic blockade. Therefore, it has shown interests in development of food storage facility in Gwadar. Thirdly, Pakistan and China are establishing

special zone investment for petroleum and petro chemical to attract the petroleum exporting countries of Middle East. Gwadar Oil Terminal City is under consideration in this scheme to have storage facility of crude oil, petroleum and petro chemical for industries and factories. The crude oil will be refined here to further distribute it to Pakistan and Chinese market. Already, many Arab oil exporting countries have announced to invest in the petroleum in Gwadar and taking initiatives for investments. Example, during official visit of Crown Prince Muhammad Bin Salman to Pakistan in February 2019 that Saudi Arabia will invest amount of \$10 Billion in petrochemical. In addition, United Arab Emirates and Pakistan are close to deal of Joint Venture of \$5billion for development of oil refinery in Gwadar in February 2019. The intentions of both petroleum exporting countries for petro chemical investment in Gwadar are market leaders. Whereas, remaining petroleum exporting countries are market followers and follow market leaders to invest in Gwadar. Fourth in context of the international relations, the Iranian relationship with China and India will be significantly affected on development of Gwadar port. Pakistan and China announced CPEC and Gwadar as center point of it. India has approached to Iran for Chabahar port (lying in Oman Sea) for alternative route of CPEC for transit route of trade for Afghanistan and Central Asian Countries. USA has placed sanctions on Iran and more growing strategic economic relationship of USA. Resultantly, India is withdrawing its economic relationship from Iran like purchasing of oil from Iran and halts the working of Chabahar port.

Conclusion

It is concluded on based upon analysis of the studying CPEC that CPEC will be helpful for stability of the Pakistan and boost up Chinese economic expansion. Currently, the CPEC projects are at nascent stage and too many factors are still under consideration as holistic

approach in the evaluation of the CPEC and its deliverables. The biggest threat to CPEC is the internal security conditions of Pakistan while it is source of improvement of the internal security of Pakistan. Chinese support helps Pakistan to become a stable country in the region while materializing the deliverables of CPEC. In addition, the security of the provinces gets better upon investment through CPEC. It helps in uplifting the infrastructure of the Pakistan, countering of the energy crisis; inter regional connectivity and transportation of NLG. The Chinese motivation for CPEC is explained in light of the international relation theories. First, Liberal views CPEC is long standing friendship of China with Pakistan where the key elements are trade and economic cooperation. It is prominent for both of neighboring countries. Second, Realistic views CPEC motives for three main agenda; first one is expansion of Chinese goods and services market to Middle East, second to export its industrial capabilities and third one to fill the vacuum of US and Pakistan relationship. Pakistan considers the CPEC as symbolism of the Sino-Pakistan friendship and it is priority of Pakistan to accomplish this project. Pakistan has deployed troops of 15000 in its security. The outcome of the investment is to connect the regions and bring the fruitful economic outcomes for Pakistan. It extends help in bring up the economic growth of Pakistan through improvement of infrastructure, countering of the energy crisis; inter regional connectivity and transportation of NLG. It is key source of crowding in for government by bringing private and foreign investment in the country. India and USA are allies and their views are not in favor of CPEC. India has objection passing of CPEC from Gilgit Baltistan. It has not friendly relationship with both CPEC partner countries. The triangular relationship is peculiar for all of these three neighboring countries. USA wants Pakistan to curb the extremism and fight against the militant group. It has more interests in Afghanistan and South Asia stability. It does not want expansion of China

and growth in the South Asia particularly Debt Trap Diplomacy. The key motive for One Belt One Road is inter regional connectivity. CPEC comes under umbrella of it and having similar initiatives. Similarly, it has similar goals as of OBOR. Gwadar port has become operational in 2016 and helps in movement of trade, population and ideas to East Asia and West Asia. Therefore, it would be transit route and leads to inter regional connectivity.

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Kurdish Struggle in Iraq and Turkey: A Comparative Analysis

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ABSTRACT

Kurdish struggle in Iraq and Turkey dates back to the aftermath of World War 1. This research deals with struggle of Kurds in Iraq and Turkey which looks for the factors of Kurdish successes and failures in these two countries. For this purpose, a comparative analysis is done to look for prime reasons. In both countries, their political and armed struggle is analyzed and then points are made to explain the factors. This is a qualitative research in which historical comparative analysis is done on the basis of some facts that were collected from secondary data available. The major findings of this research that are compared are leadership, organized political struggle, strength and weaknesses of states and internal divisions in Kurdish community across the borders.

Key Words: Iraq, Turkey, successes, failures, leadership, organized political struggle, strength, weaknesses, internal divisions.

Introduction

Kurds are the largest ethnic group in the world who are stateless. Their movement of independent Kurdistan emerged after World War 1. After the end of that War, Kurds were promised for an independent country according to the treaty of Sevres but situation changed

after treaty of Lausanne. In 1923, according to the treaty of Lausanne; Kurds were divided by the borders of Iraq, Syria and Turkey. Since that time, Kurds in Middle East are struggling for an independent State of Kurdistan in Iraq, Turkey, Syria and Iran. Presently, their situation is different across the borders. According to report of Fondation Kurde Institute De Paris, Kurds are 35-45 million in population in the world (Fondation-Institut kurde de Paris, 2017). Majority of them are living in Turkey. As about 20% of the total population of Turkey is ethnically Kurds. (Gunter, 2000) In Iraq, about 8.4 million Kurds are residing (Fondation-Institut kurde de Paris, 2017). Iraqi Kurdistan has its own parliament and forces and is stable as compared to the rest of Iraq. Whereas in other States, they struggling politically and militarily for their rights.

In the cases of Iraq and Turkey, they have faced a lot of obstacles and restrictions by governments. The decade of 1990s brought a significant change in Kurdish struggle in both countries. As KRG was formed in Iraq and political parties started emerging in Turkey. Before 1990s, Kurdistan region of Iraq was under-develop and in a very bad condition (ROMANO, 2010, p. 1346). They have a long history of struggle that dates back to the times of Ottoman and Persian Empire. Micheal Gunter believes that the birth of modern Kurdish Nationalism took place by the revolts of Shiekh Ubedullah against Ottoman Empire (Abbas, 2019, p. 62). After the formation borders of Iraq, Syria and Turkey, their struggle have continuously been suppressed by the respective government. The ‘Anfal Campaign’ of Saddam’s regime in late 1980s left a lot of Kurds dead and missing. According to many Kurdish writers estimate the casualties done by chemical weapons can be counted to 200,000 (Voller, 2014, pp. 60). Moreover, 45,000 villages were razed (Murdock, 2019). Moving on, situation changed after Iraq invasion of Kuwait in 1990. It created a room for Kurdish independence movement in Iraq. It was also a period when democratization of Iraqi

Kurdistan began. For the first time, UNSC clearly used term ‘Kurds’ in its official document i-e resolution 688 that condemned Iraq for its atrocities against Kurdish people (Voller, 2014, pp. 69).

As far as political movement is concern, it should be noted here that Iraqi Kurds began their political activities before than those of Kurds in Turkey. In 1946, Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) was formed in Baghdad (Hevian, 2013, 97). This shows that long age of political struggle of Kurds in Iraq. Later on, Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) was created by Jalal Talabani in 1975 (Hevian, 2013, 98). These two parties shared a long rivalry in their ways of political movement in the region. Additionally, other movements and parties also emerged after general elections of 2009 especially Gorran: The Change Movement (Abdullah, 2018, p. 606). Others were Democratic Solution Party and Islamic parties that came on screen (Abdullah, 2018, p. 608). Among all these, KDP and PUK remain dominant in Iraqi Kurdistan. It was their immense struggle due to which they achieved autonomous region in the Iraqi constitution of 2005. Continued struggle in Northern Iraq made it possible for government in Erbil to arrange referendum in 2017 in which a clear option of separation from Iraqi administration was put forward. From this, one can assume the level of stability of regional government of Kurdistan. Presently, this region of Kurds is most autonomous than Kurds living in other part of Middle East.

On the other hand, Kurds in Turkey have faced continuous suppression by the State. They have not been able to achieve any remarkable victory in their region like Iraq. Their struggle dates back to the time when Treaty of Sevres divided them in Middle East. They structured themselves in different organizations such as ‘Khoybun’ and revolted against Turkish government (O’Ballance, 1973, pp. 139). Moving on, 1930s was the decade of their guerilla struggle (O’Ballance, 1973, pp. 141). As mentioned earlier, Kurdish struggle has seen

ups and downs in different time periods. This struggle entered in a proper confrontation phase after the military coup of 1980. Two years before, Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) was formed and began its uprisings in the form of armed struggle in 1984 (Gunter, 2000, p. 861). Its Charismatic leader Abdullah Ocalan was captured in 1999 (Zaman, 1999).

Furthermore, after 1990, Kurds of Turkey started forming their political parties. Number of Kurdish political parties have been formed and dismantled in Turkey since 1990. People's Labor Party (HEP) was formed in 1990 and had won 22 seats in grand assembly of Turkey in general elections of 1991 (*History of Kurdish Political Parties in Turkey*, 2019). In 1993, Freedom and Democratic Party was established but was succeeded by Democratic Party which was too banned by Turkey's constitutional court (Hevian, 2013, 2). After that, there were also other political parties that came on the screen such as Rights and Freedom Party and People Democratic Party but fate of these parties was the same as its predecessors and were outlawed by the Turkish Constitutional Court. (Hevian, 2013, 7). Government of Turkey was busy in oppressing Kurds while the later were striving in organizing themselves. Presently, the largest Kurdish party in Turkey is HDP which was established in 2013 (Gürbüz, 2016. pp. 46). It is the only party that deters the AK-Party in Diyarbakir and government also consider it a threat as it has the capability to unite Kurds on one page. Confrontation started again in 2015 of the end of truce in 2015. "The fighting since 2015 has taken a tremendous toll, killing at least 4,397 people, leveling large parts of majority Kurdish cities, and displacing some 350,000 civilians" (Hoffman, 2019). Along with this, political suppression has also taken place. The ruling Justice and Development Party feared the development of political awareness among Kurds of Turkey and had removed about one hundred mayors of HDP from their offices in recent years (Wilks, 2019). In a nutshell, Kurds in Turkey have not

achieved any remarkable success. They are still fighting for their rights and facing oppression from the government side.

By going through available literature, this paper tends to do the comparison between the Kurds of Iraq and Turkey that paints a strange picture. On one side, Kurdish autonomy in Iraq speaks the success of their political struggle while on other side; a long history of efforts is still not enough to get them a well-known status in that specific region. There are various factors that can be analyzed to explain the difference between the mentioned two case studies. Role of leadership is an important factor which poses a problem to the movement objectives and means to achieve these objectives if lacks somewhere. Additionally, the strong political attachment to common cause is very necessary in modern time. Also, strong and weak confederation on both sides is an important cause. Moreover, mere formation of political parties is proved of no use in case of Turkey as they are still far from achieving any proper status.

Theoretical Framework

The theories of *ethno-nationalism* explain the ethnic movements in past and modern time. The main theories of *ethno-nationalism* are; primordialism, modernism and ethno-symbolism. Primordialism simply tries to answer the question; where, when and how did the nation come into emergence. According to them, the answer is, “from antiquity” or nations are the natural entities that steeped in ancient times. It is the work of two famous anthropologists; Clifford Geertz and Edwards Shills however different authors have contributed to explain this theory. Clifford Geertz gives the concept of Primordialism in his book, “The Interpretation of Cultures” and applies it to nationalism. Whereas, Edward Shills is considered to be the first author to use the term “Primordialism” in order to describe ‘family relationships’ in his article in 1957 (Ozkirimli, 2017). Any sort of attachment towards family members is not

because of any interaction but due to strong blood ties. According to Clifford Geertz, there are certain given things that are very much associated with man. Geertz pointed out the sacredness of given: “contiguity and kin connection, religion, language, social practice, blood, customs, speech and so on.” Primordialists believe that nations are the product of “primordial ties of race, ancestry, religion, language and territory” (Mahmudlu, 2017, p. 121). These all are given and natural founding entities. Clifford Geertz also argues that primordialist identities cannot be uttered. There are some attachments that naturally link us to the people that have same culture, language, religion, race and area of belonging. Identities are given, firmly associated with the historical experiences one had with his/her family and other particular group. These are inexpressible and strong ties that are formed after a long process of crystallization (R. Llobera, 1999, 03).

According to some historians like Frantisek Palacky, Nicolae Lorga and Eoin MacNeill; nations are primordial entities and have their separate way of living and struggle for political autonomy (Özkırmılı, 2000). Moving on, Umut Özkırmılı in his book, “Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction” describes three versions of primordialism. He mentions these versions as naturalist, cultural and sociobiological approaches. According to the naturalist approach, national identity is as natural as body parts of human being. It is really ordinary to have a national identity. Whereas, sociobiological approach tends to answer the question, ‘why animals are social and cooperative?’ Pierre van den Berghe; who is the main proponent of this approach answer it as, “animals are social to the extent that cooperation is mutually beneficial” (Özkırmılı, 2000, p. 70). Family ties and kin attachments are the attributes that humans cannot ignore. Berghe argues that in order to understand race and ethnic emotions, one need to know about its kin selection. In fact, it is sometimes basis of nationalism. Furthermore, Clifford Geertz and Edwards Shills’ work lie in the

cultural approach that has been already discussed above. In addition to the above, Naomi Weir also focuses Primordialism in her study. According to her, ethnic ties are naturally inherent in us and we have deep natural connections with each other. These kin connections have led to the divisions based on language, race, religion and area (Weir 2012, p. 02). People are naturally bound to these attachments and cannot run away from them. Preferences are always given to relatives and close people.

Three main ideas in the work of mentioned primordialists are:

- Primordial attachments are natural, more spiritual rather than sociological.
- Primordial sentiments are indescribable, overpowering and coercive. We do certain things under its restrictions. E.g. an individual is bound to religion, culture and language and cannot escape it. Whenever we try to move out, we are attracted back because of the specific bond we have.
- Primordialism is about emotions and affection. (We are hurt when our language or religion is insulted by others)

Kurds are ancient people on the land of Middle East. Despite the fact that they are divided by international boundaries, they share common ancestry, religion affiliations, territorial belonging, cultural practices and many other similar characteristics. They want to preserve their identity, language, culture and want autonomous rule in areas in which they are living.

Kurds in Turkey

Majority of Kurds in Middle East are settled in Turkey. About 20-25% population of Turkey is ethnically Kurds (Skutnabb-Kangas & Fernandes, 2008, p. 44). They have their own political representation but not an autonomous land inside the Turkish borders. After the end of First

World War, Kurds were denied of their independent land in the treaty of Lausanne. They were divided by demarcating international boundaries of Iraq, Syria and Turkey. Since that time, no Turkish government had ever recognized Kurdish identity inside Turkey (Ozkahraman, 2017). Various movements emerged that have seen different reactions. In Turkey, they have faced continuous suppression under different regimes. Their wish of autonomy was clearly rejected by Turkish leaders in 1974 and those who demonstrated were arrested later. In response, Kurds have endlessly strived to achieve an independent land where they can exercise their religious, social and political rights by their own choices. Organized armed revolt started after the formation of Kurdistan Workers Party under the leadership of Abdullah Ocalan in 1978 with a motive of independent socialist Kurdistan. PKK lead its armed revolt against Turkish government in 1980s. In 1999, Ocalan was captured in Kenya and is facing life time imprisonment (Gunter, 2000, 849). Moving on, 1990s was the political decade for Kurds in Turkey as their own political representation came on screen. Meanwhile, continuous actions against Kurdish political leaders and workers were taken by Turkish State. Interesting thing to be noted here is that, Turkish constitutional court was outlawing political parties of Kurds but the later always emerged by making new parties. Despite the formation of number of political parties, Kurds in Turkey have not achieved any remarkable status. In addition to above, Kurds in Turkey have always been suppressed by various means and have never enjoyed access to their language, literature, culture and books etc.

Kurds in Turkey have been indulged in both political and armed struggle. Since 1978, PKK and Turkish security forces have fought each in various confrontations. Initially, the sole demand of PKK was the establishment of independent socialist state but Abdullah Ocalan had renounced armed struggle after his arrest. As the Turkey's concern for European Union membership gone

serious, its policies towards Kurdish language, culture, music etc. also became soften (Ozkahraman, 2000). Series of peace talks took place. Especially, Prime Minister Recep Tayyep Erdogan announced to solve the 'Kurdish question' by democratic means and started Oslo negotiations in 2009 that continued till 2011 (Ozkahraman, 2000). However, these talks were not successful and Kurdish regions turned into war zones that took place between PKK and Turkish forces. Moving on, positive gestures of peace talks came from Erdogan and Ocalan in December, 2012 (Ozkahraman, 2000). This peace process was hampered due to various national security concerns after the emergence of Syrian Kurds as sole opposition to ISIS in Syria. After that, peace policy of Turkey to handle Kurds has gone blurred and it had decided to marginalize them at whole. About now, PKK is more interested in gaining power by strengthening local governments and create the true model of 'democratic confederalism' (Alaranta, 2018, p. 04).

Now, Kurdish politics in Turkey has seen a lot of ups and downs. Since 1990, there have been number of political parties that struggled for the Kurdish rights. They have been banned by constitutional court due to various allegations. Majority of their party's leaders and workers were accused of their connections with PKK. PKK is a declared terrorist organization by US, EU and Turkey (Roth & Sever, 2007, p. 902). Presently, People's Democratic Party or HDP is the main Kurdish representative political party in Grand National Assembly of Turkey which won 67 seats in June, 2018 elections (*ELECTION FOR TÜRKIYE BÜYÜK MİLLET MECLİSİ (GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF TURKEY)*, 2018). It is the third largest political party in Turkey that gained popularity by acting as mediator in PKK-AKP talks. In addition, Turkish state has always proven to be dominant by suppressing Kurds militarily and politically. More recently, elected Kurdish mayors

were replaced by selected mayors of the government. As far as demands are concern, it includes release of Abdullah Ocalan or turning his punishment to house arrest, obliteration of village guard system, allowance of education in Kurdish language, giving Kurdish language official status and others as well. In present situation, these demands seem far from acceptance. The state of addressing Kurdish question in Turkey will decide the fate of former in one of well-established State in the Muslim world.

Kurds in Iraq

Among all those states where Kurds are living, Iraq is the only country where Kurds have their self-government. Kurdistan Regional Government was formed in 1992 after gulf war of 1990. This took a lot of struggle and sacrifices to make autonomy in the region. Prior to that, Kurds in Iraq have faced massive casualties by the hand of Saddam's regime. About 182000 people were killed in Al-Anfal campaign (Bali, 2016, p. 213). After the formation of their own national assembly and government in 1992; initially, it was thought very difficult for KRG to survive under different sanctions by Iraqi government. After the fall of Saddam's regime, new elections were set in Iraqi Kurdistan and Massoud Barzani was elected President by national assembly. In the new constitution of 2005, complete autonomy was given to KRG. It includes power to reject any amendment in constitution that is against their rights, Peshmerga became official army of Iraqi Kurdistan and right to establish its self-internal security (Kurdistan Regional Government, 2008) p. 38). Their political parties became very powerful in Iraq. Patriotic Union of Kurdistan became the top political party in Iraq and was controlling federal in Iraq. Furthermore, referendum of 2017 had strengthened KRG's image as an important regional actor.

As far as political parties of Kurds in Iraq are concerned, two dominant parties i-e Kurdistan Democratic Party and Patriotic Union of Kurdistan have been in power since 1992. Presently, KDP is in majority in regional parliament and PUK is the second biggest party. Jalal Talabani of PUK became sixth president of Iraq in 2005. Moreover, in 2005, these two parties formed a coalition in regional elections of 2009 to gain more power in the region (Leezenberg, 2015, p. 167). In same year, other parties like Goran emerged and challenged the two-party hegemony. All of these political developments lead to referendum in 2017. 93% of the people who took part in referendum voted in the favor of independence from Iraq (McKernan, 2017). In addition to this, Iraqi Kurdistan has its own army named as 'Peshmerga.' It gained recognition in the Iraqi constitution of 2005 and has its part in Federal budget of Iraq. In the fight against Islamic State, Kurds have played a significant role during 2014-16 (The Economist, 2019). It strengthened their position and flourished the way for independence referendum of 2017.

In Iraq, Kurdish literature and language are preserved, they practice their culture, and they have their own media channels. In addition to this, economically, Iraqi Kurdistan is more stable than the rest of the country. Seventeen percent of Iraq's oil revenue is entitled to Kurdistan region (Leezenberg, 2015, p.169). They have their part in Iraq's yearly budget. It includes salaries to Peshmerga forces and civil servants (*Iraqi Kurdistan Agrees with Baghdad on 2020 Budget Share*, 2020). This region is very rich in resources and KRG is boosting its economy by gas supply to rest of Iraq and even Europe. According to their foreign minister, KRG will begin its gas supplies to Europe by 2022 (The Economist, 2019). The point to be noted here is that this is the level of stability of Iraqi Kurdistan as compare to other areas of Middle East where Kurds are living.

Kurds in Turkey and Iraq: A Comparative Analysis

The treaty of Lausanne of 1923 divided Kurds among Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Syria, Iran and some parts of Armenia. Since that time, Kurds have been struggling to get their own land where they can establish their own government. In Iraq, they have created their own autonomous region which is run by their regional government whereas in other countries; they are not that successful. In Turkey, they are far from achieving autonomy. On the whole, independent State for Kurds in Middle East is yet a dream of long sleep. On analyzing situation of Kurdish people in Iraq and Turkey, they are different factors that tend to explain their successes and failures in both countries.

Leadership is an important driver of any social movement or organization. In historical independence movements, leadership had always played a necessary part. Influential leaders always boost up the moral of movement. According to Staggenborg and Morris, leaders of any movement are those decision-makers who give people a reason to get involved and organize themselves (Valls et al., 2017, p. 151). In the case of Iraqi Kurds, role of leadership is quite visible in the shape of Mustafa Barzani that later passed on to his son Massoud Barzani. It was Mustafa Barzani's vision that became the prior motive of his legacy. Moving on, though there has been rivalry between KDP and PUK on the position of leadership but in elections of July, 2009; Barzani gained 70% of total votes and was reelected (Katzman, 2010, p. 4) It was the strength of Kurdish leadership in Iraq that made the 2017 referendum for independence possible. This referendum is very important in history of Iraqi Kurds. On the other hand, Kurds in Turkey have always been deprived of strong and unified leadership. After the arrest of Abdullah Ocalan, no one has filled this loophole and secure the charisma of ground leadership of Turkey's Kurds. He was the man who brought the new sense of Kurdish nationalism in Turkey. His words still matter from jail. But, the fact is, impact of leader on ground is

far more than words only. Presently, HDP is the largest Kurdish political party in Turkey and Abdullah Ocalan is a respected personality among the party's supporters. Situation might have been different if this man would have still active on ground for Kurds in Turkey.

Moreover, mere formation of new political parties worth nothing if there is not a strong ideology. In the case of Turkey, since 1990, a lot political parties have been formed which were outlawed by the constitutional court of Turkey. It takes a lot of time and struggle for new parties to stabilize itself. New party needs a new manifesto, constitution, election plans and campaign to attract the mob. This type of ups and downs in struggle never allowed Kurds to stabilize themselves as Turkish government has never let Kurdish political parties to strengthen its roots. While in Iraq, their political situation is very much established. Till now, KDP and PUK are the main Kurdish parties working in Iraq. New parties like Gorran movement and others emerged but this case is different from their situation in Turkey. Kurds have some sort of domination over the weak Iraqi government. Unlike Turkey, they have not been indulged in making number of political parties as they have not faced that restriction, censorship and other hurdles from Iraqi government.

After Gulf war of 1991, Iraq became weak and Kurds got benefits. Kurdistan regional government was formed in 1992. For the first time in Middle East, Kurds got autonomous land to exercise their self-government. Furthermore, after the end of Saddam's regime, power vacuum was created and it was Kurds who benefitted again. It was the situation in Iraq that allows Kurdish politicians along with Peshmerga to strengthen their hold and provided the basis for Iraqi constitutional settlement of 2005 (BBC News, 2018). Furthermore, Peshmerga had played a remarkable role in fighting Islamic State. It was their struggle that made them able to add 40% of more land to KRG (Franklin Cancian & E. Fabbe, 2019). The point to mention here is that the weakness of Iraqi

State provided a room for Kurds to emerge strongly. On the other side, case of Turkish Kurds is very different. Turkish State is stable enough to control independence movements inside Turkey. Unlike Iraq, Turkey has not faced foreign intervention, terrorism and any other major crisis. Its strong institutions have never compromised on the matter of national security.

Internal divisions between different Kurdish factions across the borders have also made it difficult for Turkey's Kurds to gain renowned position. Kurds in Turkey are not in position to be recognized at international level. Presently in Middle East, Iraqi Kurdistan is the only region where Kurds are living under their own rule. Stable Iraqi Kurdistan shares good relations with Turkey. According to the former foreign minister, Gas from Kurdistan region to Europe will take place via Turkey by 2022 (The Economist, 2019). By this way, KRG cannot express its support for Kurdish cause in Turkey. The latter are in sort of isolation who are struggling for long time but have not been able to achieve something. Moreover, PKK presence in Iraqi Kurdistan's territory is a threat to its security. In 2019, Turkey launched an operation against PKK in Iraqi Kurdistan. Turkish military often launches air strikes against PKK in the northern region of Iraq. This weakens the situation of Kurdish situation in Turkey as they are deprived of any support across the borders.

Conclusion

Kurdish issue in Middle East is one of most unresolved problem along with others. Presently, there are 35-45 million Kurds living on earth. After First World War, Kurds were divided among Iraq, Iran, Syria, Turkey and some parts of Armenia. They started their struggle for self-determination against different regimes in these countries particularly in Iraq and Turkey. Their struggle has only got remarkable success in Iraq as compared to other countries whereas in other countries, they are still

facing a lot of difficulties. On the other hand, in Turkey, they are far behind from reaching any victorious point despite their long political and armed tussle with the Turkish State. There are some solid reasons behind that which can be mention to explain the comparison between Kurdish struggle in Iraq and Turkey. Lack of leadership in Turkey's Kurds has deprived them of a remarkable position there whereas Kurds in Iraq have struggle under the charismatic leadership of Mustafa Brazani and his legacy for a very long time. In Iraq, the pattern of political parties was very organized in these few decades whereas in Turkey, there are number of political parties that were formed and dismantled since 1990. Another factor is weaknesses of Iraqi state and strength of Turkish state. Last are the internal divisions between Kurds across the Middle East as KRG is sharing good relations with Turkey due to which Kurds in Turkey have been sidelined. These points in comparison between Kurdish struggle in Iraq and Turkey make a clear view of their failure and success in Turkey and Iraq.

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Cold War Espionage in Middle East

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ABSTRACT

The Cold War was a series of proxy wars and conflicts between the US and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The both superpower were engaged in proxy conflicts based on covert military operations. The intelligence warfare played an instrumental role during the whole period of the Cold War. The intelligence agencies of the both superpowers, the USA and the USSR were involved in strategic intelligence, offensive intelligence, counterintelligence, counterespionage, subversion, sabotage and insurrection in each other's allies' in Eastern Europe, Western Europe, South America, Asia and in Middle East. Pakistan's "Inter-Services Intelligence" (ISI) cooperated with CIA as well as acted as front line intelligence agency against Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. British Secret Intelligence Services (SIS) was also one of principal adversaries of KGB beside the CIA and ISI. The Soviet Military Intelligence (GRU) was intelligence organization of Soviet Red Army. During the Cold War the role of intelligence agencies were very important. Therefore, this research paper analyses the US and Soviet espionage during the Cold War in the Middle East.

Key Words: Cold War, Espionage, Soviet Union, Middle East, CIA, KGB, ISI, National Security Council and Afghan War.

Introduction

Cold War was the protracted great effort that comes out on surface after the World War-II (WW-II). It lasted from 1947 to the dissolution of the Russia in the period of the 1991. However, in this regard the “Cold War” had proxy war which was came to blows or brawl mostly through secrete bureaus of both super powers especially Central Investigation Agency of USA and the Komitet Gosudarstvennoy, otherwise commission for country safekeeping of Russia and their allies in different region of the world. The intelligence agencies of the both superpowers were involved in strategic intelligence, offensive intelligence, counterintelligence, counterespionage, subversion, sabotage and insurrection in each other’s allies’ sates for example in Eastern Europe, Western Europe, South America, Asia and in Middle East. In this process the both superpowers used intelligence agencies of their allied states against each other. However, the secrete bureaus of “Pakistan” the “Inter-Services Intelligence” cooperated with CIA as well as acted as front line intelligence agency against Soviet invasion in Afghanistan.

British Secret Intelligence Services (SIS) was also one of principal adversaries of KGB beside CIA and ISI. The Soviet Military Intelligence (GRU) was intelligence organization of Soviet Red Army. The US National Security Council (NSC) was dealing all the intelligence strategies of US intelligence agencies against the Soviet Union. To counter NSC, Stalin created the Committee of Information (KI). Basic objective in this regard of each and every secrete bureaus were remains to disclose the confidential information as well as pilfer the clandestine data of any country so that to concentrate the intelligence of opponent closely, in the direction of measure their purpose plus toward counter. Whole conflict was based on intelligence gathering, use of spies and counter intelligence. This is said to be an intelligence war. The soldiers in current conflicts remain spymasters related with the secret agents. Cold War espionage involved the

intelligence gathering activities between “NATO” as well as “Warsaw Pact”. En route for gather information the two sides used a verity of military and civilian intelligence agencies. Both side tried to hire their agents within the intelligence agencies of the enemy who provided them information. CIA conducted its operation throughout the world through economic aid which led the collapse of the USSR. In this research paper the main focus will be on the intelligence activities of both the USSR and the USA. The Soviet Union was trying to expand its communist ideology while the USA was trying to contain and counter communism by capitalism. The paper also focuses the intelligence tactics including espionage of the both superpowers. Overall the all main intelligence operations have been analyzed in the paper.

Soviet Intelligence Agencies

The Soviet intelligence and security services have been functioning for almost 70 years but their true nature and role remain unknown. From their beginning in 1917 to the present, the Soviets secret political police have been used to provide solutions to the problems confronting the USSR. The VeCheka mostly was called or recognized as the Cheka. The basic aim of the VeCheka was to make out and root-out the counter-revolutionary action and movement. On the other hand, the VeCheka or Cheka was the surreptitious law enforcement forces as reacted by or to secure the Bolshevik security agency based on Russia. The Cheka was created in Dec, 1917. In Feb, 1922: Cheka was transferred keen on GPU, Soviet Military Intelligence a division of People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of *Soviet Union*, Soviet Union. The prime secret agencies of USSR such as the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs of Russia, Soviet Military Intelligence, and Joint State Political Directorate were worked under the supervision of USSR, People s Commissars in the period or era of the 1923.

On the other hand, the entire All-Union State Political Administration and Unified State Political Directorate as abbreviated as OGPU worked under the USSR administration during the Cold War. The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs as abbreviated NKVD, Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic as abbreviated SFSR, the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs as abbreviated NKVD, Soviet secret police agencies as abbreviated the OGPU, and Main Directorate of State Security as abbreviated the GUGB were the major secret agencies which remained active in the period of the July, 1934 for the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. All above mentioned Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic secret agencies worked under the USSR administration like the "GUGB and NKVD" worked under the leadership of same individual. Due to the USSR political and foreign policy strategies in the beginning of the 1941, the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs and the Directorate of State Security were isolated as well as amalgamated in the period of the 1943. The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs and the Directorate of State Security remained in power in the period of the "Feb 3, 1941 – July 20, 1941" and "April 14, 1943 – 1946" vice versa. Furthermore, in the beginning of the 1948: "All People's Commissariats" had been re-designated like the Ministry for State Security regarded as the MGB and the Committee of Information as considered as KI respectively.

- MGB
- MRU
- "Foreign Ministry"

Furthermore, in USSR the entire staffs of the KI were come back in USSR armed forces in the period of the 1948 so as to strengthen the military intelligence in effective mode. On the other hand, "General Vadim Bakatin" ordered to break up the Russian based Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti. In the present day the

Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti in USSR performed the diverse functions regarding the secret tasks around world. However, in this connection the Foreign Intelligence Service as abbreviated SVR and Federal Services of Russian Federation as abbreviated as FSB worked for the Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti for Russia.

US Intelligence Agencies

The IC was established in Dec, 1981 by President Ronald Regan. The intelligence community of USA is consisting of sixteen different agencies which is like a cooperative federation which works separately but in co-ordination with each other in the direction of manner acumen data which be essential on behalf of security and interests of the country. The IC is led by the “director of National Intelligence” who reports to President of United States. The National Intelligence works under the IC leadership. *Director of national intelligence* performed the diverse jobs such as to maintained the linkages relationship among state actors and consultant to country President regarding who could improve the national security at country level. Furthermore, (IRTPA), was the another national security protection shield under the umbrella of the IRTPA the entire country security was run. Similar the “Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act” was developed for county protection against terrorism. Moreover, CIA was regarded as self-governing organization of America, however, in this connection at least fifteen secrete agencies worked under the Central Intelligence Agency dominancy.

CIA and Cold War

The CIA had regarded as the prime secrete agency of USA, however, the CIA had developed while Cold war started. CIA gained popularity and credit in the USA because of its success in the Cold War. A man or an organization get success in a mission due to its good

strategies, so we can say that the strategies formulated by CIA against the communism during Cold War had been much better and effective than that of KGB.

In the inception of the 1947, that period or the time whenever the USA had developed the various bureaus related with secrete information, but the experience of World War Two as well as sudden eruption of “Cold War” had convinced everyone that USA could not survive in the world unless it paid more careful attention to intelligence gathering and analysis process. The high hostility toward Soviet encouraged US Congress in this connection toward making improvements and altered the “National Security Act” in the period of the nineties forty-nine, yielding Central Intelligent Agency. Period year 1949 had the year of great international tension. During this year “North Atlantic Treaty” was signed. To counter all two main achievements of the communist bloc and contain the Soviet expansion, the strategists of the USA were working to formulate a comprehensive strategy. The comprehensive strategy was made according to the work plan of the different politicians, strategist and professional spymasters of the CIA.

“Top security planners were at work shaping National Security Council Paper ‘No.68’, a scheme to remobilize American resources for a cold, and perhaps a hot, war with Russia. In the secret planning document, the now-famous ‘NSC-68’, a major operational role was assigned to the CIA for espionage, as well as psychological warfare, a covert action and even paramilitary operations” (Harry, 1984).

The CIA was given the covert action mission alongside USSR. These secret achievements remain part of US containment policy of the Soviet communist ideology. The Central Intelligent Agency had been dole out to following direction:

- In the direction of bringing together clandestine and secret on USSR.

- En route put a USA American secret representative inside USSR secret services.
- Toward bringing about secret achievement planned to grow weaker the USSR to manage her demographic inhabitants as well as people of the Eastern Europe (Harry, 1984).

CIA Espionage and Intelligence Operations against Soviet Union

The espionage and intelligence operation (Covert operation) are conducted from side to side “National Clandestine Service” of CIA. The US espionage and intelligence operations present a unique look keen on internal mechanism of USA-based secret society. It was consisting of different multidimensional strategies. Intelligence gathering through different espionage channels and then covert actions were the main base of the CIA espionage and intelligence operation. CIA operated throughout the world through espionage and covert action to contain the communion expansion. The policy of the USA remains worldwide repression of USSR as well the CIA was on frontline to implement this policy. Following are the main covert operations carried out by the CIA.

There were some events which took place not according to the intelligence estimate of the CIA, so the CIA was dominated by the covert actions and intelligence function got second priority. According to the CIA intelligence estimates war between North Korea and South Korea will not take place but the US administration was surprised when the “North Korea” attack towards “South Korea” in the early 1950s. The “Truman” administration determined to intervene so CIA responded its immediate covert action against the invasion of the North Korea.

- 1949-1960s: CIA sponsored guerrilla raids against the Communist government of China.

- 1953: CIA sponsored, overthrew the nationalist government of Mossadegh and installed pro-US government of Shah in Iran.
- 1954: Central Intelligent Agency overthrew popular elected government of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala.
- 1954-1964: Vietnam. The CIA backed Ngo Dinh Diem launched guerrilla raids on the North and supported pacification program in South.
- 1959-1960s: Tibet. CIA trained and financed the Tibetan guerrilla resistance against the communist China government.
- 1960: CIA U-2 flown through “Francis” Gray power had been killed by Russian while it flew secretly over the Soviet territory. This caused a major impact on US and Soviet relations and it resulted in increasing of the tension between them.
- 1960: Cuba. CIA failed to remove from power regime of “Fidel Castro” in the entire region of “Bay of Pigs” assault.
- The Central Intelligent Agency made efforts to kill the Cuban leader Fidel Castro but these efforts were null and void in the period of the 1963. However, in this regard the Central Intelligent Agency also made attempted to use the drug Mafia gangster, “Jonny Roselli” to kill the “Fidel Castro” (Anonymous, 2007).

Central Intelligent Agency also made myriad attempts to topple the various governments around the world. Such as the Central Intelligent Agency made effort to promote the military coup against the Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic in the period of the 1963 in Dominican Republic. The Central Intelligent Agency was also made myriad attempted to kill the Ngo Dinh Diem in Vietminh. With full scale success achievement was acquired whenever the Central Intelligent Agency ousted the elected Carlos Julio government in Ecuador during the same period. By Central Intelligent Agency

the Mustafa Barzani was empowered in the period of the 1963-73 period but not acquired their results. In Chile the Central Intelligence Agency was successful and the Chilean leader was defeated in the period of the 1964. In North Vietnam and Laos were victimized due to the Central Intelligence Agency actions in the period of the 1964-71 respectively. On the other hand, the Central Intelligence Agency was bringing down and fall over the Pathet Lao administration in Thailand and assisted to capture the Che Guevara by Bolivia government form the period of the 1965-67 respectively.

The Central Intelligence Agency was responsible the George Papandreous administration toppling by the Arm Force Head Col. Georg Papadopoulos in Greece and in Cambodia during the period of the 1977 and 1971 respectively. On the other hand, in Kabul the Central Intelligence Agency provided the financial assistance so as to empower the Noor Muhammad against USSR in the period of the 1973-78 respectively. Furthermore, the CIA was toppled and banished the General Vasco Goncalves in Portugal, Michael Manley in Jamaica but did not acquire their desirable results in this regard in the period of the 1975-76-79 respectively. Before 1976 the Central Intelligence Agency was distinguishing arrangement in the land of the Italy so as to encounter the socialist movement in Italy. In this regard the US-based testimony was justified this intelligent based information in the period of the 1971. According to that testimony the Italian Arm Chief had preferred to CIA in this regard in order to encounter the socialist movement in Italy in 1970. In this occasion the NATO as well as Britain intelligent bureaus were also involved to topple the socialism in Italy (Sarah & Michael, 2008). At the outset, the Jimi Carter regime had revealed to empowered USA economic compulsion so that to improve the economic policy at country level. In this regard the Central Intelligence Agency was helping the Mujahedeen by using the economic aspects and Dollar during Russian interference (Hilali, 2005).

In the period of the nineties eighties the agents of Central Intelligent Agency killed Walter Rondney, who was acted as opposition leader in Guyana. Similar in the period of the 1981-84, the agents of Central Intelligent Agency ran the anti-Qaddafi campaign so as to create the uncertainty and also developed and armed against misinformation in Libya. These operations were still questionable in this regard. On the other hand, the Central Intelligent Agency developed the uncertainty to toppling the Goukouni Queddei government in Chad in the period of the 1982, and create the problems for USSR economy in the same year. However, during the Cold War the “Air Force secretary: namely the Thomas C.R. mentions that Central Intelligent Agency was the prime intelligent agency of USA and always used their tool against Russia, he also expounded their views about the “cold-eyed economic warfare” was the example of the uncertainty in USSR during the Cold War (David, 2004).

While the Central Intelligent Agency was toppling the Anibal Guevara government in the period of the 1982 decade in Guatemala. But this effort of Central Intelligent Agency failed. The Central Intelligent Agency ignited the themes of anti-government campaign in Bolivia in in 1982. Similar effort was also made by the Central Intelligent in Suriname and Nicaragua in the period of the 1982-83 and 1984 respectively in order to remove from power Desi Bouterse as well as Daniel Ortega respectively. The reason why there was heavy handed anti-Sovietism in the operations part of the CIA is that when WW-II came to an end, and the soviet army stood in place throughout East Europe, the Poles, Slavs, Lithuanians, Bulgarians and Czechs, etc., who had collaborated with the Nazis became marked men. They fled droves to the West, often retaining their organizational integrity as they came and bringing with them a deep and abiding embitterment toward the Soviets. Such men were absorbed into the pores of the CIA Operation, starting from 1937 and running non-stop clean through the Cold War. The CIA mission was to

push the communism out from South America, Eastern Europe, In Arab Worlds, Southeast Asian nations Africa as well as Moscow.

Soviet Intelligence Agencies and Cold War

The Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (KGB) was deciphered or interpreted in English as the “Committee for State Security”, was mystery law enforcement power which remains fundamental safekeeping bureau for Russian government from 1954 until disintegration of Russian Federation in the end of 1991. As an immediate replacement of going before bureau, for example, the “Cheka NKGB NKVD and MGB” remains appended to “Council of Ministers”. The KGB was central government intelligence office of "association republican purview", doing inner security, insight plus clandestine law enforcement capacities. Comparative organizations worked in every one of the republics of Russian Federation, with numerous related services, condition boards of trustees plus otherwise the state commission.

Bureau was an armed help represented by armed force laws plus guidelines, in a similar design as the Russian Federation military otherwise the “Internal Troops”. Despite the fact that the majority of Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti files stay characterized, 2 online narrative resources remain accessible (Rubenstein, and Gribanov, 2007). Its primary capacities were unfamiliar knowledge, counter-insight, usable investigatory exercises, guarding the state outskirts of the Russia guarding administration of “Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government” association as well as sanctuary of administration correspondences as battling patriotism, difference, plus hostile towards Russia exercises. However, on the other hand in the era of 1991, the disintegration of the Russia, the Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti come apart keen on “Federal Security Service” as well as “Foreign Intelligence Service of the Russian Federation”. In the

wake of splitting ceaselessly from” Georgia” with USSR assistance, “Republic of South Ossetia” built up its own Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (retaining present unreformed first name). Furthermore, the “Republic of Belarus” likewise settled its own national security organization, the “State Security Committee of the Republic of Belarus”, name furthermore abbreviation of that remains indistinguishable from those of the previous Russian Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (Preobrazhensky, 2009).

Cold War Espionage in Middle East

The “Cold War” had been proxy confrontation flanked by USA and USSR. There was not any direct military clash between the two super powers. That is why this is also called as intelligence war in which both sides were involved in espionage in each other territories through human intelligence and signal intelligence. “The armies of the countries involved rarely had much direct participation in the Cold War; the war was primarily fought by the intelligence agencies like the CIA (United States), MI6 (United Kingdom) ... and the KGB (Soviet Union).”

Intelligence agencies in this connection were very important position during the entire Cold War period. American, CIA plus Soviet KGB were the main actors of the Cold war. They were helped and supported by their respective cousin intelligence agencies of their respective allies from different part of the world. Different methods and tactics were used for the collection of the information. High professional spies were given different intelligence tasks. Both side used massive intelligence network. Diplomats were massively used for espionage especially the Soviet diplomats were trained by high professional spymasters. The embassies of the USA in Moscow and the Soviet Union in New York were the center for espionage. “The KGB and its military counterpart, the GRU, operate a vast network of espionage, largely through Soviet embassies, since a

high percentage of Soviet diplomats are trained intelligence officers” (Jock, 1977).

The US and Soviet Union intelligence agencies were the main player of the nuclear knowledge which was first time being used for the defense purposes. The nuclear knowledge and nuclear weapons were the most important components of the Cold War politics. In 1945 when the USA won the World War two by dropping atomic bomb on Japan, Soviet Union realized that without acquiring nuclear weapon, it could not compete with USA. To get the nuclear knowledge from the USA, Soviet intelligence agencies used high professional spies who transferred the nuclear knowledge to Soviet Union from USA. On the other hand, US intelligence agencies were active to protect their nuclear knowledge. “In the United States, American discovered to have helped pass secretes about the atomic bomb to the Russians which had advanced the Russian atomic program perhaps two or three years. A communist, Julius Rosenberg was involved, but his wife, Ethal, was not. Both were indicted for having conspired to commit espionage in 1944-45” (The Cold War, 1953-60).

“Since its inspection in the early 1940s and through much of the Cold War, the Soviet atomic project was the focus of a massive intelligence effort by the United States and its allies” (Oleg, 1945-70). During the Cold War the role of intelligence agencies were very important. In this regard both countries Like United States and the USSR intelligence agencies made efforts as to how could they achieve the win-win situation over each. As Chinese ancient military strategist has said, “Know the self, know the enemy. A thousand battles, a thousand victories”. The Sun Tzu said that the “your enemy and knowing yourself you can fight a hundred battles”

The Cold War has been the longest war of the world history which has been fought by the intelligence agencies of the America plus USSR. In Cold War USA-CIA as well as Russian-based KGB has been the most

active player. However, on the other hand the “Cold War” was the major dynamics related with supremacy each other between USSR as well as USA have remained cold due to attendance of the atomic armaments in the mutually scales. The presence of the nuclear weapons in the both sides created a strategic balance, deterrence and a fear of mutual destruction, so the both sides avoid fighting a hot war but they fought a proxy war through their intelligence agencies. It will not be wrong if we call it intelligence war or the Cold War between the CIA and the KGB. Both, the CIA and the KGB were supported by their ally’s intelligence agencies. Espionage, covert operations, intelligence and counter-intelligence operations of the CIA and the KGB dominated and hijacked the whole intellectuals, academia and the media throughout the Cold War and still these intelligence and counter-intelligence operations are being discussed after their declassifications. The declassification of the Cold War intelligence operations has diverted the interests of the people toward the tactics of the intelligence agencies. The most of the CIA s intelligence and counter-intelligence operations and espionages have been declassified but the most of that KG have not been classified.

The intelligence works of the both superpowers have been very professional and scientific, but the reasons behind the success are of political and economic dimensions. The defeat and collapse of Soviet Union was because of flaw in its dogmatic as well as financial systems and the flaw of USSR dogmatic as well as financial systems were fueled by the CIA and because of Achilles' heel USSR dogmatic as well as financial systems, the KGB could not counter the CIA during the entire period of the “Cold War” and could not save county for the disintegration.

Intelligence has been very important throughout the history. It is today more important than it was previous to. “Cold War”. Victory of USA convinced the world that the war can be won through intelligence without the use

of military, as it was said by Sun Tzu about 2500 years ago. He emphasized on the foreknowledge of the enemy. The stronger intelligence agencies with sophisticated technology are the desire of every state of the world. The Cold War intelligence realized the world a strong intelligence and economic resources is the guarantee of the security in this hostile and complex world. The successful Cold War intelligence operations enhanced the importance of the intelligence agencies in this nuclear world.

Present exertion will concentrate on the Cold War from nineteen fifties five to nineteen ninety-three decades and range with in terms of Arab-Israeli clash and the degree of conflict between two nations at a greater extent. However, in this regard the present efforts were made so as to know about Russian interests in the entire region of the Arab world especially in Middle East through the Cold war.

In the first phase, the Russian endeavored towards accomplish her interest and equality with the USA, by growing its maritime and military reach through entire portion and localities of Middle Eastern ports and military bases, as well as making sure about places of geostrategic quality. However, second, with Russian plan upon the ideological control of Asia, the Russian supported the neighborhood Communist nations and her developments in the entire region of the Arab world. At last, Russian, perceiving the need of delayed entrenchment in the in the Arab region especially in Middle East to accomplish long haul desire of authority, "tried to forestall the easing of territorial clash in this way guaranteeing the USSR of proceeded with access to the locale, while likewise trying to forestall the heightening of these contentions to the degree of superpower confrontation (Reich & Alexander, 1984).

USA tried to deny the Russian access to A Middle Eastern area and, through the approach of regulation, repress development of Russian range of prominence.

Present protective plan was supplemented through guardianship of Jew, endeavors to facilitate Muslim Jew harmony, and save America entrée to oil. The Cold War espionage or the undercover work of Cold War espionage was portraying the insight gathering exercises throughout in the period of the 1947-19. In one hand, the USA was unified with the Western powers like European countries, North Atlantic Treaty Organization. On the other hand, the USSR was unified with the Eastern Bloc and those of Warsaw Pact nations (Trahair, 2012). By both side the strategic planning for the battle, knowledge on the rival side's aims, armed, as well as innovation remains prime importance aspects and foremost significant dynamics. However, in this regard to assemble data, both depended on a wide assortment of armed plus nonmilitary personnel organizations. At the same time as a few associations, for example, the Central Intelligent Agency as well as the Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti was got interchangeable with Cold War secret activities, numerous others assumed major tasks in assortment as well as assurance of segment concerning discovery of spying, plus examination of a wide host of insight disciplines.

Conclusion

The USSR armed forces were intercession in the region of the Syria. However, in this regard the Russian adopted the preemptive policy for the Middle East in the period of the 2015. On the other hand, the mediation occurred against the background of a USA administration pulling once more from “Middle East” as well as developing vulnerability regarding their future direction. International realignment as well as shakiness brought related through civil wars in “Libya and Syria” as well as competition among “Iran and Saudi Arabia” were opened doors for the USSR towards remaking a portion of former connections as well as manufacture new ones.

On the other hand, it represents a major impediment towards “Moscow's” aspirations in the Arab World especially in the region of the Middle East. On the other hand, the “Russian-Turkish” reciprocal relations were improving since the fall of USSR; exchange as well as vitality ties just as a common feeling of distance from West remains currently major drivers of association. The Soviet mediation in Damascus gave their nether quality, in any case, since it changed the “Turkish” math in Damascus as well as left “Ankara” with no option in contrast towards obliging USSR needs. Fracture among “Turkey” as well as Europe in view of previous' dictator governmental issues was developed rapprochement in the company of USSR. Notwithstanding, effective links stays genuine and effective association given the international, social, plus chronicled contrasts which partition them.

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Geopolitics of Balochistan: Gateway to the Middle East

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ABSTRACT

The most imperative thing about Balochistan is the strategic position of it. On one side, it is connected to South Asia and on the other side (the western side) it is connected to West Asia. This unique position makes it a key factor of the new great game between China and USA. Other countries too are keenly endeavoring to access this region. Being located on the eastern mouth of West Asia is being connected to Middle East because West Asia makes a large part of the Middle East after the North African belt. Among all the countries of the Middle Eastern region, Western Asian part is the richest and it is the closest to Balochistan. Therefore, all the major powers and the stakeholders are keenly endeavoring to influence Balochistan. The province is already in a volatile political and economic climate so these major foreign elements can easily exploit the deteriorating conditions in their favor. Their main attempt is to drive their hostile forces out and secure their interests by controlling the port city. Gwadar city at the moment is the most imperative part of the province due to the increasing scope of the deep sea port after the signing of the CPEC. That country which controls or at least influences the port city of Gwadar, it influences the entire belt of the Indian Ocean.

Key Words: Balochistan, Central Asia, Geopolitics, US, UNO, China, Persian Gulf, regional politics, power politics, Iran, regional proxies.

Introduction

Balochistan in general and Gwadar in particular have been the central focus of international media since Pakistan became a part of CPEC project. Much of the world is not concerned with the plight of the people living here, but with the strategic significance it carries and the natural resources it contains. Besides that, it is the gateway to the Middle East from the eastern side as well. (Frederick, 2015) The major powers also know that the weak economy of Pakistan along with a troubled Afghanistan with a growing poverty and frustration within Balochistan, the climate is suitable for infiltration to attain their own vested interests. The world is carried by the economic might and economic interdependence with a swift linkage with materialism and with very little space for humanity.

Balochistan, without any shadow of doubt, is the cornerstone of a new great game which is gradually taking shape. This new great game is mainly involving China on one side (as China wants to penetrate its influence in the Middle East, most probably to West Asia from the eastern side where Balochistan is located, especially, Gwadar is located). (Moeed, 2014) On the other side USA does not want China to strengthen its presence in Balochistan so it cannot penetrate its influence in the Middle in general and in the West Asia in particular. In this great game of the two of the leading powers of the world, Balochistan is sandwiched and the people will suffer a great deal from this new great game. (Frederick, 2015)

Balochistan, the connecting point and the door of three main regions, Central Asia, South Asia, and Middle East has remained an important geopolitical location not only for regional states but also for international actors. In recent years, the Chinese expansionist policies towards different regions of the world, especially its desires to reach the warm waters of Arabian Sea through Balochistan has further increased its significance in the modern regional and global political landscape. (Frederick, 2015) Regionally, China's interest to connect the nearby regions (Africa, Middle East and Central Asia) economically for a more crucial dominant role has heightened tensions with its neighboring states, significantly with India its relations have become tense where now a regional competition has emerged.

Globally, the U.S. has played a prevailing role over world politics since the Second World War and has maintained a containment policy towards South West Asia. Gigantic natural resources of Balochistan have further increased its significance for both regional and global powers. (Syed, 2013) The presence of U.S. in the Middle East, especially in Iraq and in South Asia (Afghanistan) and the recent Chinese initiatives e.g. OBOR, BRICS Bank, CPEC and ABD indicate a Neo-Cold War between the U.S and China in the region where the territory of Balochistan due to its geopolitical importance has become a battle ground. (Baofu, 2015) Chinese expansionist desires to reach to the markets of Africa and West Asia through Gwadar Port and the U.S. revisionist motives to contain the former has raised many question marks for the entire region. It would be interesting to see the coming political, economic and military developments in this region where the geography of Balochistan as the gateway of Middle East and the hub of Neo-Great Game plays a crucial role not only for regional politics but also for global politics. (Bushra, 2014)

Geopolitics of Balochistan

How Balochistan rose to become a captivation of the global politics in spite of the fact that is the most backward region in the world and the poorest in the Human Development Index report is obvious from the fact that it is the trend of globalization that has changed the scenario. With the rapid pace of globalization, the interdependence has grown way too complex and the countries need each other. With the increasing facilitation of the lifestyle, the public demands for more material comfort has grown as well. In this regard, the industries work day and night to fulfill the demands of the people. (Al-Kaysis, 2009) However, their resources are finite and they are on the verge of exhaustion as far as the energy resources are concerned. They seek certain regions replete with natural resources and Balochistan happens to be on their gateway. It is the gateway to the Middle East which is rich in oil and gas. (Moeed, 2014)

There is no denying the fact that Gwadar is the key to their policy maneuvers for having a deep sea port worth quite strategic significance, but the insurgency and instability have pushed the entire province to the gallows of insecurity and political instability. According to the needs of Government to meet the spending, it has to maintain itself at the level of enough investments and to promote more effective public service. In developing and developed countries one of the ways of bringing harmony to the larger chunks of population is through participatory development. (Syed, 2013) This means of development ascertains the equal participation of the local as well as the settler population without discrimination against any particular race or ethnic group. Same participatory development is required in Balochistan to earn their trust. The geo-strategic position of Balochistan can best be served for Middle East, if the province is stable from inside. (Al-Kaysis, 2009)

The economic structure of Pakistan has become way too obsolete. The economic structure is not modified with the swiftly changing advances of the modern world. The economic system of Pakistan is a mixed one; not fully liberalist and not fully state owned which has further been complicated by the ambivalence among the leadership for the future of the economy. (Sloan, 2005) This has allowed the foreign powers to play their part in dividing the country. As a matter of concern, on one side the economy is not on strong footing, on the other side, the economy is manipulated and controlled by a few families that hold the control of the national resources from within the establishment.

Balochistan, the southwestern territory of Pakistan, is taking on expanded significance in territorial undertakings. With the disclosure of tremendous fields of gaseous petrol, alongside other important minerals, the locale is encountering expanded enthusiasm from outside speculators and engineers. (Syed, 2013) Alongside this, the landscape of Balochistan makes it a prime area for the improvement of streets, railways and pipelines to associate the Middle East, Central Asia and South Asia. To enlarge this improvement, the development of a profound water port at Gwadar has the capability of getting globalization to the area an exponential way.

Even with this advancement and development are the Baloch who have proceeded with rebellions have made a precarious domain. Despite the fact that stopping huge scale development, enthusiasm for the locale keeps on developing, and with it, the risk of worldwide legislative issues and motivation crashing in a vicious way as Balochistan develops. (Sloan, 2005) Accordingly, the vital significance of Balochistan lies in its capability to either take the bleeding edge being developed in South Asia, or be the focal point of the following huge scale global clash that could have far reaching implications

beyond the regional scales. The center point of this geostrategic essentialness is Gwadar, just as Balochistan overall, which is probably going to turn into a key center point for worldwide exchange and business around the Indian Ocean and could turn into a significant entryway for the Middle Eastern oil fare to South Asia and western China, just as Central Asian oil and gaseous petrol fare to the more extensive world.

With the arranged inflow of CPEC-related FDI into the locale, Balochistan would turn into a conductor of petro-substance exchange that would revitalize its generally powerless social and financial structure. (Frederick, 2015) This availability and access to territorial monetary markets could be a key balancing out factor for harmony and quietness in Balochistan, which has been seeing political discontent for long. (Syed, 2013)

Importance of Gwadar

Foundation advancements have empowered the sledge molded Gwadar landmass to raise as the highlight of China's resolved exertion to abbreviate its exchange course to the Persian Gulf and get access to the rich oil holds there. So anxious is China to save money on separation, time and cost and the test presented by the U.S. Naval force in the South China Sea that it has endured Pakistan's precarious peace circumstance to manufacture its monetary hallway. Makran was built up as a division in July 1977 and it is the third biggest authoritative division of Balochistan and second biggest as far as populace. It is the heartland through which in excess of 700 km portal to world's 20-25% oil exchange into the worldwide markets. (Bushra, 2014)

Gwadar is a significant warm-water port in Indian Ocean which is accepted to be the future door towards the oil-rich Middle East, mineral-rich Africa and the profoundly

created Europe. (Hughes, 2018) At present, Gwadar is leveled out of China and it tries to interface Chinese terrain to the Middle East and forward by means of much discussed China Pakistan Economic Corridor. This examination endeavors to assess that how Gwadar port gives simple availability to major vital regions and help China to apply its growing key impact in Indian Ocean and the contiguous territories including Gulf States and Middle East. (Arhama, 2015) The point of the paper is to feature the centrality of CPEC for Balochistan in the light of the vital significance of Makran which spans Pakistan with Middle East. This examination additionally investigates the rising security challenges from the most outstanding opponents of China and Pakistan towards the much discussed CPEC.

Those security difficulties can best be limited by sharing the possibilities of the CPEC among all territories similarly. Otherwise, the interprovincial coordination will be very difficult to tackle. (Arhama, 2015) Balochistan ostensibly remains at the focal point of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), itself a piece of Beijing's Belt and Road Initiative, a procedure which tries to assist China with picking up impact by putting resources into framework extends in creating nations. Built up in 2015, the Corridor is one of China's most significant ventures, with an expected sticker price of \$62 billion. For Pakistan, it is viewed as an approach to additionally support from China — a coalition that has become even more basic given cooling relations with the United States and rising pressures with India, likewise an opponent of China. (Khan, 2019)

The Corridor advances south into Balochistan down to the port of Gwadar. Under the CPEC understanding, Gwadar is scheduled to be leased to China for around 40 years, with a sum of \$1.62 billion focused on modernizing the port. China intends to treat Gwadar as

an uncommon monetary zone, like Hong Kong and Macau. For China, Gwadar could definitely abbreviate the time it takes to exchange with Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. At present, Chinese boats bound westbound need to advance south and west through the Strait of Malacca — an excursion that would be far shorter from Gwadar. (Hughes, 2018) Moreover, security in the Strait of Malacca, one of the world's busiest exchange courses and a significant chokepoint for oil and gas shipments, stays a worry, and the less Beijing needs to stress over it being open, the surer it very well may be with its speculations toward the west.

In the event that China's vision for Gwadar works out as intended, it could wind up the focal point of Chinese exchange with nations toward the West, a situation that would reshape universal exchange in the Indian Ocean. As indicated by the Asian Development Bank, the CPEC understanding offers "gigantic potential for Pakistan to support its economy, decrease destitution, spread advantages broadly, and help those prone to be influenced by the new exchange course." (Ying, 2019) Undoubtedly, following three years of substantial speculation, China presently represents 89% of Pakistan's outside direct venture inflows. In any case, the Baloch individuals have so far been let well enough alone for the image and are seen as an obstruction to improvement by Islamabad.

Chinese and US Interests in Balochistan

As far as their interests in Balochistan are concerned they are coinciding, but not converging. In fact, they are diverging to the most extreme level possible. Both of them are engaged in a tug of war. Each of them wants to drive the other out of the region to expand its own influence. China wants to use Balochistan as a traversing path for the rest of its corridors that together form the

OBOR; on the other hand, USA does not want China to succeed in this ambition. Balochistan due to its strategic location, its proximity to the Middle East is the choke point that works as a bridge for the Chinese corridors. (Hughes, 2018) On the other hand, being in close proximity with Afghanistan, USA seeks it a new backyard to wage fifth generation warfare against China. Since USA has the strongest control over the world opinion due the vast mass media control, it can easily launch propaganda warfare against China which already is in play. (Khan, 2019) China though has adapted a new model of controlling the media of those countries where it invests, yet the world opinion is not easily subordinated by it. China has a clear cut policy that in that country in invests; no news is headlined to criticize China. That is the reason, the genuine concerns of the local people of Balochistan have often been ignored and the people have been deprived of their due share of the CPEC. The list of their grievances stand long which the enemy wants to cash. (Hughes, 2018)

Chinese Interests

Following are the main points of the Chinese interests in Balochistan while keeping Balochistan as the gateway of Middle East. Chinese interests to reach to the markets of Africa and Middle East are not a secret anymore. China is an energy hungry country every other state in the world knows this fact. It has lured eyes toward the energy resources of the Middle East, the world also knows that. (Hughes, 2018) Balochistan is a significant part of this strategy to access West Asia. The West Asian countries are not on good terms with each other, especially, the wedge between Iran and Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Saudi Arabia and Yemen and Saudi Arabia has grown to newer depths.

In this regard, China needs a new ground near these counties to make its balance and then intervene. What other parts of South Asia other than Balochistan can serve this interest of China the best? (Baofu, 2015) In Pakistani port of Gwadar, China has both military and commercial interests, according to US think-tank community telling the lawmakers. On the other hand, now Islamabad is realizing that behind the Chinese investment there are more strategic and economic interests. (Hughes, 2018) China is building the strategic Gwadar Port in Balochistan province under a multi-billion economic corridor. China might be allowed by Pakistan to build a military base in Jiwani area that is near Gwadar port being developed by Beijing, according to media reports last month. Pakistani leadership at the same time came to know about the recent developments and this realization came due to the recent Chinese investments. Precisely, Pakistani leadership understands that it is more about the economic and strategic interest of China. (Ying, 2019)

During the congressional hearing on Pakistan by the house Foreign Relations committee, the members of the community told lawmakers that the US shares this fear that China is expanding its military in the disguise of its economy. According to Jeff Smith a research fellow for South Asia at the Heritage Foundation, the Indian strategists already complained before a decade about the possibility that China would build many ports along the Indian Ocean rim that would facilitate its logistic goals and without a doubt, the concerns came to be true at the recent time. (Arhama, 2015)'

A multi-billion economic corridor between Pakistan and China is currently being built and it is linking and improving the connectivity between the two countries. China will get its hands to the oil-rich Middle East, Africa and Western hemisphere through its shortest route through Gwadar. (Hughes, 2018) China is building

Gwadar port and also helping Pakistan to build other projects for instance, railroad links, industrial complexes etc. Iran and India are raising their concerns over the presence of China that is increasing day by day and USA is also being attracted. Pakistan and India are involved in a very sensitive security problem regionally, and as a regional power broker Iran is struggling to assert its influence. USA can reach through Gwadar port and from this route US can reach Afghanistan and that is the only way to reach out to get the natural resources of Central Asia. (Hughes, 2018) For the last many decades, this area is already in a state of persistent instability. Because of the Chinese influence surrounding this area, the other concerned states have a suspicion environment to start policy making circles to counter Chinese increased intentions and presence in Indian Ocean. However, the things get worse if it turns out be a military presence. (Khan, 2019)

The US Interests

USA has always been quite keen about the development of China and it has felt somewhat unease with the rise of China as the newly emerging economic giant of the world. As a matter of fact, the concerns of USA have grown deeper because there is a slow but steady recession in the US markets while China has a quite healthy economy. (Hughes, 2018) The economy of USA is facing a downward spiral while the economy of China is facing tremendous boost. There was a time when the Soviet Union was on the verge of decline and USA was rising. Every super power of the world has a rise and a downfall. However, both the rises as well as the downfall leave significant impact on the history. When the Soviet Union was on the brink of dismemberment, USA was expanding and now when the US is declining, China is expanding. (Bushra, 2014)

However, their rise and fall are not similar. Soviet Union fell because it focused too much on communism and its blinded trust on communism eventually led to its doom. It could not open its markets and could not embrace the other realities which have been brought about by the modernization and globalization. On the other hand, USA had a different kind of expansion. It relied much on its democracy and blackmailed the world to embrace its democratic norms which indeed were embedded with capitalism. (Khan, 2019) Thus, the propagation of capitalism was the core agenda of the US during the 1990' and 2000's. It also relied on the global control of the choke points and trade routes, but through the coercion. USA established 120 naval check posts and bases around the world to make it look like a police station, but did not rely on soft powered approach to control the world.

From the Korean War to the war of Vietnam which is the bloodiest and most notorious war in the history of the US, from Afghan war to the war in the Middle East in the shape of Syria and Libya and Iraq, USA heavily relied on its military might and showed its military muscles, but soft power was never its agenda. The use of force and the application of the coercive means of securing the interests did serve US well, but only for the time being. As a result of its aggressive policies, its role and its influence and its value have sharply diminished. (Ying, 2019) On the other hand, China did not repeat the mistakes both USSR and the US had committed. It has not kept its economy close and it has not relied on its military to attain its objectives overseas. It has done the exact opposite.

The tensions are rising according to some reports as Pakistan's refusal over Chinese assistance for Basha dam; hence, the conditions were too severe. Moreover, it is all about Chinese commercial economic interests and it is

not about Pakistan's economic development. (Zou, 2018) Aquil Shah who is a non-resident scholar in South Asia Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Wick Cary revealed that 90 per cent of the revenue from Gwadar port will go to China according to Pakistan's minister for shipping. The tension is rising among the smaller provinces as well, as they feel that this project is totally captured by Punjab and other provinces have nothing to do with it. As a matter of fact, the tensions on domestic level are increasing and on certain issues there is an obvious friction with China such as, over the issue of currency. (Zou, 2018)

The American support is dwindling in the Middle East countries after the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT), the series of incidents involved majority of terrorists coming from Middle Eastern countries and their heavy crackdown was started by USA. In order to maintain its influence and strategic interests, USA made sure the military balance and maintenance in the area. If USA decides to pull back its forces from the Middle East than a base in close to the Persian Gulf may be required to be built. (Rafiq, 2017) No one would rule out the US to build military basing rights at the Gwadar port as before Islamabad had many occasions extended this facility. However, if it happens then a huge uproar in circles of China will rise and Pakistan's strategic and cordial partnership could be put into a tough test. In addition, Pakistan will be put in a very unusual situation. (Khan, 2019)

Consequently, China and USA both have so far avoided the situations that can make their situation more destabilizing in the area. Saudi Arabia has been the most strategic ally of the USA over the years. (Khan, 2019) The US has the main ally, Saudi Arabia in the Middle East and Saudi Arabia has 261 billion barrels of proven oil reserves that has more than one-fourth of the world

total oil reserves and almost up to 1 trillion barrels of ultimately recoverable oil. The US and other western countries created the Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR) after the Arab oil embargo in 1973-74 and in case, an oil crisis it was the nation's first line of defense. (Rafiq, 2017)

Actually, through this area the future of US influence over the routing of CAR resources will be determined by the future of Afghanistan. After 9/11 attacks US got Pakistan back into action for its strategic interests in the region and keep its strategic oil supply lines open. (James, 2013) There are many US oil tycoons that support the CARs oil supply through Iran although, the policy goals of US oppose to build a pipeline in this region so that the competitor in energy Iran should not get more influence in the region. Pentagon has the interest and concept of deploying its bases in the mobile offshore of Persian Gulf to have military access in the critical regions in the future and keeping its strategic alternate oil aside, it is indicating that by seeing this, US does not want to wear down its commitment in the Middle East and moreover, it does not indicate any signs of lowering its resolve in this area. (John, 2014) It's the priority of US policy makers to remain in the Persian Gulf and in Indian Ocean areas for the foreseeable future. The naval presence is very essential to be remained in the region and it is likely to be increased if anything happens such as, the increased discontentment in the Middle Eastern countries and the refusal of accepting the US ground forces. (Zou, 2018)

Conclusion

In a nut shell, the entire research has come to the conclusion that Balochistan due to its strategic and geopolitical location is in the midst of a new great game where the major powers of the world, especially, USA and China are pulling their muscles against each other to

take control of the region. Without any iota of suspicion, China Pakistan Economic Corridor is the mega project that has driven Balochistan to the world center of focus and media attention at a global scale. The reason is obvious. The OBOR is based on six major corridors and CPEC is one of them. However, the three of the given six corridors at one-point traverse Balochistan. Besides CPEC, the Central Asian Corridor as well as the West Asian Corridor also traverses this province captivating the global media attention. Therefore, it is more imperative in its strategic position than ever it was. Its strategic significance has enhanced by leaps and bounds. All the regional and the global stakeholders are now keenly looking toward the political and economic developments taking place in Balochistan.

In this case, the port of Gwadar where China is going to establish its trade routes to access the Middle Eastern markets, has already devalued the presence of USA in the Middle East and its exodus from Afghanistan has already demonstrated the weakening influence of USA in this region. Thus, finding no other alternatives, USA is more likely to resort to the fifth generation warfare, using modern techniques of propaganda, trade war, espionage and media warfare to weaken the position of China in Balochistan and discourage other countries from joining this project.

Unless Pakistan realizes and brings the stability of Balochistan in its top priority, the hold of the foreign powers will continue to grow. Their mushrooming influence on the minds of the youth is also not a good sign. It is the gateway to the Middle East and the instable Balochistan is a clear-cut path for them to access. The people have been sandwiched in this great game. Instability has cost them the welfare and prosperity they had wished for. Their dreams have been shattered and their aspirations have been led nowhere. If certain

conditions prevailed and Pakistan due to its political squabbling and poor economy did not bring the youth of Balochistan to the mainstream, Balochistan will be more instable than the Middle Eastern countries are. The race for natural resources will never cease.

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Kurd Nationalism in Contemporary Middle East: A Case Study of Iraq

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ABSTRACT

This article intends to explore the aspects and dimensions of Kurd nationalism in the context of Iraq. Being the biggest population without recognizable and demarcated boundaries, the Kurds are mostly settled in Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Turkey. From the political and security prism, Kurds are not only viewed as a threat to the regional respectability of the above-mentioned states, but also an additional factor for having the potential to challenge the entire territorial regional equation of the Middle East. In this way, the rise of Kurdish nationalism has been largely marginalized and persecuted by the local authorities of these states. The growth of self-government ambitions after the referendum of 25 September 2017 has become a motivation for Kurd nationalism in the territory and in the movement. While Kurdish nationalist development is seeking recognition of Kurdish identity and social rights in Turkey, Kurdistan is pressing for its fundamental rights in Iran. Eventually, the role of the Kurds in the Syrian theater has further intensified the spirit of Kurdish nationalism, which has led to a new arrangement of political or social self-sufficiency.

Key Words: Middle East, Iraq, Kurd, Nationalism, Right of Self-Determination, and Regional Politics.

Introduction

Kurdish patriotism has become a sensible volume of thought from researchers, scholastics, and social researchers. Be that as it may, scholastics and researchers have distinctive perspectives with regards to the meaning of patriotism, country, and state and additionally the connection between the three. The distinctions extend on the off chance that one tries to fit the idea of Kurdish patriotism into one of the different schools of patriotism. The focal proposal of this investigation is Kurd's patriotism in Iraq. Anthony Smith contends that "patriotism comes in many structures and degrees."¹ Smith expounds on his contention by characterizing patriotism as an "ideological development for the accomplishment and upkeep of self-governance, solidarity, and personality for the benefit of a populace esteemed by some of its individuals to constitute a nation."² Based on Smith's definition, Kurdish patriotism, with its exceptional characters and uncommon conditions, can be characterized as the Kurdish individuals' sentiment having a place with the Kurdish country and to being pleased with one's Kurdishness and also the will and preparation to take an interest in the battle of the Kurds in any appropriate frame to accomplish their national rights – including the foundation of a free territory of Kurdistan.

In the times of the Stool Domain, within which Kurds were a critical ethnic assembly, early Kurdish nationalism had its fundamental foundations. With the disintegration of the Hassock Domain, the Kurdish-larger regions were split between Iraq, Syria, and Turkey's recently framed conditions, making Kurds a huge ethnic minority in each state. For some time, Kurdish nationalist trends have strangled Turkey and the greater part of Iraq and Syria's Middle Eastern

circumstances, each of which fears the loss of a territory to a possible independent Kurdistan. In the meantime, the overwhelming numbers of Kurds in Iran show little passion for Kurdish nationalism, particularly Shia Kurds who even energetically dismiss the thought of self-sufficiency, inclining toward coordinate control from the religious administration of Tehran. Since the 1970s, Iraqi Kurds have sought after the objective of more noteworthy self-rule and even out and out freedom against the Ba'ath Gathering administrations, which reacted with ruthless suppression including the massacre of the Anfal genocide of 182,000 Kurds. The Kurdish-Turkish clash led by Kurdish furnished meetings tested the Turkish state since the 1980s, which replied with military rule. After the 1991 Iraqi uprisings, Iraqi Kurds were assured by NATO-supported no-fly zones against Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's armed forces, making them comprehensive self-governance and self-regime beyond the control of the Iraqi focal authority. Iraqi Kurdistan became a self-governing region after the 2003 Iraq attack that ousted the despot Saddam Hussein, appreciating an unbelievable measure of self-administration and holding back before full liberty.

The word Kurdistan means the land where the Kurds live. But nowadays it is the symbol of the separatists of the Kurds in the region of the Middle East, wanting separate country of their own by carving out pieces from Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. The Kurds want freedom based on their nationalism which is being injected in the body politic of the Mussulmen party unintentionally by the interests of the foreign powers. The indigenous people of Kurdistan, numbering about one million, have been complaining about marginalization for years. Situations of law and order are worse than the worst possible, and many young people are now playing in the hands of those who want to destabilize Islamic countries. Common leadership is alienated, and with the rest of the world, the people of Kurdistan are least integrated.

The Kurds are Muslim tribesman who lives on and around the mountainous region where the frontiers of Iran meet with the turkey and Iraq and around where the frontiers turkey meet with those Syria and Iraq. Therefore, the Kurdish peoples are divided and split with pieces between the four sovereign independence states of Iran Iraq, Turkey, and Syria. In Religion, a Kurds is a Sunni Muslim, but in few places like the Turku Iranian border and inaccessible hills of the North-Iraq around Rwanda Erbil and Amedia and there are few villages where the Kurds observing a strong Shia sect. The Kurds people have many numbers of saints and warriors (baba yadgar, and Salah –Ud din Ayubi) (slah udin of crusades are) are two examples of a list of the Kurdish and saints' warriors. It is difficult to provide an exact number of the Kurdish population estimates. But estimate it is about to Kurdish population placed total about 30-35 million, divided about the four-region sovereign independent countries of the turkey Iran Iraq and Syria. Turkey 11- 15 million 15.7-25% Iran 6.5-7.9 million 7-10% Iraq 6.2-6.5 million 15-23% Syria 2.2-2.3 million 9-15%. The land of Kurdistan is famous in the terms of its geography, mineral resources even the customs and folklore of the Kurds. The world-famous oil fields of Mosul and Kirkuk happen to be in the Kurdish country.

Nationalism

"The recently settled states can't endure having their control tested by irritated minorities or locales, regardless of how great the privilege of the other to isolate national presence might be"- Rupert Emerson. Since there is still no consensus among scholars, the concept of nationalism has no fundamental meaning. For definition, a diverse setting requires distinctive methodologies. In this way, in the case of the Kurdish issue, nationalism is characterized as an interesting political development that needs to be separated from others with its own political development, history, and dialect culture. The possibility of "country" lies at the

core of the concept along these lines. The growth and development of the "country" possibility and nationalism in this way, as political rationality relates to the occasions of the 1789 Enlightenment and French Revolution of the eighteenth century. In the end, countries began to regroup into social, semantic, religious groups, dismissing counterfeit political boundaries. The procedure of country state-building developed in this manner starting from this period. It was the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, along these lines, that brought the concept of a nation state that linked the country to the state. Keeping countries and states, in any event, started to create pressure, as they concentrated on different headings. The fundamental problem was the homogenization scheme, which was the most critical program for the condition of the world. The tendency of the state to homogenize minorities is thus inevitable.

Then again, the nation divides its people from the rest of the state's population. In this way, in a federative system, various countries accepted their subordinate position; others battled for their character and sovereignty, while others were acclimatized. Then again, towards the end of the 19th century, the "country" standard was established and promoted by the guideline of self-assurance recognized by the victorious powers after the First World War in the Versailles Peace Arrangements in 1919, which was then merged into the Charter of the United Nations. The principle of self-assurance has been touched on by international assertions since the 1950s. In Article 1, the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Law and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights convey the self-assurance privilege of persons, which came into force in 1976. If this interpretation indicates, both people have the luxury of self-assurance, in deciding their political position, their monetary, social, and social rights are upgraded. The Helsinki Final Act of 1975 testifies to the privilege of individuals to be free to choose their type of government. Facilitating the appreciation of the right of self-assurance in worldwide

archives leads to indigenous gatherings, ill-treated individuals to guarantee against states that contend that they have a purview and control over them in the global discussions. Subsequently, in the worldwide political meetings and talks, the cases of minorities who are unfairly overshadowed by the prevailing bunches of in-country states have been further heard. The privilege to be viewed even, the privilege to monitor their predetermination, has been reliably sought by cultural, semantic, religious minorities. However, the importance and estimation of the standard of "the privilege of individuals to self-assurance" is continuously addressed at international forums, and its content is non-existent under international law. Subsequently, the conceptual discrepancy with the regional respectability norm is normally placed into perspective. In addition, the dominant evaluation of global powers makes it important to protect the current territories of the state.

Consequently, minorities have suffered from being rejected by the independent nations because of their state's absence. The grievances of these minorities are also pursued by numerous international forums and debates on their rights to self-determination has been flowered with the burst of nationalist sentiments. In this respect, as Anthony Smith says, nationalism is a theory of a nation, not a state. While a free country requires a state for its security in general, it is not a strict necessity. Free species are free and can easily exist in nature, according to many nationalist nations. This consideration is therefore very applicable to the case of the Kurds, as they have separately shaped and built their nationalist movement and sense of nationhood, divided geographically, politically, ideologically, linguistically, religiously, tribally. Therefore, they have maintained their dominant position as stateless citizens in the core countries of the Middle East and their diaspora in Europe and North America. Therefore, intra-, or inter-state disputes typically emerge from these sentiments that increase ethnic demands.

Emergence of Kurd Nationalism in the Middle East

The end of World War I and the decimation of the Ottoman Empire gave the Allied powers wide-open doors to provide answers to Middle East problems. Thus, until the end of the First World War, the British Army consisted of the former Ottoman territories, Baghdad, and Basra, which are now the focal and southern portion of Iraq. In 1918, after the deal between the Allied powers and the Sultan's Turkey, Britain also participated in Mosul, which is in northern Iraq. Because of its immense oil holdings, Mosul was important for Great Britain. In the background of the Sykes-Picot assertion in 1916, Britain could also fuse it into Iraq. By the San Remo Conference in 1920, England took the order over Iraq, which is more, thinking about the dissents of Iraqi Arabs, Britain unveiled its intention of shaping an independent Arab nation under British order. In the meantime, the pioneer of the Arab rebellion, Amir Faisal, was declared ruler of Iraq, raising the indignation of the Kurdish population occupied by Sulaymaniyah and Kirkuk.

Therefore, Shaikh Mahmud was chosen as the governor of Sulaymaniyah, a convincing Kurdish religious person, who transmitted himself to the ruler and proclaimed the establishment of a Kurdish state in Iraq. In this manner, Britain used the risk of a conceivable arrangement of a Kurdish state in northern Iraq, keeping in mind the ultimate objective of improving its position and influence over the enormous oil assets of the country, mostly in Mosul. In Mosul, which had a large Kurdish population, the British decided to establish one or a few semiautonomous Kurdish regions. On the other hand, because Basra and Baghdad alone "would never be monetary and key explanations behind building a state" the Vilayet of Mosul was vital for Iraq. Since his disclosure for world peace transformed into an inviolable record for the Kurds, Woodrow Wilson made another stage for the guideline of self-assurance around then. On these lines, they marked Stool Turkey between the Partners and the vanquished. Area 3 of the Agreement

was entitled to Kurdistan, where the creation of a free Kurdish state was required by Articles 62, 63 and 64 to be created under the Class of Countries order. The overwhelming majority of the former Footstool Kurdistan was to be annexed by this new state (now Turkish, Iraqi, and Syrian).

In the article, it is reported that "the choice of joining this free Kurdish state should be given to Kurds living in that part of Kurdistan that has so far been incorporated into the vilayet of Mosul." In any event, the Sevres Agreement was never affirmed and was replaced by the Lausanne Settlement on July 24, 1923, which was good for Turkey, because Kurdistan had no say. In addition, as indicated by the Agreements signed by England, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Romania, the Serbian-Croatian-Slovene State and Turkey, the Turkish State gave universal recognition, the regions of the Kurds were divided into four parts. The Bargain did not offer any Kurdish rights certification and placed an important part of the Kurdish regions in the newly settled Republican Turkey. In addition, the Treaty did not specify any Kurds and did not grant them any national rights. Ankara noted several publications which were never updated on the semantic and national rights of Turkey's non-Turkish minorities.

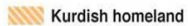

In this way, Articles 37-44 of Area 3 set out a few rules relating to 'minority insurance.' Subsequently, the nationalist experts in Ankara refused to include Kurds among minorities under clear provisions ensuring that Kurds and Turks are equal accomplices in Turkey's administration. With this position, Turkey stepped up with respect to understanding the Kurdish question of how it would have preferred, which gave ample power to Ankara. Consequently, the conflict over Mosul and other Kurdish areas was not settled by the Lausanne Bargain, and the task of resolving the dispute was placed under the command of the Association of Countries.

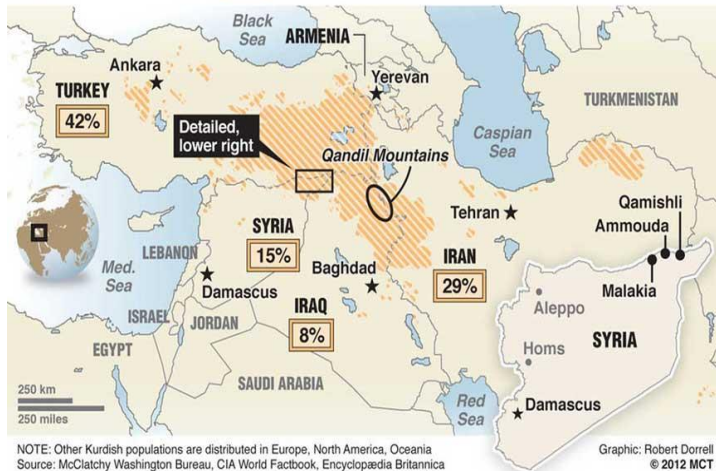
The treaty concluded between Iraq and Britain in 1930 places the limit of the British duty to accept Iraq's nominal independence. These Kurds were not at all mentioned in the arrangement. These innovations prompted the rapid challenges of the number of Kurds. In addition, a. Rebels reminded the association of nations, Anyhow Previously, 1932 the, around their option and promises. The Important Council declared: "Discussion of the Self-Governance Address from the point of view of specific minorities." Previously, Iraq did not fall within its reach. Thus, Iraq got its independence in 1932, which equally inherited the issues because of the rise of patriot demands around Kurds on the social and economic account once again. In addition, beyond, monetary issues. Weights what are more intercessions. In addition, the Saidabad agreement was marked by looking into July 8, 1937. "Around Turkey, Iran, in its Article 7, what's more Iraq, announced that the archive may have been against "also forming a campaign for alliances, organizations, and alternately organized groups seeking to overthrow created institutions." This rivalry may thus have been aimed towards the Kurdish nationalist movement. Therefore, the latest growth of Kurdish patriots is led by religious tribes. Leaders, for instance, such that additionally produced Shaikh Ahmad What's more as much sibling mullah Mustafa al-Barzani. Might take control of the Kurdish regions also refused on remember those focal legislatures?

In the 1943 and 1945 rebellions, Barzani's movement as a pioneer made him popular in Iran, where the Kurdish government was framed in Mahabad with the aid of Soviet experts. Barzani was appointed General of the Armed Forces there. The Mahabad republic, however, had a short existence because the Soviet Union allowed the Iranian government to take action against it under the pressure of the US and Britain. With the fall of Mahabad, Barzani left for the Soviet Union with his armed forces, where he lived for eleven years.

The Kurds are one of the world's largest stateless ethnic groups, living for more than 7,000 years in their mountainous homeland.

Area 193,000 sq. mi.
(500,000 sq. km)

 Kurdish homeland  Percentage of total Kurdish population distributed nationally



Kurd areas and population in Middle East.

Kurd Nationalism

The Kurds, being the largest group in the Middle East after Arabs, Persians, and Turks, lifted their nationalist views and began nationalist growth moderately later. In this case, it is necessary to consider Kurdish nationalists and Kurdish nationalists in containers, because the latter is fundamentally created by Kurdish diasporas, while the former is, for the most part, the product of indignation at the concealment of Kurds in these four nations. Kurdish nationalism is a common and understandable phenomenon. Turks, Arabs, and Persians went before the Kurds, according to Wadie Jwaideh, and began the procedure of constructing their country. Their implementation of political, financial, social, military practices, along these lines, made Kurds, who saw a national way of life as "we" and "they", a marginalising condition. Therefore, Turkish, Arab, Persian restrictions and the security of present-day states were met by any attempt of Kurdish individuals to create their very own

country condition. This has brought the rise of indignation among Kurds along these lines, making Kurdish nationalism shift towards being "progressively radical and uncompromising". The revitalization of Kurdish nationalism is not only a trend driven by local internal progress, but also by specific processes beyond the Middle East. Globalization has therefore created new open doors and advances for Kurdish nationalist growth in the universal sphere. Consequently, in the 1980s and now in the 1990s, the movement of Kurds to Europe began formed the huge Kurdish Diaspora in Europe. The use of large open doors at popularity-based legitimate and monetary levels by the Kurdish Diaspora in Europe prompted the trans-limit character of the Kurdish national demands. The "standardization of the Kurdish nationalism in the global field" has maintained these advantages the Kurds have gained.

Around a fifth of the Kurdish population now lives outside their so-called ancestral Kurdish homeland. Therefore, in a very different setting, the second and third generations have grown up, where the sense of "Kurd yeti" or "Kurdishness" has certainly shifted. Indeed, the expansion of Kurds through different regions, such as Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Russia, Europe, and the United States, reflects the division of the Kurdish people. On the other hand, the Kurdish populations have been territorialized by regularized immigration to western European countries. Thus, in some parts of London and Berlin, the centres of Kurdish groups, the headquarters of political parties, are as common as they are in Iraq or the southeastern part of Turkey. The Kurdish Diaspora, consisting mainly of refugees and political exiles, has put the "Kurdish Question" at the center of an open, level-headed European debate. Therefore, numerous Kurds in the Diaspora want to return to a "free and autonomous Kurdistan" but stressing, as they have seen in resettlements, the importance of the arrangement of majority-rule organizations. In this way, Diaspora Kurds influenced by the West's popularity-based political

culture continue to keep the Kurdistan Provincial Government in charge of dispatching the process of democratization and institutional reform to the public. Consequently, if the Kurds in the nations increase any degree of security or self-sufficiency, it will be a consequence of Kurdish fiscal help and effective anterooms in the geopolitical focuses, for example, Washington and London.

Kurd Nationalism in Iraq

Moreover, in Iraq, in response to the efforts to fabricate a cutting-edge Bedouin expression that would allow nearly a minimal amount of Kurdish autonomy, Kurdish nationalism just began to grow after World War I. Thus, at times opposed by more Kurdish Josh, the revolts of Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji in the 1920s and Mullah Mustafa Barzani starting in the 1930s were largely tribal matters. For instance, David McDowall argues that "he had little in common with today's Kurdish leaders when discussing Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji's revolts." The language and style are also very distinct. Significantly, his time appealing to nationalist sentiment was not wasted by Shaykh Mahmud. He was a sayyid and knew the language of his constituency. He called for jihad in 1919, not a collective fight for liberation. In addition, his style was to use kin and tribal allies and the creation of a personal fiefdom was his objective.

After his arrival in Iraq from his ouster in the Soviet Union in 1958, Barzani's rise to unmistakable standard is difficult to fully clarify unless the contemporary foundations of Kurdish nationalism in Iraq are increased in importance. For example, as late as 1957, no less a keen spectator of undertakings than C. J. Edmonds, J. Edmonds, "Barzani, who was an English political officer in Iraq in the mid-1920s and composed various helpful examinations of the Iraqi Kurds, specified Barzani as a "fugitive rebel from Iraq" only in passing and concluded

that "every year any organized armed uprising becomes more impossible.

How incorrect will anyone be? "After two years, although currently understanding that "the incentive that may be more than any other has gotten the prominent creative energy is the arrival of Mullah Mustafa," Edmonds could just argue that "it is difficult to explain this rapid integration with an all-Iraqi national figure... generally than as the work of an effective comrade chain. How wrong, again, could any expert be? Edmonds' lack of prescience stemmed from his justifiable inability to predict the contemporary growth of Kurdish nationalism in Iraq as a reaction to the abundance of Iraqi Bedouin nationalism, given subsequent advances. Consequently, the Kurdish development in Iraq only began to go up against the characteristics of a certifiable patriotic development in the 1960s. After the demolition of the Mahabad Republic of Kurdistan in Iran in 1946, in which Barzani had been one of the commanding officers, the removal of Barzani to the Soviet Union was thus epic in the rise of present-day Kurdish nationalism in Iraq. All things considered, Barzani never completely reached the borders of an inherent chieftain until his wilting day. In part, this clarifies his serious conversation with Ibrahim Ahmad and the child in-law of Ahmad, Jalal Talabani.

However, Saddam Hussein's genocidal attempts to reduce the Kurds in the 1980s had the opposite effect of fostering Kurdish nationalism in Iraq over time. Furthermore, the annihilation of Iraq in the 1991 Bay Wars in 2003 created the Kurdistan Provincial Government (KRG), an elected state in post-Saddam-Hussein Iraq, in which an inexorably strong sense of Iraqi Kurdish nationalism began. In addition, social and financial factors played an important role in the development of Kurdish nationalism in Iraq. The oil industry, the construction of major dams, concrete, and tobacco production lines, and agrarian automation all also rendered more popular riches, helping to drive people into the larger urban world from their smaller

traditional valleys. Iraqi Kurdish nationalism has become the most widely-created form of Kurdish nationalism among all Kurdish people in the first decade of the 21st century, and, obviously, its birthplaces are mostly contemporary, dating only to the occasions briefly mentioned above.

Furthermore, the Bedir Khan siblings '(Tureyya, Kamran, and Celadet) attempt to establish or develop Kurdish nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s demonstrates their contemporary origins appropriately. The three siblings were grandsons of Botan's celebrated Bedir Khan, whose competent emirates had just been ruined in 1847 by the Hassocks. The three siblings were concerned with various concerns, including the irresolute notion of the Kurdish association with the Turks and the crude situation in Kurdistan. As Martin Stroh Meier states, "All Kurds were profound, though differently intertwined with the Turks in social, ideological, monetary and individual relations... These bonds hindered the improvement of a self-confident, powerful, powerful relationship." Although the works of Bedir Khan were propaganda and included oversimplified, deluded, and distorted examinations of Kurdish history, they continue to have an important impact on the consequent advancement and study of Kurdish nationalism.

The first leader of Khoybun, a transnational Kurdish party founded in 1927 by intelligent Kurdish people living abroad in Syria, was chosen as Cadet Bedir Khan. The meeting attempted to create a solid creation of Kurdish national independence with a prepared fighting force that would not rely on the regular ancestral pioneers and inspired the Kurds' failed Ararat uprising in 1927-1930. Celadet Bedir Khan dedicated himself to creative work along these lines and created a Kurdish letter set in Latin characters. In his final years in the 1960s, Mustafa Barzani, the well-known Iraqi Kurdish pioneer who had previously been investigated, filled in as a proxy for Mullah. In 1937, Der Adler [Eagle] von Kurdistan was

distributed by Kamran Bedir Khan, a formalistic attempt also ignored to write an epic novel to advance the Kurdish reason on the scale of the work of art by Franz Werfel, *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh* for the Armenians. Bedir Khan tried to build an imaginary Kurdish nation that delineated its courage, nationalism, Land worship, connection with the mountains, confidence in speech and history, the greatness of social stories and tunes, stronger stuff, energetic ladies, and Kurdish unity in general. He also attempted to declare that Zoroastrianism was the real religion of the Kurds and that the Scriptural Garden of Eden had a Kurdish partner in the Thousand Lakes legend (Bingol). Precepts, for instance, "Lion, put your confidence in your paws," shows how the Kurds relied on consistency alone and not only expected divine guidance. Nevertheless, the push of Kamuran Bedir Khan to produce a Kurdish national epic proved unsuccessful and fizzled to merge Kurdish nationalism. The vast lion's share of the Kurds had not yet fully penetrated the feeling of Kurdish nationalism to part with other Muslims.

Conclusion

That the fundamental roots of Kurdish nationalism lie predominantly (although not entirely) in contemporary circumstances, either its present existence or legitimacy is not the slightest bit censored. The contemporary origins are certainly not recent. The nationalisms of the Middle East, Turkey, and Iran are slightly more developed, while the nationalisms of the European countries are more established. It is true that, contrary to its swift neighbors in Turkey, the Bedouin world, and Iran, Kurdish patriotism has been hampered and isolated. Similarly, this paper has shown that Kurdish patriotism was largely produced in the twentieth century as a stateless ethnic answer to Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Syria's harsh "official state patriotisms" Martin van Bruinessen reflected on how "the kind of 'country building' strategies that were so effectively updated in the previous period

seem to have the result in the current turnaround... Since the 1970s... abusive measures coordinated by the Kurdish patriot feeling statement have had the effect of strengthening as opposed to disposing of it. "In addition, referring specifically to the Kurds, some late Murat found how "individuals can have different and mixed origins of their characters, whereby ethnicity needs to compete with different wellsprings of having a location, for example, and national, supranational, and provincial characters." In Kurdish patriotism, in any case, these problems and contrasts do not nullify its reality, which keeps on forming and build.

As of the beginning of 2013, given its virtual veto power over potential developments in Iraq, Iraqi Kurdish patriotism is in an interestingly intense role. The Kurds will continue to oversee themselves as they have since 1991, if the Middle Easterners do not agree to a majority government in Iraq that meets the aims of Kurdish patriotism. Without a doubt, two unofficial referenda held in 2004 and 2005 collectively settled on Kurdish autonomy. Geopolitical substances, obviously, as of now restrict autonomy, yet who can precisely anticipate what the future would bring if a popularity-based government Iraq demonstrates outlandish to make? Kurdish patriotism in Iraq may come to be viewed as consuming the right in the name of power that likewise would advantage the Joined States, Turkey, what is more, another neighboring states-to move towards autonomy.

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Balfour Declaration and Contemporary Politics of Middle East

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ABSTRACT

The Balfour Declaration, issued by the British Empire in 1917, has remained one of the contested documents of the international politics, which resulted to the divide of historic land of Palestine between the Arabs and Jews in 1948. Since then, the Balfour Declaration is much criticized document for all problems and issues of the present-day Middle East. Present historical investigation determines the Balfour declaration dynamics as detailed within contemporary politics of the Middle East region. However, the qualitative investigation has used the secondary data. The secondary information was used by studying the various sources such as Internet sources, indigenous and international historical research, journals and relevant books. Present research sought to determine the source of ideology of Palestine state. On the other hand, the Balfour Declaration and contemporary politics of the Middle East were assessed. The Abraham accord was another imperative aspect of the present study. This research was further evaluated on the ideological aspects of the Middle East politics and conflict strategy of the different states in the region of the Middle East. The imperatives of the Balfour Declaration were also discussed in detail. One-sided State establishment was the part and parcel for the holy land of Muslims like Palestinian people. Israeli political framework can't continue such an exertion and the result could be politically adverse. Last but not least, the prospects and dynamics of the Palestine state were imperatives for the Palestinian people.

Keywords: Middle-East, Balfour Declaration, Regional Politics, Arab Spring and Abraham Accords.

Balfour Declaration

The Balfour Declaration was a public proclamation given by the English administration around 1917 so as to establish the national home and permanent residency for the minority Jewish population during the World War I in the Palestine land. The revelation was developed by the Balfour, a British Foreign Secretary. In this regard a letter was written by the Balfour to Lord Rothschild on 2 November 1917, for the head of the British-based Jewish people or group in order to spread the Zionist Federation in the Palestinian land. On the other hand, the content of the statement was distributed on 9 November 1917.

In November 1914, due to the affirmation of battle on the Ottoman Empire, the fates of the Palestine people's freedom were totally dependent on the British War Cabinet decision. Immediately within two months a reminder was coursed by a Zionist Cabinet like the Herbert Samuel to the British War Cabinet so as to help the Zionist movement during extensive war. However, in April 1915, a panel was set up by the H. H. Asquith (British Prime Minister) so as to decide British policy direction and thematic approach towards the Ottoman Empire regarding Palestine matter. British Prime Minister also supported the Ottoman Empire post-war changes as surrendered in the late 1916; on the other hand, his substitution David Lloyd George, supported segmentation and split of the Ottoman Empire.

On 7 February 1917, the Zionists (Zionist top leadership) and British administration as led by (Sir Mark Sykes) exchanged the principal negotiations and initiatives. On 19 June in the same year the Chaim Weizmann and Rothschild was presented a draft of a public statement in order to ensure the conversations that prompted Balfour's solicitation. During the period of September and October

the British administration discussed the drafts matters so as to determine the contribution of Zionist movement and anti-Zionist direction within Palestine land.

The initial expressions of the statement spoke to the primary public articulation of help for Zionism through a significant political force. The expression "public home" was no point of reference in worldwide law, as well as being deliberately ambiguous with respect to whether a Jewish state had pondered. Planned limits of Palestine had not been determined, plus the United Kingdom administration later affirmed that the words in Palestine implied that Israeli people and public homes were not expected to cover the entirety or entire region of the Palestine holy land. 2nd 50% of the assertion had added towards fulfill rivals of approach, who were guaranteed that it could somehow bias the situation of neighborhood populace of holy region of the Palestine as well as support discrimination against Jews worldwide through stepping Jews as outsiders in their local terrains. However, the revelation called for protecting the common as well as strict rights for Arabs nations based on Palestinian land, who made most by far out of the nearby populace, furthermore the rights as well political status of Jewish people groups. The UK administration was recognized in 1939 that nearby populace's perspectives had been considered, as well as perceived in 2017 that affirmation ought to have called for security of holy land like the (Palestinian) the Arabs' political rights.

Affirmation had some dependable outcomes. It incredibly expanded famous help for Zionism movement inside the Jewish people group around the world, as well as turned into a center segment of the UK authorization for Palestine, establishing archive of obligatory Palestine, that later became Palestinian domains and Jews in Israel. Accordingly, it is viewed as a chief reason for progressing Palestinian-Israeli clash, frequently portrayed as the world's most unmanageable clash.

Contention stays over various regions, for example, regardless of whether the affirmation negated before guarantees UK made to Mecca Sharif in the McMahon–Hussein connection.

Early UK political help for an expanded Jewish presence in areas of the holy land (Palestine) purely based or the depended on international geo-strategic estimation on following reasons however, in this regard dynamics was extended in the mid of nineteen forties was driven by Lord Palmerston. However, the dissenter Ottoman leaders namely the Muhammad Ali was to control some areas of the Palestine as well as Syria (Renton, 2007; Schölch, 1992; Liebreich, 2004; and Stein, 1961).

On the other hand, French administration did somewhat impact Palestine areas in the Middle East region so as to provide the defender role for the Catholic people groups. Similarly, on the other hand the Eastern Orthodox groups were protected by the USSR influence in similar locales as a result UK interest was imperfectly affected in this circle. In this connection the British administration developed its own provincial "protégés" (Liebreich, 2004; and Schölch, 1992).

Present political contemplations were upheld by a thoughtful fervent Christian conclusion towards the "rebuilding of the Jews direction for home land" to Palestine among components of the mid-nineteenth century British political world class – mainly prominently Lord Shaftesbury. By conspiracy the England Foreign Office was effectively indulged for Jewish people or groups migration towards the holy land like Palestine so as to provide the protected shield and home land for the Jewish community in all over the world (Friedman, 1973).

Diverse endeavors had been made settlement of the Jews in land in holy land. Before the rise of the Zionism movement only 24,000 Jews and Jewish families were

living in the region of Palestine land. However, Jewish groups all over the world intentionally migrated to the holy land in the last twenty years of the 19th century. With the international purge occasioned by the flare-up of the 1st WW, prior estimations, which were slipped through for quite a while, prompted a reestablishment of vital evaluations as well as political dealing over the Far East and Middle East (Stein, 1961; Friedman, 1973; and level and Bunton 2016).

The Zionism is the religious and nationalist movement of the Jewish people for a homeland in the historic land of Levant. Modern Zionist movement emerged from Central and Eastern Europe in early 20th century. Theodor Herzl is considered to the founder of modern Zionism. Chaim Weizmann, a Russian-born Jewish leader and the President of the World Zionist Organization, became the first Israeli President. The Balfour Declaration by Arthur Balfour, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in 1917 gave new breath and vigor to Zionist movement. Earlier that year, the Balfour had effectively determined the Aliens Act through Parliament within energetic addresses with respect to the need to limit the influx of mass migration towards the UK from Jews that were escaping from the Russian Empire (Klug, 2012; and Hansard, 1905).

Contemporary Regional Politics

The Middle East region is a cross-country district in Afro-Eurasia which by and large comprises Western Asia, the entirety of Egypt towards the North Africa portion, as well as Turkey localities towards Southeast Europe. Basically the term of Middle East has come into more extensive utilization as a substitution of the term Near East (instead of the Far East) starting in the mid-20th century. The expression "Menter East" has prompted some disarray over its evolving characterizations (Cairo, 2015; GPO, 2015; Kahana and Suwaed, 2015; and Shoup, 2011).

The majority Middle Eastern nations around thirteen to eighteen are important land portions of Arab nations. The most crowded nations in the area are Cairo, Tehran, as well as Istanbul, while in this regard Riyadh is the biggest Middle Eastern nation. The historical backdrop of the Middle East goes back to antiquated occasions, with the international significance of the areas being perceived for centuries. Significant religions had also inceptions in these areas such as Islam, Christianity as well as Judaism. In this regard the Bedouins establish the greater part ethnic gathering in the area (Cairo, 2015; GPO, 2015; Kahana and Suwaed, 2015 and Shoup, 2011).

The Middle East by and large has a hot, parched atmosphere, with a few significant waterways giving water systems to help horticulture in restricted zones, for example, the Nile River, the Euphrates and the Tigris Rivers fertile portion in Iraq and Kuwait respectively. Majority of Arab nations in Gulf areas have a tremendous potential of unrefined petroleum. Arabian Peninsula ruler's economies were basically dependent on crude petroleum and oil trades. In light of the bone-dry atmosphere and weighty dependence on the non-renewable energy source industry, the Middle East is both a hefty supporter of environmental change and a locale expected to be seriously adversely affected through it.

The area that is currently called the Middle East has facilitated extraordinary developments since forever plus it has consistently been in collaboration with the encompassing areas. Present communication had prompted the need for knowing the area intently. In such a manner, oriental examinations that go back towards the sixteenth century arose in Europe to contemplate individuals, societies, dialects and so on that lived in locales. Orientalism generally covered investigation of history, antiquarianism, old stories, semantics and philosophical examinations identified with the locale. Orientalists were seriously scrutinized in later years

because of present nearby participation with settler Western nations as well as their procedures.

The orientalist portrayal of Middle Eastern community orders through generalizations, fixed furthermore essentialist viewpoints that depended on the 'definitive' impacts of the strict culture were censured to deluding and manipulative stories that serve towards shape locale, as opposed to getting it (Zachary, 2004).

The development of the Middle East as an unmistakable locale after the First World War as well as the ascent of the Cold War in the later years enhanced the need to intently appreciate the area on Western nations. That is the reason new and deliberate methodologies have been conceived for a superior comprehension of the district. One of them is Western-focused pioneer approach. The 'pioneer' approach that looks at social, monetary and political structures in the Middle East to the 'advanced West' has zeroed in on a discussion if the area could be modernized. Forge approaches dissected governmental issues as well as society in the Middle East inside the structure of financial system, humanism and political theory.

One of the conspicuous methodologies in the Middle East exploration is authentic realist investigations that attention on the impacts of financial as well as political relations between the Western colonialist, entrepreneur powers, the Middle East nations on social, political as well as monetary structures in the region (Simon, 1994) lately, verifiable sociological examinations that emphasis on collaborations between society, state as well as worldwide framework, and attempt to comprehend legislative issues of the district inside present system have gotten instantly recognizable (Fred, 2005).

Radical as political entertainers that are persuasive in provincial governmental issues could be named on following political dynamics such as: local states, incredible forces in worldwide framework, global, local

associations as well as non-state entertainers. As expressed beforehand, these political entertainers endeavor to create approaches inside the system of chances given and requirements forced by the underlying erratic. Meanwhile, the entertainers are likewise constantly communicating with one another.

The primary entertainer of legislative issues in the Middle East is the state. As the most elevated political position ruling over a particular area, the state is the chief capacity to settle on fundamental choices with respect to political, financial, social and so forth issues. In spite of presence of since quite a while ago settled states with their own administrative conventions, (for example, Cairo, Tehran, Istanbul) in the locale, some Middle Eastern states, (for example, Beirut, Damascus, Baghdad, Tel Aviv and Amman) are regarded as regal time frame nations. Furthermore, there are various Gulf states that are located around the Persian Gulf like (Kuwait City, Manama, Doha, Abu Dhabi) political matters highly impacted by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia as well as Oman.

The state is the fundamental entertainer in governmental issues, nonetheless, it is the political system that shapes the state as well as decides essential legislative issues in a nation. That is, a political system in a nation shapes the sort of government, its philosophy, essential standards, and hierarchical structure and speaks to the state. Political systems/states in the Middle East could be classified in various structures relying upon the wellspring of authenticity (religious/common), the type of government (republic/government), the sort of government (popularity based/dictator), and relying upon its way to deal with area and worldwide framework (revisionist/the norm), and its key social and monetary approaches (progressive extremist/moderate).

Political systems are not never-ending. Administering systems might be toppled through various ways, for example, insurgency, overthrow or war that come full

circle in a sensational difference in nuts and bolts of governmental issues in that nation. For cases, the governments in Cairo in the period of the (1952), Bagdad regime in the period of the (1958), Tripoli in the period of (1969) and Tehran in the period of (1979) were toppled and supplanted by republics. Before 1979 in Iran the form of government was Islamic traditionalism. Due to the Islamic Revolution the Iran government was a revisionist and revolutionary state. Due to the Arab Spring in the regions of Libya, Egypt and Tunisia were toppled and ousted.

The appearance of Arab Spring in December 2010 that overpowered the entire area was another threat to USA strategy arrangement. Because of the looming civil war against the system in Cairo, the US administration has allegedly pressurized Hosni Mubarak to leave, nonetheless, it didn't sponsor the Morsi government that came to control and govern Egypt after the public protests and demonstration. Additionally, on July 3, 2013 it is asserted that America had verifiably upheld the rebellion against the Morsi administration.

Nonetheless, the USA under the umbrella of North Atlantic Treaty Organization, stretched out military help towards resistance against the Colonel Qaddafi administration in Tripoli. At the point when the Syrian administration attempted to smother against system shows by utilizing savagery, the USA organization announced that Assad has lost his authenticity, and assisted his adversaries with getting organized (Landler & David, 2011).

Regional elements are the wonders that were arisen because of collaboration between chronicled heritage, geological position, socio-political circumstance in the locale and political, monetary, social, outside components, and have solid ramifications on local governmental issues. The association between these variables plus nearby social qualities released some 'extremist' developments. Furthermore, disappointment

of the decision governments to adapt to social, financial and political difficulties, and the prohibition of individuals from legislative issues prepared for strengthening of extremist developments. Hence, these extreme developments have changed into provincial elements, which are compelling in the entire Middle East. Bedouin patriotism and political Islam are the important local elements in the Middle East. Palestine question as one of the principal local elements since it effectively affects the local governmental issues.

Middle Easterner patriotism arose in the late nineteenth century as a social arousing development in response to the Ottoman principle. The foundation of various states rather than a solitary Arab express that cover every single Arabic individual and grounds after the breakdown of Ottoman state as well as besides, foundation of French as well as UK command over those nations drove Arab patriotism to turn into a libertarian, revolutionary, against Western and container Arabism development. Especially after the Egyptian 'transformation' of 1952, Arab patriotism has gotten one of the best elements in local governmental issues. When utilized as an amazing instrument by some local governments, Arab patriotism, be that as it may, slowly lost its impact after the disappointment of composed Arab endeavors to battle against Jews (Bassam et al., 2004).

The control of Iraqi in Kuwait during the period of the 1990 has led America to attack Baghdad. However, the US administration was against the assailant; one checked the finish of Arab patriotism that conceived unification of the Arab nation. Arab patriotism has reemerged during the 1990s in another structure. The absence of an answer for the Palestine issue, ceaseless USA intercessions in Baghdad as well the advancement of new and free methods for correspondence with the ascent of globalization have prompted reappearance of Arab personality and patriotism in Arab nations. Not at all like the past one, has the new type of Arab patriotism not undermined power and fringes of the states, however

depended on basic sentiments like shared torments, culture, verbal communication in addition to religion (As'ad, 1992).

Stressing over the uprisings to spread over their nations, traditionalist Arab governments like Rabat, Amman, and Riyadh attempted some libertarian measures and fractional political changes to forestall resistance fights. As an outcome, in spite of the fact that these uprisings couldn't have given a total progress to the majority rules system, they demonstrated the famous will and desires for democratization. On account of these uprisings, Middle Eastern individuals came to front as an entertainer fit for showing political drive, along with democratization had gotten another political active in the area (Marina, 2011).

The mind-set of good faith as to the Arab Spring, be that as it may, has disappeared in a brief timeframe for two chief reasons. To begin with, Morsi was ousted through a military overthrow in 2013, driven by General Al-Sisi, who modified another dictator system in Cairo. Second, the enduring common battle in Damascus transformed into a local and partisan clash. Provincial and extra-territorial extraordinary force underpins given to battling parties has driven the common war draw out in Damascus (where political endeavors to determine the contention have stayed uncertain, constrained 4 million Syrians to take exile outside the nation, and uprooted 7 million individuals inside Damascus. Besides, Syria has gotten in the way for fanatic developments. Furthermore, the inability to give strength in Libya and Yemen after the evacuation of Colonel Qaddafi and Saleh governments, also, the ascent of radical developments in these nations have broken up the positive environment of Arab Spring.

Abraham Accords

The Abraham Accords are a joint-venture assertion and arrangements among the United Arab Emirates, USA

and Israel signed in the period of 13th, August 2020. The Abraham Accords had been endorsed through the period of September 15, 2020, In this regard the Zayed Al-Nahyan (Foreign Minister, United Arab Emirates), Rashid Al-Zayani (Foreign Minister, Bahrain), and Benjamin Netanyahu (Prime Minister, Israeli) signed the accord in the White House, South Lawn, Washington, D.C. However, the Abraham Accords was assertion that remains denoted the principal standardization links between Israel and Arab nations (The Hindu, 2020). The Abraham Accords was signed in USA among the United Arab Emirates (UAE) authority, Bahrain administration and Israel government so as to develop the constructive diplomatic, diplomatic harmony, friendly relations and normalization relationship dynamics among the nexus of countries within shape of Abraham Accords Peace Agreement (Makovsky, 2020; and Associated Press, 2020). On the other hand, the patriarch Abraham term was extreme virtuous between both Islam and Jew people because of the Abraham (AS) was the prophet (Tahmizian, 2020).

At the marking agreement, the United State top level authority (President) exclaimed that the five Muslim nations including Saudi Arabia could long follow, after that Oman, Sudan and others signed Abraham accords as soon within short term (New York Times, 2020). However, the Kelly Craft (United Nations Ambassador for US administration) in September 23, 2020 exclaimed that another Muslim nation could recognize the Israel government in few days (New York Post, 2020). In a similar period, the Abdalla Hamdok Sudan (PM) explained that the Sudan administration would not like to interface its expulsion from United States war against terrorism to rundown to normalizing the relations with Israel on behalf of the USA (Reuters, 2020). Sudan officially consented to standardize attachments with the Israel administration as well as to join the more extensive discretionary realignment in the Middle East region on 23-October 2020 (Schwartz, 2020a; and Suliman, 2020).

Furthermore, the arrangement expedited from the United States administration was turndown (The White House, 2020).

Israel and Sudan pioneers initially consented towards move standardization relationship after a February 2020 gathering in Uganda as well as quickened an arrangement following standardization declarations among Muslim nation and Israel administration specially the UAE (Schwartz, 2020b). The Abraham Accords were the new direction among Israel and Muslim countries as said to express by the Benjamin Netanyahu because of this period was to be remembered as the time of genuine and harmony. However, these initiatives developed harmony and extended the optimistic notion with other Arab nations (Schwartz, 2020a).

Obliviously the US administration was consented to eliminate Sudan from the rundown of State Sponsors of Terrorism; lifting harmonizing monetary endorses as well as consented to propel conversations on obligation clemency (Suliman, 2020). The Sudan administration in this regard was consented to pay the three hundred thirty-five million Dollars in remuneration to US casualties that were victimized by the terrorism (Suliman, 2020). The Sudan administration expressed gratitude toward USA efforts regarding to marking the bilateral links with Israel and to eliminating the psychological (terrorism) warfare (Schwartz, 2020a). Oman in this regard deferred a choice to standardize attachments with Israel until after the United States political race (November 3, 2020) Middle East Monitor, (2020).

Donald Trump (Abraham Accords originator) was beaten by Joe Biden, a Democratic competitor in November 2020, in the general election. On the other hand, the Donald Trump's was trounced, the United Arab Emirate enlisted campaigning firm Akin Gump as well as its subcontractor "American Defense International" to persuade the approaching Joe Biden group as well as Congress over the forthcoming F-35 contender deals.

However, on the other hand the thirteen-page report, these lobbyists expressed that the planes will give "forefront safeguard" for the United Arab Emirate, the America as well as their Middle Eastern accomplices. Additionally, the United Arab Emirate could be empowered to hare the security weight of the America, on the off chance that it procures the airplane (Jerusalem Post, 2020; and Foreign Lobby, 2020). Over Western Sahara, in the period of December, 2020, Morocco as well Israel administration was consented to standardize both countries relations (BBC, 2020).

Despite the fact that the both nations maintain quite a well links mechanism development that may cause the positive reflection and also kept up a real nexus about trade dynamics especially the diamond as well as cutting edge enterprises including counterfeit intelligence plus security aspects, the understanding (Abraham accord) was made the way for a lot more extensive scope of monetary collaboration, including formal ventures. Keeping in the view importance of the relationship between two countries the UAE administration was opened the 1st overseas branch in the hand and territory of the Israel (Shnidman, 2018; AP NEWS, 2019; Staff, n.d; and Godinho, 2020). Hence the UAE administration was given the encouragement to open the Jewish-based kosher restaurants so as to deliver the best services for the Jewish visitors in UAE (Gulfnew, n.d).

Prospects of Palestine State

The two-state solution is still a distant dream in the holy land of Palestine. Israel has occupied the Palestinian Arab land after the 1967 war and it has stated building Jewish settlements in the occupied territory of West Bank which are considered to be illegal under the International Law and the major obstacles towards enduring peace in Palestine and Middle East. The fringes of the territory of Palestine land could be "founded on the pre-1967 outskirts". The most recent goal was passed

165 to 6, with 6 abstentions in the period of the in November 2013, in this regard with the United States and Israel against the ballot of this resolution (The United Nations, 2010; and General Assembly, 2013). On the other hand, Palestinian authority had grasped the idea since 1980s, during the Arab Summit (Mark 1994). However, in this regard the Israel administration sees moves through Palestinian pioneers towards get worldwide acknowledgment of Palestine home land as being one-sided activity through Palestinians peoples as well as conflicting with an arranged 2-state arrangement. Overwhelming surveys and reported were dictated that the greater parts of the Palestinian and Israeli peoples were in the favor of settlement either the two-state solution or the two nation agreement (Hussein and Robert, 2009).

There were numerous conciliatory endeavors towards understanding a dual state arrangement that was beginning in the period of the 1991 in Spain so called the Madrid Conference. However, at the inception of dawn of the twentieth century Arab League massively anticipated the Arab tranquility plans. However, the prime and recent 2013 to harmony talks. However, the Oslo Accords was held by 1993 followed by Camp David in the period of 2000 and Taba arrangements in mid of the period of 2001. The UN Security Council collectively passed Resolution 242 in 1967 to compel the Israeli authority to withdraw from the domains of Muslim land while captured during the battle in 1967. In this regard the Israeli authority returned for end, all things considered, or conditions of belligerency and affirmation of power, regional uprightness and political autonomy of each state in the region after the 1967 Arab–Israeli war. The famous Palestinian freedom movement namely Palestine Liberation Organization was shaped in the period of the 1964, in this regard the PLO emphatically censured the goal, saying that it diminished the topic of Palestine to a displaced person problem (The United Nations, 2014; and Quandt, 1993).

On the other hand, fifty-six States suggested that the land for Muslim or the topic of Palestine as the major issue may be incorporated as a preliminary agenda for the General Assembly's that was held in the period of the September 1974. In a goal embraced on twenty-two November 1974, the UNO was accepted the fundamental Palestinian people rights, that incorporated right to self-assurance without outside impedance, the privilege to public freedom and power and the option to re-visitation of their homes and property. These fundamental rights were confirmed each year (The United Nations, 1974). Principal sign that Palestine Liberation Organization could acknowledge a dual-state arrangement, on in any event a between time premise, was enunciated by Hammami during the nineties seventies (Ayoob, 1981; and Husayn et al., 2003). SC goals going back to 1976 supporting dual-state arrangement dependent on the pre-1967 lines had been rejected through America, which underpins a dual-state arrangement yet contended that fringes should be haggled straightforwardly through effective gatherings of states. The thought was overpowering help in United Nation, GS since the mid-1970s (The United Nations, 2005; Cattani, 1988).

UN in the period of 15 November 1988 passes the Palestinian Declaration of Independence through the consensus. By and large, was deciphered as an aberrant acknowledgment of the State of Israel, and backing for a two-state arrangement. The Partition Plan was conjured to give authenticity to Palestinian statehood. Resulting explanations were taken to add up to the main express Palestinian acknowledgment of Israel (Rabie, 1992; and Quandt, 1993). General Assembly settled the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People in the period of the 1975, the Committee introduced two arrangements of proposals, one worried about the Palestinians' privilege of re-visitation of their homes and property, and the other with their privileges to self-assurance, public autonomy and sway in 1976. SC examined the suggestions yet

neglected to arrive at a choice because of the negative vote of the USA (The United Nations, 2014).

In 1987, later than 1st Intifada movement was started, as results extensive political work went into arranging a dual-state arrangement between the gatherings, starting with the Spin or the Madrid Conference in the period of the 1991. Huge of these exchanges was the Oslo Accords, which formally separated Palestinian land into three regulatory divisions and made the structure for the amount of Israel's political fringes with the Palestinian regions. However, in this regard the Accords were finished in the Camp David 2000 Summit, and subsequent exchanges at Taba in January 2001, however no last understanding was ever reached. The brutal episode of the Second Intifada in 2000 had exhibited the Palestinian public's thwarted expectation with the Oslo Accords and persuaded numerous Israelis that the arrangements were to no end.

Trilateral efforts were made by the Israel, PLO, and the USA administration in the area of the Annapolis Conference in the period of November 2007, but they did not get the desirable results and failed to accomplish an arrangement. Subsequently the contention that emitted among political system actors were developed but failed. In this regard the Hamas and Fatah movement were assumed responsibility for the Gaza Strip, fragmenting the Palestinian Authority into two countries, each professing to be the genuine agents of the Palestinian public. Fatah had controlled over the Palestinian National Authority in the West Bank on the other hand the Gaza was governed by Hamas. The most recent activities were the 2013–14 Israeli–Palestinian harmony talks under the direction of John Kerry, the US Secretary of State. These discussions likewise neglected to agree.

United Nation goals were to certify the lawlessness of settlements in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. Proposals were offered for more than fifty post-departure pay of pilgrims for surrendered property, as happened

following Israel's withdrawal of settlements from Gaza and Peninsula Sinai in 1982. Some pioneers in those past withdrawals were coercively eliminated. On the other hand, the SC passed the resolution 2334 so that to deny or against Israeli settlement in the West Bank region (UNO, 2014; and Karla, 1982). Another alternative is the binational arrangement, which could either be a twin system federalist course of action or a unitary state (Reut Institute, 2004).

The three-state arrangement was proposed as another other option. Jordan as well as Egypt had been worried about retaking obligations regarding the West Bank or Gaza (Slackman, 2009; and Haaretz, 2007). Various recommendations for the giving of Palestinian citizenship or private grants to Jewish pioneers were trade-off for the expulsion of Israeli army bases from the West Bank was handled through various Palestine leaders (Israel News, 2010). The thought was communicated through dual-state solution as well as allies of the pilgrims, traditionalist otherwise fundamentalist flows in Israeli Judaism that, as protesting any extraction, guarantee more grounded connections to land than to the province of Israel (El-Haddad, 2005).

Various schemes were designs for a Palestinian nation or land establishment such as:

- Creation of Palestinian land for Arab people comprising of the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem as its capital.
- Other, more restricted, plans for a Palestinian state have likewise been advanced, with parts of West Bank and Gaza that were settled through Israelis or are of specific key significance staying in Israeli. Territories that are as of now a piece of Israel should be designated towards Palestinian state.
- Another plan which has picked up some help is one where the Gaza Strip is given autonomy as a Palestinian area, with parts of the Gaza Strip split

among Jordan as well as Israel separately. Jerusalem issue must be tended through organization by an outsider, for example, UN as advanced in their underlying allotment plan.

- A real Islamic state should be established for the Palestine people. This course of action could confront complaint from the Jewish populace just as mainstream Muslims, as well as non-Muslim in the region of the Palestinians.
- A single, bi-public state (supported by different Israeli and Palestinian gatherings). Fears exist that the Palestinians may come to dwarf the Jews following a couple of years. Numerous Israelis are reluctant to live in a state where Jews never again are the majority. Solid patriot notion among numerous Israelis and Palestinians could be an impediment to this arrangement.

Conclusion

Present investigation was given real approaches to help the policy makers about the Middle Eastern governmental issues plus checked the basic principal or elements related with Middle East politics, driving entertainers and regional political elements that are persuasive in territorial political issues. Clarifications of Middle East political improvements through just one factor, or function of a productive entertainer is reductive and generally deceptive. Above else, it should be remembered that there are numerous entertainers playing local governmental political issues, and they are consistently in collaboration with one another. Also, capacities and capacities of entertainers, paying little mind to the amount they are amazing or viable, are obliged or strengthened by underlying variables related with the Middle East political dynamics. Thus, the expected impacts of authentic heritage, physical, regional political, human geology, and financial structure on governmental issues should be considered. Furthermore, territorial and worldwide elements intently

influence Middle Eastern political concerns, also. Powerful entertainers in local governmental political issues, their political inclinations and strategies are unavoidably influenced through regional as well as worldwide directions. Consequently, while breaking down the political advancements in the Middle East, one should take recorded and spatial setting into thought with an extensive viewpoint.

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A New Cold War in the Middle East between Saudi Arabia and Iran

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ABSTRACT

*Middle East has been home to a perpetual civil war. The main political players that influence the regional politics and result to strategic imbalance are Saudi Arabia and Iran. These two regional powers influence the domestic politics of the weaker states of Middle East. The struggle between these two Islamic powers is over the domestic political system of the region. More important is the contributions of external forces to the civil conflict in the region which come as a result of Tehran and Riyadh's urge for alliances and garnering power. The cold war between Tehran and Riyadh is not a 'new' cold war in the Middle East because an earlier cold war in the Middle East was fought by Gamal Abdel al-Nasir. (Malcolm Kerr, *The Arab Cold War*, 1971). It has often been the traditional political phenomena that during conflicts of domestic level, local actors, in order to garner power, look for regional players who could assist them militarily, financially and diplomatically. They try to find and develop convergence of interests with regional allies who share with them common ideologies and identities. These identical links are thus used by the regional powers to strengthen their relations with local actors. States that do not find the identity and ideological links with others can hardly influence the 'new cold war in the Middle East'. Thus, Cold War framework has been applied to this paper in order to understand the confusing state of affairs in the Middle East as a result of conflict between Saudi Arabia and Iran.*

Key Words: Cold War, Middle East, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Civil War, Sectarianism, Regional Hegemony

Introduction

The rivalry between the two thus is a new cold war because the first “Arab Cold War”, termed by Malcolm Kerr, was that which was started by Gamal Abdel al-Nasir in 1960s (Malcolm Kerr, 1971). However, the current cold war between Tehran and Saudi Arabia is thus called a ‘New Cold War’ because its features and dimensions resemble that of Cold War between United States of America and Soviet Union started immediately after WWII up to 1989 - the fall of Soviet Union. This New Cold War in the Middle East is race between Saudi Arabia and Iran for regional hegemony. It is not a sort of military struggle rather a struggle aimed at controlling the domestic political systems of the region. Undoubtedly, the great powers too are involved in the regional politics of the Middle East; however, they are not the major protagonists. The main protagonists of the “New Cold War in the Middle East” are Tehran and Riyadh.

Theoretical Framework

After conducting deep study of the Cold War literature, seven dimensions of the cold war came to fore that resemble the features of conflict between Riyadh and Tehran. These dimensions are Ideology, Diplomacy, Alliance System, Economic Dimension, Arms Race, Proxy War and Involvement in Wars.

Not a Sectarian War

Many experts have applied the framework of sectarianism. From media to policy makers, all have so far analyzed the confusing state of affairs from the glasses of sectarianism being played out by Saudi Arabia

and Iran which makes “Sunni versus Shiite”. It is undoubtedly one of the major factors behind the civil war in the Middle East. However, solely applying the “Sunni versus Shia” framework would deduct distorted analysis. The two sects of Islam have lived in harmony and peace for centuries. The current conflict is not the actual result of this sectarianism. The Lebanese civil war exhibited the unity between Sunnis and Shiites when both of these sects fought side by side against Christians. Similarly, during Iraq – Iran war, the Arab countries supported Iraq as they viewed the war as “Arab versus Persian”. (Gregory Gause, 2014)

Kurds are one of the important players in the episode of chaos in the Middle East. Both Sunnis and Shiites fight side by side for their national interests. Nuri al-Maliki has received the same tough time from Shiites as he faced from Sunnis. (Harith Hasan, 2013). Actually, both of these two Islamic players play “balance of power game”. They just use the sectarian card in order to garner support from Shiites and Sunnis respectively. Their motives are not religious rather geo-strategic. Their contest is not for defeating the rival religious ideology rather to contain the rival from regional influence in the region. The Civil Wars in the Middle East have crossed the sectarian lines. Iran has extended her support to Islamic Jihadists and Hamas against Israel. (Ray Takeyh, p. 171) Moreover, Saudi Arabia, being the leader of Sunni Islam went into making alliance with Shiites in Iraq. In Iraq, Saudi Arabia supported the Iraqiya Party in the elections of 2005 and 2010. This party was led by Iyad Allawi who was Shiite by birth. (Michael Gordon, 2012. 192)

Schism between Sunni and Shiite Sects

The split between the two dates back to the very age of Islam itself. Each sect has been claiming to be the genuine and real sect of Islam while the other has often been rejected as a detracted one from the rival sect. Though this schism is not the base of the problem,

however, it is one of the major determinants of division and upheavals in the Middle East. The split between the two followed the departure of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in 632 A.D. The difference occurred on the question that who will be the next Caliph after Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)? The group that supported the claim of Ali ibn Abi Talib came to known as Shiites while the group that differed with this was known as Sunnis. A greater part of Shiite believers dwell in Persian Gulf. (Vali Nasr, 2007, 34). Moreover, the two has difference over the leadership of Muslim world. Sunnis believe that status quo should not be altered while Shiites believe that the leader of Islam world, the successor, has the authority to interpret the injections of Islam as per his understanding of the Quran and Sunnah. (Seyyed Hossein Nasr, 2013, 144).

Early Interactions between Saudi Arabia and Iran

The period between 1925 and 1930 is a period of first startup of race for regional hegemony. In 1925, Reza Shah annexed Khuzestan. Resultantly, Saudi Arabia got alarmed and went into signing a treaty with British and declared Bahrain, Kuwait and Oman as buffer states in the Gulf. This move was not acceptable to Tehran as it had historical claims over the Gulf. Their relations remain friendly during 1971 – 1979. Both had developed mutual understanding. (Adel Altorafi, 2012, 110).

Relationship after the Revolution in Iran in 1979

The politics and political dynamics of the Middle East were changed after the ‘Revolution in Iran. A complete stalemate and rivalry replaced amicable relations. Traditional war was replaced with a new Cold War which got the features of Cold War that had long been existed between United States and Soviet Union. Both Saudi Arabia and Iran changed their approaches to the West. Iran became harsh on West while Saudi Arabia became close ally of West and the United States. The two started

a quest for regional hegemony in the region. Iran was trying to export their respective Islamic revolution to the Islamic world while Saudi Arabia was trying to preserve the Status quo. These two powers, involved in a competition for regional influence, started garnering power and alliances by projecting their respective form of Islam into their foreign policies. Iran became the leader of Shiite faith while Saudi Arabia claimed to be the sole leader of Sunni world.

Race for Alliance

The determinants of relationship between Saudi Arabia and Iran have always been competition for regional hegemony, weapons and resources. Though there had been a strong historical hatred between the two, however, their relations got strained and competition for regional hegemony escalated right after the revolution in Iran. Thus, Saudi Arabia, after feeling threat from the newly revolutionary Iran, designed a foreign policy aimed at curtailing the growing regional influence and power of Iran. In doing so, Saudi Arabia not only projected Wahhabism into her foreign policy, rather went into seeking alliances in the region.

Saudi Arabia relations with Iraq were strained. However, during Iraq-Iran war, Saudi Arabia came to help Iraq. It was because Iraq wanted to curb Iranian influence in the region. (John Tirman and Abbas Maleki, 2014, 92). Saudi Arabia, along with United States, immediately came forward to provide Iraq with advanced weaponry as well as economic aid during the war. (William L. Cleveland and Martin Bunton, 2016, 417). The inducing result of the war against Iran was the formation of GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council). The GCC later on became strong ally of US bloc. As a result of becoming an ally of US bloc, the GCC members were bestowed with advanced weaponry and protection under US nuclear system.

Iran's Making Alliances

To balance the power against Saudi Arabia's alliances in the region and beyond, Iran made alliances with Hamas and Hezbollah. Iran provided these non-state actors military, financial and weaponry assistance. Moreover, Tehran made an alliance with Syria. The Sunnis in Syria were suppressed so badly that they became radicalized. (Thomas Pierret, 2013). The factors of convergence of interests between Syria and Iran were their shared belief and heritage and political approaches of anti-Americanism and anti-Zionism. (Nadia Vou Maltzahn, 2013). Soon after the Islamic revolution Iran, both Iran and Syria concluded a cultural agreement which stated that both of the brotherly nations hail from the same civilization and have same culture in common. Moreover, it stressed on the unity against Western imperialism and Israel. (Nadia Vou Maltzahn, 2013)

This newly constructed bond between the two was aimed at strategic balance. In other words, this very alliance gave Syrian and Iran an advantage to exert their hegemonic power in the region. Actually, it was the Iraq – Iran War that tied the bond between Tehran and Damascus. The alliance was formed as a result of Iraq invasion of Iran. Alliance was not based on the common culture and ideologies only rather it was made possible because of the maxim 'enemies' enemy is friend'. Iraq and Syria had been rivals to each other for regional influence in the Arab world. So it was natural of Syria to develop an alliance with Iran against Iraq. Moreover, For Iran to get access to Lebanon, Syria was the best strategic partner as well. Lebanon was already home to civil war. Iran wanted to add fuel to the civil war in Lebanon as Lebanon shared border with Israel. So, Lebanon was a key strategic state for Iran to export her revolution. A revolution in Lebanon could have greater political impacts on Israel. Moreover, Tehran could attack Israel easily from the bordering Lebanon.

Tehran and Riyadh: A Race for Power Struggle in Iraq

The removal of Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq was one of the greatest shocks for Saudi Arabia. However, it was warmly welcomed by the officials in Tehran. The toppling of Saddam Hussein government in Iraq caused a shift in balance of power in the Middle East. It changed the dynamics of regional security in favour of Iran. The two rival powers of Saudi Arabia and Iran were caught in race for controlling the domestic politics of Iraq. Tehran had long been an eye on the holiest places of Shiite faith located in Iraq. It included Karbala and Askari Shrine which are the main historical places of Shiite emotions and faith. Moreover, a greater majority of Iraqi population is Shiite by faith. On the other hand, Iraq was significant for Saudi Arabia for the reason it was a Sunni power in the Middle East. So, with the fall of Saddam Hussein, the Sunni power came to an end in Iraq. It had direct impacts on the regional power of Saudi Arabia because Saudi Arabia, being the leader of Sunni world, lost a strong Sunni ally and power in the region. Moreover, the shift of power in to the hands of Shiites in Iraq obsessed Saudi Arabia with the fear of insecurity. Riyadh feared that the alliance between Iraq and Iran could be dangerous to the interests and regional influence of Saudi Arabia in the Middle East. (Andrew Terrill, 2012, 45)

Thus, Iraq became one of the deadliest battlefields for Saudi Arabia and Iran to test their proxies. Sunnis lost power and Shiites rose to power as a result of the removal of Saddam Hussein. Iran got a golden opportunity to influence the domestic politics of Iraq and extend regional influence into Iraq. This shift in balance of power in favour of Iran was unacceptable to the officials in Riyadh. Iraq not only became Iran's political and ideological ally but also a trade route and trade partner. One of the main markets of Iran's product today is Iraq. However, the 'enduring rivalry' between the Tehran and

Riyadh and their race for regional hegemony in Iraq has destroyed political machinery of Iraq.

Tehran and Riyadh: A Race for Power Struggle in Yemen

Gulf is another hotbed of the cold war between Tehran and Riyadh. Saudi Arabia has better understanding the Gulf monarchs. Iran could not find any other way thus she sought alliances with local Shiite non state actors and individuals. Iran has been busy in mobilizing these Shiites to stand against their governments for their anti-Iran policies. Moreover, the border between Yemen and Saudi Arabia has always been headache for the officials in Riyadh. This border has often been used by terrorists, smugglers and rebels against Saudi kingdom. (Andrew Terrill, 2012, 14) Thus, Saudi Arabia has always supported Yemeni government with economic and military aid to ensure her writ on the border. Converse to this, Iran supports Houthi rebels against Yemeni government.

In 2009, Riyadh directly hit Houthi rebels by intervening in Yemen. Thus the conflict between Houthi minority and government officials reached its peak. Saudi Arabia used heavy weapons, bombs and air-bombing against Houthi rebels. In retaliation, Iran sent well trained Hezbollah fighters to lead the Houthi armies in war against Yemeni government. This episode shows the direct involvement of Riyadh and Tehran in the domestic affairs of Yemen and how things worsen after their intervention.

Tehran and Riyadh: A Race for Power Struggle in Lebanon

The rivalry between the two did stop in Iraq and Yemen, it also reached Lebanon. Lebanon had been suffering through a civil war since 1975 to the very start of 1990s.

Iran had already developed close ties with Hezbollah. So, as compare to Saudi Arabia, Iran had much more close ties with Lebanon through Hezbollah. Moreover, Hezbollah has been the most influential actor in Lebanon. Iran aids Hezbollah millions in dollar as well as it trains Hezbollah fighters too. On the other hand, Riyadh invests billions of petrodollar in Lebanon to exert her influence in the region. (Mordechai Nisan, April 2007).

Tehran and Riyadh: Power Struggle in Palestinian Territories

Palestinian territories are another good example of cold war show between Riyadh and Tehran. The Six Day War of 1969 exposed the weak military institutes of Arab World. The war proved Israel as the only powerful military might in the region. As a result of this unbearable defeat, Muslim revivalism movements were started. These Islamic revivalism movements gave birth to political Islam. (Marc Lynch, Foreign Policy Magazine, 2012) As a result of heavy blow to Muslims and specifically to Palestine, Palestinian national movements emerged that based their foundations on religion. Hamas and Palestinian Liberation Organizations are the prominent among them. Interestingly, both of Tehran and Riyadh came to provide help to these Muslim movements as both of them claim to be the leaders of Islamic world. Moreover, both of Tehran and Riyadh are anti-Zionist. However, both of Tehran and Riyadh have totally opposite approaches to peace process in Palestine.

Though Riyadh has been supporting the non-state-actors in Palestine, she has exhibited quite moderate approach regarding achieving peace between the Muslim world and Israel. Saudi Arabia offered a mechanism at Beirut Conference of 2002 that peace with Israel is possible only if Israel steps back to pre-1967 settlements. In response to this, Israel would be ensured recognition

from the entire Arab world. However, realist approach suggests that Saudi Arabia was not as such concerned with peace rather she feared Iranian influence in the absence of peace.

Systematized Analysis

Riyadh and Tehran are the major powers that influence the domestic and regional politics and regional dynamics of balance of power. These two powers have divided entire region into two different ideological and military camps. After the fall of Saddam regime, balance of power shifted in favour of Iran. History witnessed first ever Shiite Arab State. Both Riyadh and Tehran architected ethno-religious policies based on sectarianism in order to exert their influence in the region and garner power. As a result, entire region was fixed into a sectarianism based identity.

The fear of insecurity was aggravated with Ahmadinejad's coming into power and his subsequent ambition to develop nuclear bomb. To balance the power, Saudi Arabia also pledged to make her own nuclear bomb. Resultantly, a nuclear race was caused in the region. Stability and insecurity of the Middle East was put on stake just because of the race for regional hegemony between Tehran and Riyadh. The rival between the two replaced the regional harmony of the region with sectarianism.

Conclusion

Hence, after discussing and coming to fore several factors involved in the rivalry between Tehran and Riyadh, it is crystal clear that the tradition of rivalry in Middle East has crossed the traditional warfare. It is a "New Cold War in the Middle East" between Tehran and Riyadh. The primary aim of the two is to get regional influence in the region, to curb the growing power of the rival and become the sole leader of Islamic world.

Though they have been using the sectarian card, however, this card is merely used for garnering support. Sectarianism is not the sole foundation of the rivalry rather a major and an influencing factor in the rivalry between the two.

The first ascertained feature of Cold War between United States and Soviet Russia was conflicting ideologies. In case of Saudi Arabia and Iran, they revived their past memories, gave a base influenced and painted by religion. The mixing of religion with politics gave birth to new political ideologies. These ideologies were Khomeinism of Iran and Wahhabism of Saudi Arabia. These ideologies then became the primary determinants of their foreign policies. So the war between the two is ideological war of Khomeinism versus Wahhabism. Another dimension of Cold War between United States of America and Soviet Union was diplomacy. Here, in the case of Tehran and Riyadh, diplomacy has become so harsh and hard that the two try to pressurize the other through severe diplomatic statements. Their foreign policies have been influenced by the insecurity narrative. Alliance System is another dimension of Cold War framework. So far we analyzed and got to know that the two Islamic powers, Saudi Arabia and Iran, are engaged in a race for making alliances in the region. They try to balance the power by making alliances. Saudi Arabia has made an alliance with Gulf States, US and European states. In return, Iran has made an alliance with Syria, Hamas, Hezbollah and Shiite minorities in the region. Economic dimension of the Cold War frame has also been found in the rivalry between these the Middle East powers. The exploration of oil in Iran and Saudi Arabia enabled their economies to export their relevant ideologies to entire Muslim world. The petrodollar helped them support their proxies. Fifth dimension of the Cold War was arm race between US and Soviet Union while, the same case is found in the cold war between Riyadh and Tehran. Iran has been struggling to develop a nuclear bomb which threatened neighboring Sunni

Gulf States. This would definitely instigate Riyadh develop her own bomb to balance power against Iranian Bomb. Proxy Conflict was the second last factor of Cold War framework which is found in the conflict between Riyadh and Tehran. Both Tehran and Riyadh are engaged in using the weaker states as proxies against each other. Moreover, the non-state actors like Mujahideen, Taliban, Hezbollah and Hamas have also been used as proxies serving Tehran and Riyadh. Last dimension of Cold War framework is the direct involvement in wars. Like United States and Soviet Union got involved directly in wars of Vietnam, Korea and Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia and Iran have also got involved directly in wars of Syria, Yemen and Bahrain.

Pakistan has been suffering direct implications of the new Cold War between Tehran and Riyadh in the Middle East. Pakistan has been badly affected by the sectarianism fed by both Iran and Saudi Arabia. (Pew Research Centre, 2012). The second largest Shiite population, after Iran, resides in Pakistan. Therefore, Pakistan cannot survive any antagonism between these two sects which are directly connected to the foreign policies of these two states. Thus, Pakistan is supposed to not hurt its immediate neighbor Iran by becoming an ally of Saudi Arabia against Iran. Saudi Arabia is undoubtedly one of the closest friends of Pakistan who share common religious culture and beliefs. However, it should play the role of an intermediary between the two instead of becoming biased against one side. Pakistan is often pressurized by Saudi Arabia as Pakistan is dependent on the economic aid given by Saudi Arabia. In order to get rid of economic dependence on Saudi Arabia Pakistan should invest and develop her own industries so that she could become economically independent. This independent economy would ensure an independent foreign policy. Iran is a good balancer against India. Pakistan should not propel Tehran against India by jumping to the bloc of Saudi Arabia. Lastly,

Pakistan should avoid interference in Afghanistan as it has direct repercussions on the peace in Pakistan.

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His Highness Sheikh Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah 1929 - 2020



Kuwait's Emir Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jaber al-Sabah was known as regional peace maker in the Gulf & beyond. He was well-known worldwide for his humanitarian efforts who died on September 29, 2020, at the age of 91. May Allah rest his soul in peace. Ameen

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