

Pakistan Review

of Social Sciences



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Afghanistan: Portrayal of Taliban War, Victory and Assuming Power in media and Perspectives of West, China, Russia, Central Asia, India and Pakistan

Authors

Erham Ahmed, Faiza Awan

Abstract

This article is an examination of the history of war in Afghanistan during different eras. The history of Afghanistan indicates that the country had been in war for long time. Afghanistan had been in war since historic times, from Ghaznavis in 10th century till 2021. The country was also invaded by foreigners multiple times. Taliban war in Afghanistan after Soviet withdrawal increased and after few events U.S. invaded to control terrorism in the region. The research articles gives insight view of the emergence of Taliban group and the way they took over the country in the end of 20th century. The portrayal of Taliban in media during and after their war with U.S. troops has been discussed. Latest developments in Afghanistan and Taliban takeover Afghan government is viewed differently by countries across the world. Additionally, this article explores perspectives of the Western countries including United States of America, United Kingdom and European Union countries, few of the neighboring countries, Pakistan, Russia, Central Asian countries and India on Taliban taking over Afghanistan and assuming power.

Keywords: Taliban, Afghanistan, war, U.S. invasion, Taliban takeover, assuming power, perspectives

Introduction

Afghanistan is a country with an area of 652,860 square miles with 38.93 million population. It has remained the war trodden country since the historic times. The Islamic armies in the middle of 6th century defeated the Sassanians in Iran and advanced to the Afghan areas. But, they were unable to capture, thus gave rise to chaos and revolt in these areas (Dupree, 2021). Through the 7th century, the land of Afghanistan has been in war and conquest. Despite surrounded by the mountains and having people of fierce attitude, the county has been invaded number of times in its history (Szczepanski, 2019).

Afghanistan under Mehmood Ghaznavi, Nadir Shah Afshar, Ahmed Shah Abdali, Khurasani wars

Sabuktagin

The 10th century saw the rise of a Turkish slave Alptagin, who captured the city of Ghazna, now Ghazni. Few years later, a slave in Ghazna named Sabuktagin freed from the

governor in the Afghan mountains, extended the conquest to Kabul and Sindh. Sabuktigin ruled from 977 to 997. He took control of Ghazni in 977 and later conquered main cities of Afghanistan including Kandhar (Dupree, 2021).

Mahmud Ghaznavi

In 998, when Mahmud heard of his brother Ismail taking over the rule, he challenged him. He took control of Ghazni and took the power of Ghaznavid empire. Mahmud expanded the Ghaznavid rule to the north western India. He used brilliant techniques in building his military force relied on high horses armed with bows. The target of Mahmud forces was the ferocious Hindu Rajputs who refused to coordinate in a threat from Afghanistan (Szczepanski, 2019). During his last years, the Turkic tribes challenged the Ghaznavid rule along with Seljuk Turks. These rebellion forces had taken away few parts of Mahmud's empire till his death in 1030. Mahmud and his successors called themselves the Arabic word, Sultan (Dupree, 2021).

Genghis Khan

Genghis Khan violently defeated and occupied the cities of surrounding empires by 1209. He extended the Mongol Empire from the Caspian Sea to Persian Gulf. To unite his power with adjoining empires and he sent a message to Khwarizm Empire accompanied with treasures including gold, silver and camels. But the convoy was killed by the greedy border officer. When Genghis Khan got to know about this assassination through a survivor, he sent message to Shah to accept their terms and bow down to the Mongol army and demand the punishment of the assassinator officer. Khwarizm Shah refused the terms, killed the only Muslim messenger and insult Genghis Khan by shaving off the beards of other Mongol messengers back to him. The ruthless Mongol ruler on this offensive behavior sent around 200,000 soldiers to attack on Afghanistan (Williamson, 2016). The Mongol army did mass killing and captured the cities of Herat, Balkh, Ghazni and Bamiyan. From 1219 to 1221, Genghis Khan captured and destroyed the Khwarizm Empire. As a punishment for insulting attitude of Shah, Genghis Khan moved his army towards the other areas of Afghanistan, Pakistan and India (Dupree, 2021).

Timur Lenk

The end of 14th century marked the victory of Timur over large part of the region (Dupree, 2021). Timur was appointed as Minister of Samarkand with Governor Ilyas Khoja. Later accompanied with his allies he defeated the governor in 1364. In 1370 Timur betrayed one of his allies and took control of Balkh and announced himself as the new ruler of Samarkand, restoring the Mongol empire. Timur remained in war against the khans of Jatah and Khwarizm and occupied Kashgar in 1380. Timur got control of Herat as a part of his wars in Persia in 1383. He occupied the areas of Khurasan and eastern Persia, Iraq, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Mesopotamia and Georgia till the end of 14th century. In the beginning of 15th century, due to Timur's fierce actions towards Egypt and Ottoman Sultan, Aleppo, Damascus was occupied and Baghdad was

completely destroyed and about 20,000 citizens were murdered. Timur was master of the military techniques established by Genghis Khan (Britannica, 2021).

Nadir Shah Afshar

The Iranian ruler Nadir Shah belong to the Turkic Afshar tribe. This tribe was loyal to the Iranian Safavid Shah. Nadir Shah formed the group of robbers. In 1726, he along with his group and supporters of Safavid Shah Tahmasp II formed military forces and defeated Ghilzay Afghan ruler Mahmud. Afghan ruler Mahmud forcefully took the throne in 1722. Due to his tremendous victories Tahmasp regained his throne (Dupree, 2021). After that he occupied the areas of Azerbaijan, Iraq and made the Turks leave the Persia; Iran, who attacked Persia when he was in Khurasan. In 1732, Nadir took control of Herat and recruited many Heratis in his army. In 1736 Nadir Afshar take over the Iranian throne, become Nadir Shah. He freed Persia from Afghans and Russians and then attacked few parts of Afghanistan including Kandhar, Ghazna and Kabul and conquer it. He made the most powerful army of his time but still have greed to conquer and only interested in war, conquest and brutality (Britannica, 2021). While he was busy in crushing an uprising in Khurasan, his own men assassinated him in 1747.

Ahmed Shah Abdali

Ahmed Shah was the chief of command of Abdali armed group under leadership of Nadir Shah. The afghan tribe leaders selected him as Shah after Nadir Shah's death in 1747. Ahmed Shah Abdali was the Durrani ruler to whom Afghans give a lot of respect. Ahmed Shah Durrani was the founder of the state of Afghanistan (Rattray, 2000). He expanded the kingdom from Oxus River to Indian Ocean and from Khurasan to Kashmir, Sindh and Punjab. Ahmed Shah selected the member of his council from the main Afghan tribes (Britannica, 2014).

Khurasani wars

Khurasan has been the historical area. It is comprised of territory lying around the northwestern Iran, southern Turkmenistan and northern Afghanistan. The land of Khurasan has an ancient history. The Sassanians named it in 3rd century. The literal meaning of Khurasan is the land of the Sun. Khurasan regained its independence under the Tahirid, Saffarid and Samanid rule, from 821 to 999. Later became part of the Ghaznavid, Seljuk and Khwarizm Empire. Genghis Khan and then Timur also controlled it. Afghans then occupied it from 1722 to 1730. The Iranian frontiers of Khurasan were demarcated in 1881. The province of Khurasan in 2004 was divided into three provinces (Britannica, 2021). Khurasan had a troubled history as the people of various ethnicities and areas ruled it.

I- Afghan war with Britishers

A series of wars fought by the Afghan rulers with British India. The Britishers want to extend their rule over Afghanistan. These wars were known as Anglo-Afghan wars.

First Afghan-British war

In 1838, George Eden, the British governor-general of India, declared war on Afghanistan in Simla Manifesto. War was declared in an attempt to safeguard their empire in India as the Russian influence is increasing in Afghan region. Britishers want to bring exiled Shah Shuja Durrani in place of Dost Muhammad Khan. First Anglo-Afghan war considered as a turning point in Afghanistan's history. At that time Afghanistan was a war torn country as the power of Dost Muhammad was limited to Kabul, Ghazni and Jalalabad. In north, Oxus River was ruled by local leaders while Herat in the west, was ruled by Yar Muhammad Khan Alokozai. In the south, Kandhar was under the rule of half-brother of Dost Muhammad. On the eastern side, Peshawar was rule by Sikhs (Britannica, 2020).

British did not face much resistance by Afghan tribes due to no central authority. They easily entered Kandhar and transferred the Kabul power to Shah Shuja Durrani in 1939. Despite the fact that British did not face any confrontation but they were not prepared for that Afghan war. They have no understanding of Afghanistan and did not make any effort to understand the Afghanis (Rahi, 2020).

In 1841, Afghans confronted Britishers. They tried to control the situation through military intervention but did not succeeded. Britishers did a lot of effort to maintain their domination over Afghans by mercilessly killing their leaders and conspiracies. At last, in 1842 the British decided to leave Afghanistan. Shah Shuja was also killed as British leave Afghanistan. Dost Muhammad returned and again gain control of Kabul in 1843 (Britannica, 2020).

Second Afghan-British war

It was believed in 1870s that the competing powers of Britain and Communist USSR had to have a clash in the Central Asian region. The Great Game of Britain was to keep Russia away from the British Empire in India and reduce Russian influence in Afghanistan while Russia had a goal to invade and held control of British India (McNamara, 2019).

In 1875 Lord Lytton was appointed as governor general of British India. At that time Russian influence was getting stronger in Afghanistan and Lord Lytton want to secure the front by force. Lytton noticed that Russian envoy sent to Kabul was accepted but diplomatic message by British was refused by Afghans. Upon refusal British intervened again in Afghanistan in 1878. Unlike first intervention, British forces of 40,000 faced confrontation by Afghan tribes but were able to get control of larger part of Afghanistan till 1879. As British hold control Major Louis Cavagnari met the new ruler Yakub Khan at Gandmak. The Treaty of Gandmak marked the end of war. Due to poor governance of Yakub Khan British faced few uprisings by Afghan tribesmen in Kabul, resulted in killing of Major Louis and his soldiers. General Roberts moved towards Kabul to take the revenge. He became a sign of terror as he hanged number of Afghans who were a part of rebellion (Britannica, 2020). Abdul Rehman, new leader of Afghanistan,

assured British that they will not have any ties with any country other than British while British agreed to not to intervene in Afghans internal matters.

Third afghan-British

The support of Ottoman Empire raised in Afghanistan against British during World War I. The third Afghan British war happened in 1919, when Amir Amanullah of Afghanistan attacked British India but did not succeeded. Already exhausted British were not able to fight with Afghans and after a month long war, Afghanistan regained their independence from British through Treaty of Rawalpindi (Britannica, 2020). Afghanistan in the coming 100 years faced Western interventions by Russians in 1979 and Americans in 2001 (McNamara, 2019).

II- War with Communist USSR 1979-1989

In 1979, the Soviet Union invade Afghanistan under the Soviet-Afghan Friendship Treaty of 1978. Soviet forces entered into Kabul through air with 280 aircrafts and 26,000 soldiers in three groups to support the communist government in Afghanistan. They face little resistance from afghan army loyal to Hafizullah Amin. Babrak Karmal, exiled leader of People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, form new government and more Soviet forces entered from the north. They face fierce resistance when they entered into the major parts of country (Editors, 2009).

The roots of Taliban group started in 1979, when Afghanistan was invaded by Soviet Union in 1979. The Soviets want to form Communist government in Afghanistan and also got support from minority of urban residents. But the majority of Afghans considered it against their values and they used to follow conservative practices ruled by the tribal and ethnic groups. These rural Afghans jointly formed a group known as mujahideen. They fought vigorously with support of America and made the Soviet forces to leave Afghanistan (Ellis, 2021).

Mujahideen, called as resistance fighters by America, do not want the Communist soviets control Afghanistan as they were violation Islamic and traditional values. They announced Jihad against the Soviets and it was highly supported by the Islamic world. United States support them with help of Pakistan thus increased their power over Soviets. They used guerilla tactics against Soviet forces. They attack the Soviets and then disappear into the mountains, causing great destruction. They used weapons that they got from U.S. or snatched from the Soviets (Editors, 2009). U.S. President Reagan called them as freedom fighters. CIA's secret Operation Cyclone provide weapons and money for war through Pakistan General Zia-ul-Haq, Pakistani dictator at that time, urged the Muslim countries to send volunteers to fight against Soviet and Osama bin Laden was among these volunteers (AP, 2021). The war took a turning point when in 1987 U.S. launched anti-aircraft missiles. Through Stinger missiles Mujahideen shoot down Soviet planes and helicopters to erode them from space control (Woody, 2018). After nine years long war new Soviet leader decided to withdraw their forces in 1988. In these nine years of war around one million civilians were killed along with 90,000 Mujahideen, 18,000 Afghan forces and 15,000 Soviet soldiers (Taylor, 2014).

III- Post-Communist wars with Mujahideen/war lords with USA, 1991

The nine years long Soviet war created a ground for terrorism and gave rise to Osama bin Laden. Civil war started as Soviets leave the country. All this chaos gave rise to a group of Islamic teachers and students. They sprang up from ultra conservative religious groups in the refugee camps in Pakistan. These camps were established by the United States for the guerilla groups when the Soviet forces occupied Afghanistan. In the initial years, the emergence of Taliban in mid-1990, is welcomed by the majority of Afghans. Taliban promised the masses to unite the war trodden country by creating peace and ending the era of war (Anderson, 2021).

The Soviet war created a ground for terrorism and gave rise to Osama bin Laden. In 1992 Mujahideen groups entered Kabul, home arrest Najibullah and hang him along with his brother in 1996. Civil war started as Soviets leave the country. The sharing of powers among Mujahideen groups fall apart and they for the next four years they fight with each other to gain power. Major part of Kabul was destroyed, 50,000 people were killed (AP, 2021). Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Mujadadi, Haqqani were among the four big war lords who did peace agreement in Kaaba in 1993 that they will not fight anymore, work together in restructuration. The peace agreement was mediated by Saudi Arabia, King Fahd and Pakistan, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif (Ibrahim, 1993). But they continue to fight for almost 10 years. Taliban also captured Kandhar and took over the country in 1996, setting up strict Islamic rules (AP, 2021). Taliban use name of Islam as a justification of their brutal laws, activities (ICRC, 1999). That is why Afghans hate Taliban. Taliban ruled country under Mullah Umar, imposed restrictions, gave public punishments and executions, women were not allowed to work and denied girls' right to education. Only primary schools for girls kept on working in numerous regions of the country under Taliban control. They got control over most of Afghanistan till 1999 but did not accepted internationally due to their strict public policies (Britannica, 2020). They dynamite the largest statues of Buddha in 2001 in Bamiyan province.

IV- Invasion of USA in Afghanistan in 2001 to 2021

Osama bin Laden, Al-Qaeda leader, provide personal, financial and logistics support to Sheikh Muhammad, who had a plan to attack U.S. by hijacking planes. They attacked World Trade Center, Pentagon, Pennsylvania and Shanks Ville on 11 September 2001 (Bergen, 2021). After 9/11 attacks, Washington demand Mullah Omar to hand over Osama bin Laden as Afghanistan was the base of Al-Qaeda but Mullah refused. U.S. President George Bush declared the global War on Terror and invade Afghanistan. In October 2001, U.S. led coalition drops bombs in Afghanistan, launching Operation Enduring Freedom. They did air strikes on Al-Qaeda and Taliban forces. The Northern Alliance and Pashtun anti-Taliban forces backed U.S. Taliban's hold loosen as they lost Mazar-e-Sharif, later they lost Taleqan, Bamiyan, Herat, Kabul and Jalalabad. Interim government was formed with Hamid Karzai as head, after Bonn agreement by UNSC (cfr, 2021).

Taliban rule ended in December 2001 with Mullah Omar leaving Kandhar. In 2003, Pentagon stated that major fight is over in Afghanistan, President George Bush announced mission accomplished. He announced the reconstruction of Afghanistan, spent \$38 billion from 2001 to 2009. The command of PRTs, Provincial Reconstruction Teams, was given to NATO states (cfr, 2021).

V- Taliban war

Following is the portrayal which deliberates that Afghanis have to do only one thing in this world; WAR. The war lords of Afghanistan did agreement in 1993 in Kaaba that they will stop fighting but they breach the agreement. Taliban are Political and religious armed group. They got power in Afghanistan in 1994 when Soviet military forces left Afghanistan after nine years of war (NYT, 2021). Taliban were actually the religious students who formed a group and arose in Afghanistan when country was in a situation of chaos and disorder. Taliban under leadership of Mullah Omar extend their occupation from one city to nearly half of country.

VI- Taliban resistance war with USA from 1991-2021

People hate Taliban due their brutality and wrong use of Islam so after invasion U.S. solidify them against Taliban in Afghanistan. So Taliban came against US forces. In 2004, a videotaped message surfaced in which Osama bin Laden took the responsibility for 9/11 attacks. In 2006 U.S. attacked Iraq resulting in Taliban again gaining power with intense attacks. They started occupying rural areas in south. The situation intensified as suicide attacks of Taliban increased from 27 in 2005 to 139 in 2006. Since 2009, casualties rose to 111,000 (cfr, 2021). A decade of U.S. war marked in 2011 with spending \$444 billion. Collateral killings increased when U.S. forces firings killed dozens of civilians in Shindand.

In 2014, divided government of Ashraf Ghani and Abdullah Abdullah was formed by U.S. intervention. American and NATO forces ended their combined operations. President Obama ordered U.S. army to continue their attacks on Taliban and Al-Qaeda targets. Taliban's power gradually increased, they attacked Afghan and U.S. forces on daily basis and got more than half country's control. Terror attacks in Kabul were the reaction of Trump administration orders to install army in rural Afghanistan and air strikes on opium labs to cut Taliban's finances. U.S. President Trump appointed former US-Afghan diplomat Khalilzad in 2018 for negotiations. Talks between U.S. and Taliban continued through Afghan government but in 2019 Taliban demanded direct talks and increased their attacks. Again in September 2019, controversial elections were held with Ghani in power and Abdullah was made head of peace negotiations. Islamic State group emerged in the east attacked a wedding in Hazara and killed 60 people (AP, 2021).

VII- Capturing of Afghanistan by Taliban in Sep 2021

In Feb 2020, deal was signed between U.S. and Taliban in Doha, Qatar. The deal stated the duration of American forces withdrawal and halt attacks on Americans in Afghanistan. During the peace conference hosted by Moscow in 2021, draft peace plan proposed by U.S. but gone in vain. President Joe Biden announced that they will continue their assistance to Afghan forces and support the peace process and remaining troops will leave Afghanistan till 11 September. Taliban control increased when they also occupied districts in north. This year in July, Bagram air base was handed over to Afghan army. However, Afghan government did few airstrikes in Lashkar Gah, destructing school and hospital. An attack by Islamic State of Khorasan at Kabul check post killed thirteen U.S. service members. Airstrike by U.S. targeting IS-K killed ten civilians, later Pentagon claimed it as a mistake (cfr, 2021).

In august 2021, Taliban faced little resistance and captured Kabul and take over presidential palace. Later, Taliban taking over provincial capitals, Sar-e-Pul, Zaranj, Sheberghan, Taleqan, Lashkar Gah and Kunduz. Taliban took control of around 34 provincial capitals (Associated Press, 2021). Figure 1 shows areas where Taliban are predominantly in control.

Taliban gains in Afghanistan

Map shows districts where the Taliban are predominantly in control of security and public services. The data is compiled by the Long War Journal of the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, a Washington-based research institute focusing on national security. The data cannot be verified independently in all cases, but is largely in line with reporting by The Associated Press.

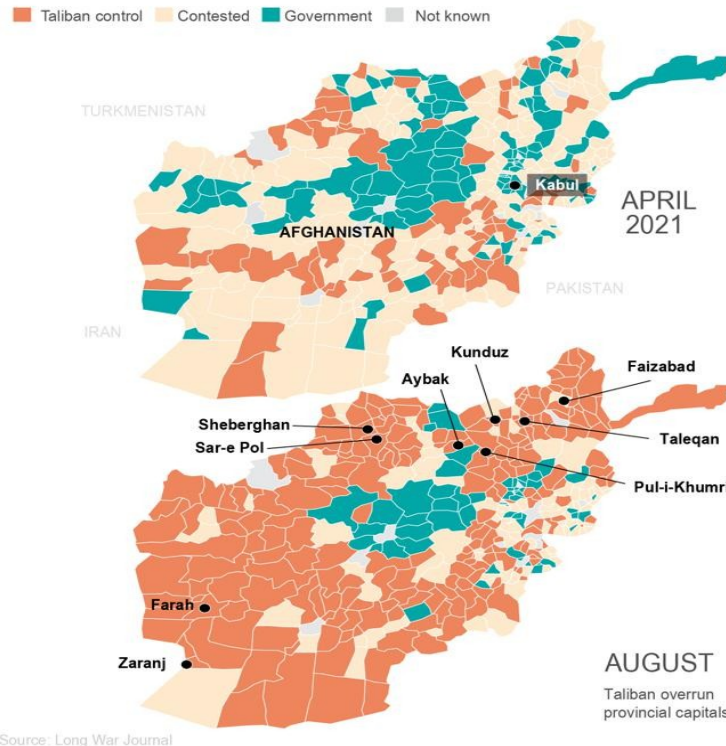


Figure 1 Source: Long War Journal, The Associated Press

Violence increased in last few years in Afghanistan as it was a war trodden country. Brutal bomb attacks of IS-K increased on random places, hospitals, maternity centers and schools, killing newborns, women and school going girls (2021). These attacks had created an environment of fear among Afghans.

Media on Taliban assuming power

Afghanistan issues went under the hot spotlight of worldwide news after U.S. forces enter the country. Including U.S. based news outlets broadly covered the occasions connected with Afghanistan. Numerous worldwide news associations, like the New York Times, Washington Post, USA Today, Wall Street Journal and other U.S. media sources started covering issues connected with Afghanistan. As per Pew Research Center, Afghanistan issues, including war, got 25% of news attention in the end of June 2012 in the U.S. media. Despite the fact that peace talks in Afghanistan have been deliberated by the Afghan government, the international community and especially by the U.S. government, the media did not give that much coverage to them.

Nevertheless, the Qatar political office for the Taliban could be another beam of desire to facilitate the peace negotiations in Afghanistan. In fact, media reporting regarding this matter is of critical importance to Afghanistan. The more constructive edge and continuous coverage would help in creating the better impact it will have on the issues (Jawad, 2013).

Despite the fact that there are many arguments and truth to be afraid of Taliban in Afghanistan, how the media distorts Afghanistan puts any advancement against these dangers as neglected. Like, Peter Bergen expressed that the Taliban are eliminated from power. While various other news portals focused on the Taliban's constant threat instead (Shipman, 2018). The press in Afghanistan that gave Americas news channels with context for a quite long time is rapidly being disentangled. That makes it harder to cover the country as now the Taliban dominates. The World Association of News Publishers have requested the worldwide publishers. They have requested for helping in securing the significant work for the thousands of the journalists and media people, forcefully exiled due to resurgence of Taliban in Afghanistan. According to the historian Benjamin Hopkins, this is an age long conflict and it is hard to uphold attention for that long (Fischer, 2021).

During the 1990s, Taliban restricted the internet. Presently they use it to undermine and coax the Afghan public, in an indication of how they may utilize innovation to assemble power. The Taliban had prohibited the internet when they initially controlled Afghanistan. Now they have transformed online media into a useful asset to tame resistance and transmit their messages. Now solidly in charge of the country, they are utilizing many Twitter accounts including some authority and others unknown, to pacify Afghanistan's frightened however progressively technically advanced municipal base. The Taliban rushed to see the internet as another tool of publicity, an expansion of composed messages and guerrilla radio broadcasts. They became used to reestablishing sites in the wake of facilitating administrations dropped them and they regularly tested, utilizing procedures like instant message impacts. One report showed how they utilized moving hashtags to scare electors during a 2019 political decision. To acquire foreign acknowledgment lately, Taliban pioneers put out messages in English and livestreamed press occasions. Their official site, Al-Emarah, issues news in English, Pashto, Dari, Urdu and Arabic (Mozur & Rehman, 2021).

According to the New York Times (2021), the Taliban are expanding on illustrations got the hang of throughout the mid-year hostile that cleared the gathering into power, said one individual from the Taliban web-based media board of trustees, who requested secrecy since he was not approved to talk. Quick and astute informing was a vital part of the hostile, the Taliban official said, calling attention to that the Taliban prepared and outfitted warriors with amplifiers and cell phones to report from the cutting edges as their powers cleared into a new area. The informing, a blend of amnesty offers and terrorizing that was intended to make the feeling of an unavoidable triumph, may have hurried a course of intimidation and influence that prompted large numbers of the best shielded urban cities falling without aggressiveness.

Perspectives on the Afghan fall and the new Taliban government

The 20-year war in the war-mongering state of Afghanistan ended. The U.S. operation in Afghanistan started from the backdrop of the 9/11 attacks. United States had support from across the world on their efforts for a war against terror (Collins, 2011). All the countries saw this operation as an imperative for national as well as international security.

This initiative of the war on terror was a compulsion for the United States to curb the devastation of Al-Qaeda and its supporters in Afghanistan (Rogers, 2004). European Union also faced serious terror threats from the terrorists and they went on to support the American initiative using their collective security doctrine of NATO, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Marsh, 2011). Russians were aware of the situation and they also tried to support the northern alliance of Ahmed Shah Massoud, an anti-Taliban leader (Stent, 2021).

Russians showed their sympathy to the U.S. after 9/11 attacks and supported the collective cause of security. Chinese followed a secular policy that made their progress easier with time and they were also against the radical Islamic movements (Huasheng, 2016). So, they also supported the cause. Pakistan being a close ally of the United States favored the U.S. invasion in Afghanistan and provided all the logistical support that was needed at that time (Khan, 2013). The drum beaters of the non-aligned movement, India aligned itself to the western bloc (Ashraf, 2007). Following is an in-depth discussion on the perspectives of the aforementioned states in response to the fall of Afghanistan and the Taliban assuming power in the state.

Western perspectives

Taliban came into power in Afghanistan is quite emphasized event among Western media. United States often criticized for their strategic faults in Afghanistan. Their latest foreign policy fiasco was an accurate indication of failure of U.S. in Afghanistan. U.S. is justifying their failure in Afghanistan by the claiming that it was a war against terrorism. And America cannot win war on terror as terrorism is a tactic which means to end but itself will not be ended. They have now redefined the vision of win and lose to manage and accept such conflicting situation. In this way U.S. is neither winning nor losing Afghanistan control (Ware, 2021). America's aims are at stake as in conflicts U.S. lean towards high goals in order to achieve a specific goal and return with dignity. On the other hand Tierney believed that United States did not lose the war as they were overpowered by Taliban. Rather they lost in a way that the costs of war had been astonishing, from losing troops to trillions of dollars spent in Afghanistan (Elliot, 2021).

The chaotic evacuation of U.S. troops marked the failure of strategic planning. The chairmen of Joint Chiefs of Staff of U.S. stated that U.S. were not able to end the 20 year long war in Afghanistan as they want it to be as Taliban came in power. General Milley in an interview also emphasized that though America did not win Afghanistan war but they accomplished their deliberate task of reducing Al-Qaeda's control and protecting America from

Al-Qaeda's attacks (AFP, 2021). Earlier Trump's secretary praised reduction of troops from Afghanistan claimed it for freeing up time, money and workforce. The logic of United States over Afghanistan withdrawal was clear so that U.S. have more resources to counter new cold war with China. But America is critically underprepared which has showed though the evident Taliban takeover in Afghanistan.

Few scholars believe that it is unlikely for Taliban to lead to U.S. failure, like the collapse of the Soviet union that followed their withdrawal from Afghanistan in late 1980s. It should be taken into consideration that despite the failures of America in Afghanistan, the threatening phase can be low as no group managed to repeat the dreadful events of September 2001. However, Taliban's victory cannot turn the time back to the year 2001 (Pantucci & Basit, 2021).

United States' perspective

The former American President Donald trouble announced to withdrawal from the mess created in Afghanistan as the country was paying a huge price in terms of massive economic and human loss. According to a report issued by Brown University on the cost calculations of the war on terror U.S. spent \$2 trillion in Afghanistan (Sabga, 2021). This report was a reflection of what kind of economic tremulous the U.S. had to face because of the war in Afghanistan. Reiterating the call for withdrawal from the U.S. citizens President Donald Trump announced a complete withdrawal from the country, after a successful negotiation with the Taliban representatives and the Afghan Government (Eric Schmitt, 2021) After the victory of Joe Biden in the Presidential elections of 2021, he announced a complete withdrawal of forces by the end of August 2021. The aim was to establish a consensual democratic government in the country (Macias, 2021a). But these efforts went in vain and the Taliban took over the whole country in a blink of an eye - while the U.S. was withdrawing the last of their troops.

Joe Biden in a press briefing explained the process of evacuation in Afghanistan and identified the miscalculations of the previous government in the issue. He called the withdrawal an unprecedented event of history. Commenting about the new government of the Taliban in war trodden state of Afghanistan he announced a victory. He further added that the fate of Afghanistan is now in the hands of the Afghani people themselves, as they have to fight their war. Biden on the question of the new Taliban government assured that the new government will not be accepted until they assure a complete accord with the international code of conduct on human rights (NYT, 2021). He said in case of any violation or rise in terrorism, the U.S. can take strict actions against the interim government.

The ease for Biden in this decision was that most of the Republicans were also in the favor of a complete withdrawal from Afghanistan. Hitherto, all those U.S. citizens who wanted to leave the country have successfully been evacuated. The last government of the Taliban in the country barred women from their basic rights and a notion of barbarity prevailed across the country. As compared to the previous government the Taliban leaders have assured that they will provide equal status to women, but it's obscure to date. The Biden government is under huge

pressure owing to the uncertain circumstances in Afghanistan (Crowley, 2021). This withdrawal has caused a huge embarrassment for the United States and analysts compared it with the Vietnam withdrawal of 1975. The U.S. after ending the two-decade war is now planning to focus more on its rivals like Russia and China (Macias, 2021b). They have no future aim for any on-ground war but are committed to counter the threats of terrorism.

Perspective of UK on Taliban takeover

UK parliamentarians were on holiday when the Afghan Taliban took over the government. The session was called where they bashed the leadership of the United States on such a hasty withdrawal from the state. They had a point of view that the U.S. had thrown themselves and many others in a fire. Most of them expressed helplessness and humiliation in the face of defeat and the fear of potential human rights violations in Afghanistan. Britain has always been a staunch supporter of the war on terror due to the dark clouds of terrorism that were gathered across the world. The Prime Minister of the UK at that time Tony Blair stood shoulder to shoulder with then-President George Bush. They headed a strong Western alliance to pursue the war on terror. The subsequent strategic maneuvers were not in a cord with each other that eventually resulted in such hasty withdrawal (Clarke, 2021).

The UK government has clearly stated they do not consider the Taliban as Afghans and therefore, UK will not recognize the Taliban government (Pitas, 2021) Boris Johnson urged the western bloc to work together on the issue through the resources of the United Nations and NATO. He asserted that a coordinated effort is necessary to prevent Afghanistan from becoming a ground for terror again. There is a chance that the British may support those tribal leaders who are willing to fight against the Taliban regime to destabilize it. However, such developments are obscure as the current focus of every western state is to closely observe the new developments and the initiatives of the Afghan Taliban.

European Union's perspective on Taliban takeover

European Union under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization worked equally against the terror wave in Afghanistan. They worked for establishing peace in the war-trodden country and provide women equal rights to live (Danishyar, 2021). The fall of Afghanistan was a shock for European countries, as it would have serious consequences for the EU, considering the history of terror attacks on European soil.

The European Union has shown serious concerns over the Taliban government in Afghanistan. They call it an inclusive and not recognizable government. According to the EU spokesperson, the recent government has not fulfilled the criteria of including all the ethnicities and diversities from Afghanistan. He further added that the Taliban did not stay committed to what they promise in the peace talks.

The new government of the Taliban is not new at all as it contains mostly the same leadership that was part of the hardliner government, between 1996 and 2001. EU has stopped development funds to Afghanistan worth €1 billion, which were planned to be granted in the tenure of the next seven years (AFP, 2021). Germany's Foreign Minister said that the interim government in Afghanistan without any formal elections and the protests of Afghan Journalists and women have identified the absence of any optimistic efforts. In another appearance of the Foreign Minister with the US Secretary, he warned the Taliban that they would have to earn their legitimacy.

Russia and CARs outlooks on Taliban takeover

The Russian government was among the first who welcomed the Taliban takeover and expressed its support for the new rulers. The Russian ambassador to Afghanistan, Dmitry Zhirnov held meetings with the Taliban leadership just after 48 hours of the takeover of Kabul and said he has not witnessed any violence or reprisal (Rynda & Kozlov, 2021). Moscow's representative to the United Nations Vassily Nebenzia affirmed that the Russian Federation is seeking national reconciliation and a bright future with established law and order to vanquish the bloody war. In contrast to the softening narrative, the Russians have no hurry to recognize the Taliban government. The Taliban leaders were on the Russian terrorist list since 2003, but still, they were invited on and off to Moscow for talks since 2018.

U.S. accused Russia several times on accounts of a possible trade of arms to Taliban that the later declared as perplexing. But the involvement of Russian intelligence in the Afghan war is not hidden. Despite all the support and hidden commitments, the Russians are playing the role of observers on the current phenomenon in Afghanistan. Russians are skeptical of the terrorist activities looming in the region after the Taliban takeover in Afghanistan. President Putin expressed his views on the developments in Afghanistan and said that he hope the Taliban leaders will fulfill their promises. The head of Russian International affairs Andrei Kortuno asserted that the new Taliban government will not be able to establish firm control over the northern region and this can have serious consequences for Russia and its Central Asian alliance. Western military analysts see this inclination of Russia towards Afghanistan as an effort to fill the vacuum created by the U.S. withdrawal (Rynda & Kozlov, 2021).

A conference was held between the leaders of the Central Asian Republics on increasing connectivity between the Central Asian Region. The Taliban surge however temporarily dismantled such efforts. The states in the Central Asian region such as Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan share a long 1500 km border with the conflict-loving country of Afghanistan (Helf & Pazhwak, 2021). The Central Asian republics are preparing themselves to accept the new reality in Afghanistan because of the geostrategic consequences looming on the states.

CARs, mainly Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan have shown their military muscle in response to the Taliban surge in Afghanistan by shoring up their borders. They have

asked for support from the Russian-led Collective Security Treaty Organization, CSTO, to manage the border security issues (Ворисов, 2020). They are extremely cautious over opening their borders for the refugees and even returned the Afghan military personnel who escaped to Uzbekistan.

Chinese views

China is another important player in the Afghan saga is the fastest growing economy of the world. One of the strongest states in terms of military and social cohesion. The only issue they face at the moment is an Islamic ideology, which they feel is a threat to their country. They have in Xinjiang Uyghur Muslims in the detention camps for re-educating them. The Chinese on the recent surge of Taliban in Afghanistan has welcomed the new development and they are ready to help the new Taliban government. But they are critical of the Islamic ideology that the Taliban carry (Weinbaum, 2006).

Chinese aspire to become the world power. They want their flagship project of BRI to be completed so that they become the greatest power of the world surpassing the United States. To accomplish this aim they need trade routes from different countries and in return, they are providing them with huge economic benefits. Afghanistan has crucial importance for CPEC as it is a part of BRI, Belt and Road Initiative. The country has always remained a war zone that is against the peace and stability of the region (Sun, 2020).

An unstable region is a massive hurdle in the way of a successful economic corridor. US presence in Afghanistan was unfavorable for China in terms of their national strategy. The new Taliban government has all the vacuum that could be filled by China for their national development. The only issue they have with the Taliban is their Islamic ideology and they have conveyed this to the Taliban leaders (cfr, 2021).

Indian take on Taliban assuming power

India sees the new government of the Taliban as a war-mongering neighbor. They perceive a dark future of the country and the Afghani people at the helm. The reason behind such perception is the fear of a rise in terrorist activities in the country (Macias, 2021a).

According to Indian authorities, they invested a lot in Afghanistan for developing infrastructure so that the Afghans can make themselves strong. They have declared the statements of the Pakistani government flawed, which claim that the Indian investments in Afghanistan are centered to deteriorate the stability of Pakistan and supporting the proxies. The new developments are not what India planned for and that is why they are not accepting this new Taliban government at all. They have already portrayed a very bad picture of Islamism declaring it a radical ideology against peace in their media and film industry. They have serious reservations in accounts of the women's rights violations in Afghanistan (Shende, 2021). India has announced that it will not accept the new government at any cost.

Pakistan point of view

The country that is being considered as the main player in the fall of Afghanistan is Pakistan. Pakistan has always been a staunch supporter of the end of the war in Afghanistan. The current Pakistani Prime Minister was given the title of “Taliban Khan” owing to his soft corner for the Taliban leadership. He introduced the concept of good and bad Taliban (Landale, 2021b).

The military establishment and the civilian leadership are both on the same page for supporting the current Taliban government in Afghanistan. They have a view that a war-trodden Afghanistan has always been used for strengthening proxies against their country. India has a huge stake in supporting terrorist activities in Pakistan via Afghan soil (Threlkeld, 2021). The new Taliban government if supported can ensure the dismantling of such terrorist networks operating against Pakistan.

Conclusion

Considering the vandalized history of Afghanistan and the war-fighting nature of the Afghan people one thing is clear this piece of earth cannot afford to live in peace. A separate vision of the local leaders that often comes as a clear discord to the progressive countries of the world makes it a state to deal with an iron hand for the western countries.

The recent development is skeptical of another peace-breaching event looming for Pakistan and other neighboring countries. Our policymakers should work in portraying a better picture of Pakistan in the world and not as the friend of any radical Islamic group.

The history of Afghanistan is filled with wars and reading that one can analyze the prospects of the country. The only thing required for them to learn is flexibility in their staunch anti-western ideology. The way they deal with every situation shows that they are fewer followers of the Islamic ideology and more of the anti-western school of thought.

The conventional doctrines of the Taliban require a paradigm shift for making themselves a progressive nation. They have promised this time to come with a better version of their previous government. The world powers are closely observing the developments every second and new world order is at the doorstep.

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Glossary of Terms and Acronyms

| | |
|------|---|
| BRI | Belt and Road Initiative |
| CARs | Central Asian Regions |
| CPEC | China Pakistan Economic Corridor |
| CSTO | Collective Security Treaty Organization |
| IS-K | Islamic State in Khorasan |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| PRTs | Provincial Reconstruction Teams |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| U.S. | United States |
| UNSC | United Nations Security Council |

Climate Change and Global News Perspective: Coverage of Flood Cataclysm by Global News Agents

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Abstract

Global news flow has a significant role in establishing communication between distinct parts of the Globe. This flow of news is attributed to some prominent news agencies such as AFP, AP, and Reuters. These agencies maintain 80% of global news reporting and hence work in developing a perspective on any issue. Climate change is one of the main global issues. Amongst others, Flooding is also a direct product of Climate Change. Floods in Pakistan had always made a disastrous impact on the development of the country. Pakistan is in the top 10 countries that are susceptible to climate risks according to Global Climate Risk Index 2021. It is believed that a prominent global perspective on floods in Pakistan is required to enunciate discourse on tackling the situation. Pakistan is suffering from the damage created by significant others. There is a lack of research and discourse on Climatic Cataclysm and news reporting on its reasons and effects in Pakistan. The current study intends to identify the representation of the Flood disaster in Pakistan in international news reports and how this news reporting is creating a global news perspective on climatic conditions. The study used qualitative content analysis approach to analyze the news articles reported in the global news agencies Reuters, Al-Jazeera, and CNN on the Floods cataclysm in Pakistan. The articles are selected by the headlines and the content is analyzed on themes. The results identify the significant role of global news agencies in expanding climate change discussions around the world. The results showed that the major factor of news focused on the economic and financial crisis but less focused on the Climate crisis and its future effects. Aljazeera has significantly different coverage pattern than CNN and Reuters. Aljazeera reported on the theme of Climate Crisis and its future implications.

Keywords: Global news perspective, flood cataclysm, news reporting, news agencies, content analysis

Introduction: Context and Issues

Climate Change

Climate change is the central concern of the world nowadays. The increasingly changing Climatic situations have generated some drastic effects and parts of the world are suffering from it. The source of knowledge for the public to understand climate change is the media. Climate change is being discussed around the world to mitigate its effects. Climate change policies under discussion target the issues of justice and equity in intersection with

social goals and economic evaluation of uncertainties. Developing The individual perception of the risks of climate change is the only tenet to control the worsening situation (Melillo et al., 2014). Information on Climate risk and its indicators is necessary for planning policies. The information on climate change indicators and the damages it causes in affected areas is required to develop and study national, international, and transnational policies for its mitigation (Wilby & Keenan, 2012).

There is the framing of Climate news disasters in transnational coverage. Floods, Hurricanes, Storms, and earthquakes are some of the notable climate change disasters that media covers from around the globe. The difference in representation is visible in discourse in Global North and Global South (Brüggemann & Engesser, 2017). There is a difference in coverage of Climate-related news between the Global North and Global South, where Global north is frequent whereas the Global South is rare and mostly focused on social dilemmas of climate disasters (Hase et al., 2021). The world discourse around Climate effects revolves around three sections of the world. One is those who are less dependable on fossils, second are the ones who have cost-effective energy resources and last are the ones who are major fossil fuel exporters. There is no evident discussion on the rest of the countries like India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh that rely on any of these to meet their energy use and are threatened by climate change disasters (Duarte & Yagodin, 2012).

Floods have always been a devastating climate change effect. It washes away the settled town, villages, and cities. Its effects are immediate as well as long-lasting. The warming of the climate increases flood risks. Areas of the eastern part of Africa, the southeastern section of Asia, and the Indian Peninsula have a larger flood frequency ratio compared to other parts of the world (Hirabayashi, Mahendran, Koirala et. al., 2013) . The loss of lives is credited with the loss of livestock, fertile land, and riped crops and fruits, and is also an effortless way for waterborne diseases to attack an already suffering society. The 2010 floods in Pakistan cost the lives of Millions of people (Kronstadt, 2010). News reporting in Pakistan on floods has suffered locally as well as internationally. There is a significant gap in understanding the issue as there is no meaningful debate generated on it around the world (Sharif & Medvecky, 2018).

Global News Flow

Global communication emerged after World War II and expanded during the Cold war. The rise of global communication is due to the cosmopolitan interests of world economies. The advancement in technologies and the advent of the internet as a public facility led to a free flow of information around the world. This flow of information creates a global perspective on an issue, conflict, or country (McPhail, 2010). Global news flow worked on Agenda Setting Theory prioritizing wealthier countries and neglecting others. However, with the availability of Online media, this agenda is being overlooked since news is not restricted by the Gatekeeping of news agencies (Guo & Vargo, 2017). Global news has been used in a variety of ways linking with different fields of knowledge. Biocast uses global news media as a determiner of disease outbreaks. It gathers information from varied global news sources and transcribes them to create alerts for the detection of disease (Meng, Okhmatovskaia, Polleri et. al., 2022) .

World entertainers, news, and advertising drive the flow of global communication perspective. The global new flow consists of several components and revolves around four main elements that are international conflicts, organizations, diplomacy, dissemination of messages, and development of new communication technologies (Sparks, 2007). Global news flow has been studied in its relevance to a country's global image and its impact on its politics, economy, and culture. A country's newsworthiness is determined by its economic power. This creates a difference between global news reporting on developed, developing, and least developed countries. This results in unbalance in the global news content (Ngwu, 2018). To counter the situation a New World Information and Communication Order were proposed by Mac Bride Commission. The report demanded free and equal access to information to Global North and South. NWICO gave rise to global agencies that regulate the flow of information around the globe (Voices, 1980).

Global news agencies are the agents of global news flow. They regulate the flow of information as well as perspectives from one part of the world to another. Some major news agencies dominate the Global News flow. These include Reuters, AP Associated Press, AFP Agency France Press, BBC, CNN, Guardian, Aljazeera, and New York Times. They are responsible for a major part of global news reporting. These news agencies play the role of news wholesalers around the globe. The dominance of news agencies is attributed to the decline in original foreign reporting (Scammell, 2018). Aljazeera is serving idealistic goals in balancing news perspectives between the global south and north on notable events. It aims on transforming global news overcoming the traits of ignorance and misunderstanding (Mahroum & Eid, 2016).

Climate Change and Global News Perspective

Global news coverage of issues such as Climate change frames the understanding of the public on the issue. News by global news agencies develops perspectives that may be encouraging or discouraging the issue. Channels like Fox news use a distressing tone while reporting climate change events and comparatively CNN or MSNBC give an encouraging scientifically supported view. It reduces the acceptance of global warming amongst the audience (Feldman et al., 2012). Media covers natural disasters for a limited time. The framing of news is dominated by disaster frames. The tone and text of news whether written or oral generate a disastrous image of the catastrophe (Houston et al., 2012).

News reports on Floods in South Asia show victimized and suffering state of the public which for the countries like UK and America are different. News media talk about catering to the situation but in the case of LDC Least Developed countries the discussion is on the loss of life and portraying dreadful pictures dominates the news reports instead of a logical take on tackling the situation (Solman & Henderson, 2019). The representation of South Asian countries in global news agencies is lacking behind. Global news agencies report cataclysmic situations around the world that led to international discussions on the issue. Asian Countries, specifically Pakistan are suffering from the catastrophic effects of floods. The time and space given by the global newsagents to a country determine the Global perspective on it (Pilař, L., Kvasničková, et al., 2019).

Recent floods in Pakistan have been cataclysmic destroying a great part of Pakistan's residential, tourist as well as Agricultural areas. The devastation caused by the 2022 floods in Pakistan is enormous. The issue that has direct relations with global warming and climate change must be the news center of the world as well. The global world develops perspectives and discussions on such issues based on news reported by global newsagents that are responsible for balancing transnational news flow and representation (Brüggemann & Engesser, 2017). The perspective reflected by global news agents forms the base of the global perspective on the issue (Hamelink, 2014). Hence, this research aims to examine the coverage of floods by four global news agencies. The research addresses the question:

RQ: What is the perspective of global news coverage of Climate change disasters?

Literature Review

Climate change has adverse effects on developed, developing as well as underdeveloped countries. The global view generated on this issue depends on the sources of news dissemination around the globe. Moreover, the perspective created in international news regarding different sections of the globe is different. Disaster news coverage is one of the important and under-looked genres in the field of news flow. Media coverage, local or global of disaster news is short-lived. Research has been focused on the dramatic representation of disasters, and the use of diverse sources of disaster coverage. There is a lack of literature that examines causal explanations for disasters. Framing theory has been used in identifying disaster frames highlighting the issue-attention cycle. The limited coverage is around the cycle and the news dies down sooner (Houston et al., 2012). Zhang and Hellmueller (2016) used framing analyses to determine the different frames Aljazeera and CNN use to cover international news. The study focused on the story types that each newsagent cover in its online news articles. Along with framing, the study used global journalism as a theoretical framework inculcating the concepts of power relations and audience involvement in news content generated and distributed.

Agenda setting along with priming and framing analysis have been used to identify the media effects on coverage of global news events. The theoretical evidence supported by discourse analysis ponders on the view that international news channels such as Fox news developed a negative understanding of viewers on the issue of global warming whereas MSNBC has a positive role in raising public awareness of the issue (Feldman et al., 2012). Watanabe (2012) uses agenda setting to develop an algorithmic model of how global news agencies (AP, Reuters, and AFP) and elite newspapers (The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Times) shape the news that is identified locally. The analysis determined that national or local news channels, print or electronic, take on news from elite news channels. The distant events coverage by global newsagents is confined if there are no correspondents available in the field. The newsagents use publicly generated content as a source of information. The bombing in Syria in 2015 was an event covered by local news agencies using publicly generated content Murrell (2018) used information transparency theory concerning propaganda to identify sourcing and verification methods Reuters and AP have used to verify the authenticity of user-generated content which resulted in ethical dilemmas for global newsagents. Global newsagents are agenda-setting agents. They dominate the flow of news globally and shape the What and How mechanisms of the public

thinking process (Wang & Lu, 2022). Intermedia agenda setting has also been applied to understand the agenda that is developed as a result of cooperation between global newsagents and local traditional news reporting. The study identifies that for environmental news coverage global news flow works on a pattern of local to global (Mao et al., 2022).

The current study is focused on identifying the frames the global news agents use to represent news on the 2022 floods in Pakistan. Framing has usually been discussed in political opinion-making in public. It is the communication process to analyze the factors on which political news is covered. The frames constructed in global news will be analyzed for economic, human interests, morality, and responsibility factors (Dan & Raupp, 2018). The current study will use the framing analysis to determine the frames global news agents use to cover climate-related news, particularly for Pakistan. The study analyses the frame on themes of humanitarian, economic crisis, and causal effects. It will identify the tone set by AFP, AP, and Reuters in news items related to floods in Pakistan whether is encouraging, discouraging, or neutral.

Methodology

Global news flow has been in examination since the advent of news agencies. The analysis of news has been central to a variety of studies. Adegbola et al. (2022) used content analysis to determine the difference between news coverage of protests in Iran by Reuters, AP, AFP, and Xinhua. Critical discourse analysis of global coverage of floods in India and the United Kingdom enforced the notion of Western control over global media and showed countries like India as distant others that are suffering (Solman & Henderson, 2019). Global news flow imbalance is still in existence after NWICO. The discourse analysis argues that global media is still dominated by developed countries and developing and underdeveloped countries get the representation and portrayal frame the dominated sector deems profitable (Ngwu, 2018). International news media sets the tone of the global discourse on any issue. Thematic analysis of English news coverage of natural resources in green land gave rise to themes of high risk, vulnerability, and resource allocation (Davies et al., 2017). Adegbola et al. (2022) used content analysis to identify the biasness in reporting by global news agencies AP, AFP, Reuters, and Al Jazeera. The biasness was analyzed in the context of the protests in Iran against governmental policies in 2017. A similar method has been used by Zhang and Hellmueller (2016) to identify a global perspective that global news agencies develop on a transnational issue. The study content analyzed the data from news agencies of CNN and Al Jazeera. Climate change coverage has been content analyzed in numerous studies. Such a study used content analysis to identify how the global news network work to engage or disengage public on the issue of Climate Change and global warming (Feldman et al., 2012).

The current study will also use Content analysis to determine the framing and tone of news agencies in coverage of the flood cataclysm in Pakistan. Content analysis is a method of analyzing data systematically, standardizing data in the form to identify the meaning in it. Content analysis has widely been used in descriptive studies as well as social change studies to deeply analyze the content and the meaning it contained. It has also been used to compare the real world with the content world comparing its context another identifying dissimilarities differences and adaptations. Antenna lysis has widely been used in media studies to identify and describe and then a live image of a particular group of society. Media coverage has

profoundly been used along with propaganda techniques agenda setting and framing to analyze the content and propaganda hidden behind it. The current study will also use content analysis along with framing analysis to identify the frames that have been used by global news agencies for covering floods in Pakistan. The frames will be analyzed based on coding categories. the present study will undergo qualitative content analysis of the news articles retrieved from the selected global news agencies. the retrieved data will then be arranged into develop categories and analyzed accordingly.

Data Collection

The study is analyzing news articles and reports published by global new regencies during the starting month of the flood in Pakistan. Data is collected from the new agencies of Reuters, CNN, and Al Jazeera. Reuters is a western agency show is at CNN whereas Al Jazeera is a Middle Eastern agency. The blend of the two is taken to have a broad view of how each agency respective of their location and the authority has developed news articles on the flood cataclysm in Pakistan in 2022. Two news articles from each of the given agencies during the month of July to September have been selected and will be analyzed based on code developed by the researcher.

Reuters is a news agency founded in the 1850s. It has been regarded as the greatest news agency. The agency entered England and is owned by Thomson Reuters corporation. This has been considered to add a key role player in global news flow. CNN is the news media founded by Ted Turner in the 1980s. It is the latest than Reuters and a major determinant in global news flow. It is a cable news channel as well as develops news articles on its website and digital platforms. Al Jazeera is a Middle Eastern news channel based in Doha, Qatar. this channel was an Arabic news channel but now broadcast news in different languages and has earned its place in the list of global agencies. It claims to present unbiased and credible news based on facts (Hamelink, 2014). The researcher has extracted news articles from these three agencies and has developed codes accordingly to analyze the data. Articles were searched using the keywords “Floods” and “Pakistan”.

| News Agency | Title of a news piece | Section |
|--------------------|--|----------------|
| Reuters | Flash floods kill 550 in Pakistan in heaviest rains in decades (Asif Shazhad, 2022). | Environment |
| | Flooding in Pakistan kills dozens as heavy monsoon rains lash the country (Yousafzai, 2022). | World News |
| Al Jazeera | Flash floods in Pakistan kill over 40 people (Al-Jazeera, 2022a). | Climate Crisis |
| | Pakistan steps up aid efforts after ravaging floods(Al-Jazeera, 2022b). | Climate Crisis |

| | | |
|-----|--|------------|
| CNN | Over 900 were killed by Pakistan monsoon rains and floods, including 326 children (Sophia Saifi, 2022) | Asian News |
| | Flash floods kill 550 in Pakistan in heaviest rains in decades (CNN, 2022). | Asian News |

Table 1.1: News Articles and sources

Coding

The data extracted is analyzed on codes. The codes are derived from existing literature on climate change and disaster news coverage. The sub-categories are coded for each frame developed. The frames for analysis are Reporting frame, Cause and Effect evaluation, and Recommendation focus (Entman, 1993).

Reporting Frame identifies the frame in which news agencies have reported the issue. The reporting frame determines the point of view of agencies with which they are recognizing a particular issue (Houston et al., 2012). The frames have been characterized into distinct categories Political refers to a news piece that has been written in a political frame involving government and political parties, Financial- refers to any news piece that is written concerning the economic conditions of the country and how the said event may enhance or deteriorate economic stability, Environmental-discuss the worsening environmental conditions and Climate change, Human Interest- deals with the news piece as a human interest resource, identifying the humanitarian efforts or loses, deaths suffered in the reported incident, water-borne diseases, hampering education and malnutrition, Other-includes all other frames that might not fit into the above-defined categories.

A causal Frame is a determiner of the cause-and-effect relation created in the news piece. It identifies the blame target of the data. The causal blame is categorized into three subjects Public, Government, Crisis Communication, and Climate Change. The cause can be put over negligence by the government on the issue despite worsening situation and warnings, Public which has been aware of the situation and must have adopted some safety measures and climate Change identifying the worsening climate situation that is the root cause of devastation (Zhang & Hellmueller, 2016).

The recommendation frame focuses on the way forward suggested by the news reports. The recommendation can be regarding humanitarian aid, asking for international funds, non-governmental organizations, and rehabilitation of the flood-stricken people. This section will analyze the recommendation comment, remark, or feedback in the content that might not be visible but intended. It will identify whether the respective agency reports have suggested a viable way forward to tackle the situation or not (Adegbola et al., 2022).

| Coding Categories | Sub-Categories | CNN | Reuters | Aljazeera |
|-------------------|----------------------|-----|---------|-----------|
| Disaster Effects | Infrastruture damage | Yes | Yes | No |
| | Financial effets | No | Yes | No |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|-----|-----|-----|
| | Evacuation | No | Yes | Yes |
| | Disease and health damage | No | No | Yes |
| | Death | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Coverage Frame | Political (Government, political parties) | Yes | Yes | No |
| | Financial (Economy stability, the material loss) | Yes | Yes | No |
| | Environmental crisis (Climate, environmental conditions) | Yes | No | Yes |
| | Human Interest (Humanitarian efforts, losses, deaths diseases) | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| | Public | No | No | Yes |
| Causal Frame | Public | No | No | No |
| | Government (lack of efforts by the government) | No | Yes | No |
| | Climate Change Crisis (labeling floods as a climate change crisis that was not in one's control) | Yes | No | Yes |
| Recommendation and Crisis Management | Asking for International aid. | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| | dealing with NGOs | No | No | Yes |
| | asking the public to rely on self-help | No | No | No |

Table1.2: Coding Sheet

Results and Discussions

The study identifies news pieces by the agencies CNN, Aljazeera and Reuters during the months of July. The unit of analysis in data is the individual news story published. The research observed the given codes of analysis in each news piece. The data was collected on the 2022 Floods in Pakistan. The keyword used to extract data are “Floods” and “Pakistan”. Reuters and CNN published a maximum of two news stories in the month of July whereas Aljazeera published more news stories relatively. The study has selected two news stories from each news agency considering the least number of news stories published. CNN has published two news reports on its website under the section of “Asian News”. On the other hand Reuters has published the reports under the section of “Environment” and “World News”. On the contrary, Aljazeera has given news reports under the section of “Climate Crisis”. The study has analysed following results from the data:

Disaster Effects

The disaster effects were analysed to identify the tone in which news is given. There is a major difference in the coverage of disaster effects by each news agency. The three news

agencies have different frames for disaster effects. CNN primarily focused on Infrastructure damage. It featured the damage done to buildings, schools, mosques, residential areas and roads. Apart from this the other disaster effect covered by CNN was death count and life loss in disaster. Reuters comparatively discussed infrastructure loss along with financial curbs, evacuation issues and death toll. Aljazeera did not discuss infrastructure but focused on financial issues, evacuation issues, death. The main difference was the coverage of effects on health and disease. CNN and Reuters did not cover this issue but Aljazeera was primarily focused around this effect.

Coverage Frame

The common coverage frame by the Reuters and CNN is governmental and humanitarian. The secondary frame for CNN was Financial and Environmental crisis whereas for Reuters were Finance and Human Interest. However, Aljazeera has primary frame of Human interest and public whereas secondary frame was environmental crisis. Aljazeera mainly focused on public view and sufferings on the crisis.

Causal Frame

Causal frame identified that how news agencies are considering as the cause of crisis. CNN and Aljazeera significantly discussed the floods in Pakistan as a result of environmental change and a product of climate crisis however Reuters tone of coverage blamed government for the crisis and mis-management.

Recommendation and Crisis Management

Recommendation frame identified the way forward suggested directly or indirectly by the news agencies. The three agencies under observation encouraged international aid and as well ask for it. There was no mentions of non-governmental organizations involvement or public self-reliability.

Conclusion

News agencies are the forums that control the flow of news. It shapes how a news is framed and published by the news channels around the world. Ngwu (2018) has argued that there is a difference in news coverage of news related to developed, developing and underdeveloped country. The research worked on identifying the tone and frame news agencies have used to report flood devastation in Pakistan. The results identified that news agencies of CNN and Reuters focused primarily on infrastructure and financial loss whereas Aljazeera was focused more on getting public opinion and view through the news reports. Aljazeera used a sympathizing tone highlighting the problems faced by locals and steps taken by government. Aljazeera also focused on highlighting the Climate issue. However, CNN and Reuters though have slightly touched environmental factors but prominently highlighted the financial losses the country has faced and will be facing in future as well. It used a straightforward harsh tone in news report. None, of the agencies highlighted the issue of climate change effects and how Pakistan is suffering. The research used immediate news reports by the news agencies during the month of July. It cannot be a whole representative of all the reports published by agencies

in later months. The future research can be more specific on type of news stories. The news frames in other news agencies can also be identified.

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Introduction to the Special Section: Disasters and Their Effects on Child Development

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Abstracts

The special section's papers collectively paint a picture of where disaster and development in children and adolescents research is at. The articles' diversity is impressive; they cover a wide range of crisis circumstances, such as war and the use of child soldiers, terrorism and political unrest, hurricanes and tsunamis, earthquakes and floods, as well as political unrest and climatic change. There are representations of specific calamities that happened in nine different nations. The articles cover a wide range of ages, from very young children through adolescents. In this field of study, longitudinal research and studies that focus on developmental processes are still uncommon. Although a few articles discuss additional levels of analysis, such as biological function and relationships, the majority of the articles concentrate on a behavioral level of function and analysis.

Keywords: Disaster, adolescents research, disaster and development in children

Introduction

Every year, a variety of disasters affect the lives of millions of children. These include armed conflict, genocide, industrial accidents, and terrorism as well as natural disasters including earthquakes, hurricanes, tornadoes, fires, and floods. Since the inception of the study of risk and resilience in development, scientists have been interested in how disasters affect children (Garmezy, 1985; Garmezy & Rutter, 1983). The Buffalo Creek disaster (Erikson, 1978; Green et al., 1991; Newman, 1976), World War II and the Holocaust (Freud & Burlingham, 1943; Moscovitz, 1985), or a significant fire were just a few of the sporadic studies of disasters that were published on young people over a long period of time (McFarlane, 1987)

There is more focus on the effects of disaster on children and youth at the beginning of the 21st century due to the rise in international terrorism, concerns about the flu pandemic, an alarming string of natural and man-made disasters around the world, and globalisation of media coverage (La Greca, Silverman, Vernberg, & Roberts, 2002; Masten & Obradovic', 2008; Osofsky, Osofsky, & Harris, 2007; Sagi-Schwarz Despite the inherent challenges of doing study in the aftermath of catastrophic occurrences, disaster research has increased. It seemed important to

dedicate a special section of this journal to the impact of catastrophes on child development given the significance of comprehending how various types of disasters may affect development for children and families.

Challenges in Disaster Research and Child Development

Research in a catastrophic situation is not for the weak of heart. From an ethical, intellectual, methodological, and practical standpoint, it is incredibly difficult. Both the investigators and the participants may experience stress and even danger. When conducting research with groups of traumatized survivors, special ethical considerations must be made. For their bravery and perseverance in the face of these challenges, as well as their sensitivity and success in carrying out their work, the authors of these essays deserve praise.

By their very nature, disasters present formidable difficulties to researchers. They frequently take place with little warning and cause such widespread destruction that they give rise to a wide range of study questions, from the ethical to the practical. The ability of recently traumatized individuals to give informed consent to research raises substantial questions in the early aftermath of a disaster when survival and fundamental needs take precedence over research. Additionally, conducting study with traumatized individuals near scenes of mass destruction can be hazardous as well as traumatic for the researchers. There may be numerous more risks associated with prolonged violence, both recognized and undiscovered.

Highlights of the Special Section's Findings

The conceptual frameworks for the papers in the special area strongly rely on the theory of developmental systems, and many of them place a strong emphasis on the ideas of cumulative risk and resilience (Masten & Obradovic, 2008). Response to tragedy is frequently influenced by the degree of exposure, referred to as a "dose-response gradient," by prior trauma experiences, or by the circumstances of the healing setting. According to the general risk literature, symptoms or issues are frequently linked to a higher cumulative exposure, measured by severity (intensity) or an accumulating number of traumatic experiences over time.

While this is going on, it's possible to notice startling variation in the gamut of behaviours displayed by people who have experienced roughly the same amount of trauma, which raises the possibility that disaster adaptation is influenced by other factors. These include individual variances as well as variations in the context or availability of services. For attempts to more effectively prepare for disaster and recover from it, promoting or protecting factors that foster resilience are especially important (Layne et al., 2009; Masten & Obradovic', 2008).

There is some evidence to support the idea that at very high levels of severe or prolonged exposure, the dose-response relation may alter. For instance, findings from a study of former child soldiers in Uganda (Klasen et al., current issue) did not indicate a connection between the level of trauma exposure during the abduction and forced service period and the outcomes following the abduction. It is conceivable that exposure levels may be so high in some groups that the relationship between dose and symptoms would disappear since everyone would have passed the point at which exposure would trigger a reaction or overwhelm coping mechanisms.

Promoting and Defending Elements

Several research in this area looked at how the adaptive behaviour of the young people they were studying varied, frequently within a resilience framework. As was already said, disaster research has been crucial to the development of resilience science. Studies with a resilience focus often analyse both positive and negative patterns of adaptation after disaster and strive to discover the conditions or characteristics that seem to promote or protect effective functioning during the crisis or recovery period after disaster. When risk or adversity is high, protective factors have a stronger impact or take on a different kind of role from those that are protective, which predicts better outcomes at all risk or adversity levels (a main effect).

It is also possible to think of moderating effects in terms of vulnerability rather than resilience when dealing with disasters. This distinction can be controversial because it is frequently difficult to tell whether an action is working to make the situation worse, better, or neither. However, when a group of people exhibit a certain characteristic that appears to make them particularly vulnerable to adversity's negative impacts, such characteristic is often defined as a vulnerability factor that increases risk.

Age and Gender Differences

The studies in this special area and the literature on disaster exposure and response in children and adolescents paint a complicated picture of gender and age impacts. The interpretation of both gender and age effects raises a host of methodological and conceptual problems. Young children are typically informed by their parents and teachers, but adolescents frequently self-report their symptoms or well-being. Because women are more likely than men to be the informants for young children, this confounds the respondent's response with the respondent.

Mothers, for instance, may note more symptoms in children than would be apparent to outsiders and may note different symptoms than a child would be able to. Similar to this, it is unclear whether female adolescents who report more symptoms than male adolescents do so because they actually have more symptoms or are just more open about reporting them.

Numerous research in this particular section identified age disparities in exposure, experiences during and after disasters, and post-disaster adjustment, albeit the results were not always consistent. In the epidemiological survey conducted by Becker-Blease et al., older children were generally more exposed to lifetime tragedy (this issue). While Betancourt et al. (this issue) did not discover comparable effects in their research of child soldiers from the conflict in Sierra Leone, Klasen et al. (this issue) noticed increased trauma and symptoms among the older of the former child soldiers in Uganda.

Conclusion

Consequences for Research

The focus of the special part is on the difficulties, developments, and gaps in the field of disaster and child development research. Massive roadblocks have slowed down progress. These include securing quick funding, especially for researchers who live in disaster-affected locations, as well as the inherent difficulties of conducting research in disaster-affected situations. However, there is also a severe lack of acceptable, standardized, and culturally relevant metrics in many disaster-prone areas, which is indicative of a much larger problem in developmental science. For developed countries compared to emerging regions, and dominant cultural groups compared to minority groups, there are many more research and validated metrics (Uintana et al., 2006).

Building a more comprehensive science of child development across cultures and countries would be very beneficial for study in many fields, and it is essential for research on disasters.

Despite the need for data on what may be most useful to whom and when following disaster, longitudinal data are rare, particularly with relation to research with predicate baselines. Building national and international supports and mechanisms for disaster research, including technical assistance and partnerships among groups of developmental scientists, humanitarian service providers, and local authorities or disaster responders, may require more focus.

Implications for Disaster Response and Preparation

The vast array of articles in this special part and the body of literature already in existence on catastrophes and child development offer crucial information for attempts to meet the needs of children and youth in disaster-related contexts as well as for developmental research. Disasters continue to occur all over the world despite the many gaps in the research, therefore it is reasonable to think about the significance of recent discoveries from the special area and earlier work for attempts to aid the numerous young victims of disaster. The results show some

consistency, which may provide useful direction for disaster preparedness and resilience building after disasters.

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Registration, Production, and Export of Medical Devices: An Assessment of Reforms

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Abstract

With the growth of the healthcare market in Pakistan, the demand for medical devices is rapidly increasing. The COVID-19 pandemic has also triggered the demand for medical devices in domestic and international markets. Even though Pakistan has a strong link in the medical devices global value chain yet it contributes less than 0.2% to the medical devices export market.¹ To cater to the increase in demand for medical devices during the wave COVID-19 and to transform the industry into export-oriented, the Drug Regulatory Authority of Pakistan (DRAP) took several reforms to simplify the registration and manufacturing process to facilitate the medical devices manufacturing industry and improve its export competitiveness. The objective of this report is to evaluate the impact of some of these reforms on the medical device market in general and on the medical device manufacturers in particular. This report estimates that these reforms have saved about 6.07 billion PKR in terms of administrative burden.

Keywords: Healthcare Market in Pakistan, Medical Devices, export competitiveness

¹ Export share of Pakistan in the export of medical devices is calculated from the data (HS: 9018 to 9022) obtained from the UN Comtrade.

Regulations Related to Medical Devices in Pakistan

In the medical device market key regulators are DRAP and the Ministry of National Health Services Regulation and Coordination (MoNHSR&C). Since 2015, DRAP has also been assigned the task to regulate the registration, manufacturing, and import & export of medical devices and in-vitro diagnostic items. To regulate the market, DRAP issues licenses for the import, production, and export of medical devices based on defined categories, besides other market surveillance functions as mandated under the Medical Device Rules, 2017.

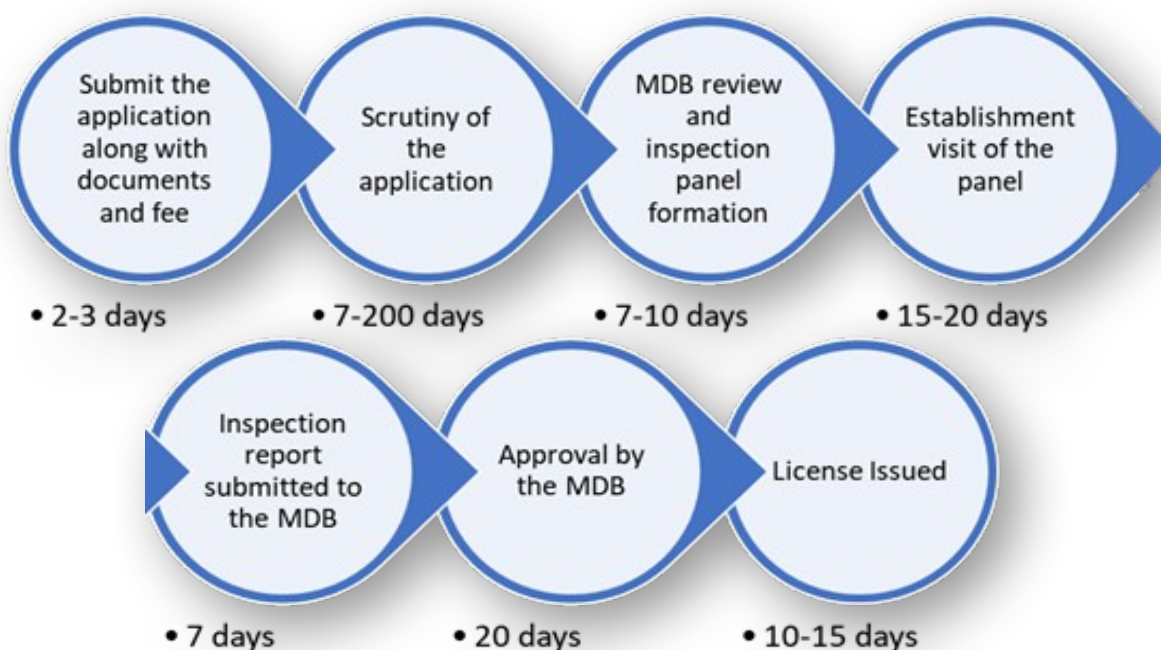
World Health Organization (WHO) definition of a medical device states that “a medical device can be any instrument, apparatus, implement, machine, appliance, implant, reagent for in-vitro use, software, material or another similar or related article, intended by the manufacturer to be used, alone or in combination for a medical purpose”. The Medical Device Rules, 2017 classify medical devices into 4 classes (A, B, C, and D) according to the risk-based classification rules.

| Class | level | Medical Device: Examples |
|-------|-------------------------|--|
| A | Low hazard | Tongue depressors, Disposable masks |
| B | Low to moderate | Hypodermic Needles, Suction equipment |
| C | Moderate to high hazard | Lung ventilator, The bone fixation plate |
| D | High hazard | Heart valves, Implantable defibrillator |

Source: WHO and DRAP

The body responsible for the registration, manufacturing, and import & export of medical devices under the rules is the Medical Device Board (MDB). In the case of **manufacturing licensing**, the MBD issues two types of licenses: (i) license to manufacture and (ii) license to import medical devices. The process of issuing a license involves verification of all the information and documents provided along with the application form by the experts and that also includes the physical inspection of the establishment. While the MBD also **enlists and registers medical devices** into (i) enlistment of class A medical devices and (ii) registration for Class B, C, and D medical devices. Similarly in the event of **exporting medical devices**, the establishment must seek approval from the MBD.

Figure 1: The Process of Obtaining Manufacturing License



Note: Days required at each stage are based on the data collected from in-depth interviews of the stakeholders.

Table 1: Documents Required to Obtain a Manufacturing License

| <i>Sr.No</i> | <i>Type of Document</i> |
|--------------|---|
| 1 | Application form |
| 2 | Drug Sale License (for importers only) |
| 3 | Appointment letter for supervising the sale, distribution, or wholesale of medical devices. |
| 4 | Proof of fee deposited (endorsed by Statistical Officer) |
| 5 | Triplicate detailed layout plan (for manufacturer only) |
| 6 | CNIC of QEC in charge, production in charge, partners, proprietors/directors. |
| 7 | Copies of Registration Certificates of Technical Persons from the concerned Council. |
| 9 | Declaration on stamp paper |
| 10 | List of medical devices to be imported (for importers only) |

| | |
|----|---|
| 11 | Online FBR Certification |
| 12 | 4 photographs of QEC in charge, production in charge, partners, proprietors/directors |
| 13 | Undertaking on stamp paper |
| 14 | Degrees and experience certificate of QEC & production in charge |
| 15 | Certificate of license & last renewal (for renewal only) |
| 16 | USB/CD |

Our interaction with the medical device manufacturers indicates that the demand for the following medical equipment is facing a rapid increase due to expanding healthcare network and the prevailing COVID-19 situation.

- Respirators
- Monitors, ventilators, and allied instruments
- Personal protection equipment (PPEs), dental veterinary instruments, and appliances
- Orthopedic appliances, hearing aids
- X-rays, radiography/ radiotherapy apparatus
- Second-handed and used X-ray machines, dialysis machines, and anaesthesia apparatus
- Health IT/telemedicine/e-health

1 Reform:

Keeping in view the potential of the medical device industry, DRAP along with BOI has initiated a series of reforms. The objective of these reforms is to facilitate businesses and investors so that the sector attracts more investment. In this report, we evaluated the following 7 reforms undertaken by DRAP²:

- i. One-Stop-Shop for Licensing of Medical Devices (Reform ID: F009)
- ii. Simplification of Manufacturing related Requirements of Non-Sterile Personal Protective Equipment (Reform ID: F005)
- iii. Permission to Approved Premises for Additional Relevant Processes (Reform ID: F069)
- iv. Elimination of Pharmacist Requirement (Reform ID: F104)

² Detailed description of the reforms can be viewed at <https://www.business.gov.pk>

- v. Extension of Validity Period of Good Manufacturing Practices (GMP) Certificate (Reform ID: F112)
- vi. Online Issuance of Registration Certificate for Medical Devices
- vii. Online Issuance of NOC for Export of Medical Devices

2 Impact Assessment of reforms

2.1 One-Stop-Shop for Licensing of Medical Devices

Previously, DRAP required a physical submission of the license application along with the required documents. Since August 2021, an online system for processing license applications (both for manufacturing and import licenses) has been introduced by the DRAP. The principal objective is to reduce administrative costs in the registration process through full automation so that the registration process boosts up in Pakistan.³ Applicants can now submit applications online from anywhere across the globe. To evaluate the impact of this reform, we focused on the reduction of administrative burden and increase in applications.

2.1.1 Reduction in administrative burden

The automation reform has reduced administrative costs significantly. Since the administration cost includes (i) learning cost, (ii) compliance cost, and (iii) psychological cost. A substantial portion of both learning and psychological costs has been eliminated by automation. Overall the *automation has reduced the compliance cost by more than Rs. 6.6* million. To assess the reduction in the compliance cost, we considered the following aspects:

Travelling and logistics cost: Applicants across Pakistan have to travel to Islamabad to apply for a manufacturing license before automation. Our estimations show that the average cost of traveling for an applicant is around Rs. 13,433.⁴ Furthermore, we also

³ There are an estimated 2 million different kinds of medical devices that are categorized into more than 7,000 generic device groups in the world market. However, DRAP was able to register around 3,200 only till 2021 (BOI-Pakistan Regulatory Modernization Initiatives).

⁴ The average traveling cost was calculated by considering the travel cost from Lahore, Karachi, Peshawar, and Quetta to Islamabad. For example, the travel cost from Karachi to Islamabad is Rs. 13,433, which is the average travel cost through different means – for instance, by bus Rs. 9,000, by air Rs. 23,000, and personal vehicle Rs.

assumed that an applicant visiting from outside Islamabad incurred Rs. 10,000 as the logistic cost during three days of the application submission process along with Rs. 6,000 in local traveling costs. Since the average annual number of manufacturing license applications received by DRAP is around 132, therefore, more than Rs. 3.8 million have been saved because of automation that could have been incurred by the industry.

Documentation cost: Previously the application required more than 9 types of documents to be attached. The number of pages per application was around 340, including two stamp papers, 4 photographs, and one USB. By assuming Rs. 5 for copying charges and Rs. 250 for stamp papers, the documentation cost stands at around Rs. 3,560 for each applicant. This estimates that around Rs. 0.5 million worth of documentation cost has been eliminated through automation.

Opportunity cost: The physical submission of the application also involves the opportunity cost since the time spent on the process could have been invested in alternative use. To capture this cost, we assumed the management of the establishment invests around 5 days in document preparation and submission of the application. Assuming the monthly remuneration of a manager Rs. 150,000, the opportunity cost stands at around Rs. 28,846 for each establishment. This translates into Rs. 3.8 million opportunity costs that the industry pays in case of physical submission of the application.

However, after the automation, we assumed that the days require for document preparation and submission are reduced to just 2 days. This reduction in days also reduces the opportunity costs by 60% - Rs. 17,308 for each applicant and Rs. 2.3 million at the aggregate level.

2.1.2 Increase in the number of applications

The data provided by the DRAP indicates that the number of manufacturing license applications has increased by 5%. Previously, the average monthly number of manufacturing licenses received by DRAP was 11; now, after the implementation of automation, it has increased to 16.

2.1.3 Observations

- Manufacturers highlighted that the processing mechanism within DRAP is the main source of administrative delays. Although automation has reduced some parts of the administrative burden, however, the bulk of the administrative burden remains intact unless the application processing mechanism within DRAP is further improved.
- Currently, there is no option for online fee submission. A challan will be generated by the system once the application is submitted through automation which is then paid over the in a bank. An online fee payment mechanism would help to reduce the administrative burden at this step.
- Some manufacturers have also pointed out the need for a track and trace system of the applications so that status of the application can be observed.
- The issues related to import clearance have also been highlighted by some manufacturers. Currently, DRAP provides 3 days grace period for the clearance of consignment, however, the customs department takes around 15 to 20 days to process and clear the consignment. Therefore, the manufacturer has to pay the charges for the delay, which are around Rs. 50,000 per consignment. Since the delay in clearance is due to sluggish administrative procedures but not because of the fault on the manufacturer's end, therefore, charging the manufacturer seems unfair and needs the attention of the concerned authorities.

2.2 Simplification of Manufacturing-related Requirements of Non-Sterile Personal Protective Equipment

The manufacturing of Personal Protective Equipment (PPEs), which include headgear, gloves, facemasks, scrubs, gowns, aprons, pants, and tops, had to follow a strict pharmaceutical regime. As per the regime, the manufacturers were required to hire a pharmacist and install a Heating, Ventilation, and Air-Conditioning (HVAC) system within the establishment. Compliance with these requirements involved huge financial as well as administrative costs.

However, the importance of PPE kits has never been felt more crucial than during the current COVID-19 pandemic. To meet the increased demand for PPEs, DRAP notified a separate regime for non-sterile PPE manufacturing on the recommendations of BOI in July 2021. The new regime eliminated the unwarranted requirements of hiring a pharmacist and installing an HVAC

system for the PPE manufacturers. This provided an opportunity for the textile industry to participate in PPEs manufacturing. Besides other benefits, the reform would enable the industry to **reduce the cost of production by more than Rs. 478.2 million.**

2.2.1 Affordable PPEs

The entry of new manufacturers made it possible to supply PPEs in the domestic market at affordable rates, for instance, the price of an imported N95 mask was around Rs. 2,900 while domestically produced N95 masks cost only Rs. 70 at the start of the Pandemic.⁵

2.2.2 New Entries in Manufacturing

There is a significant increase in PPE manufacturers after the implementation of the reform. The data provided by DRAP shows that only 15 PPE manufacturers were operating in the domestic market before the implementation of the reform. Now the listed PPE manufacturers in a business directory are more than 60.⁶ These manufacturers are also selling their products in the international market.

2.2.3 Reduction in Fixed Cost

Elimination of the requirement for HVAC system installation has reduced fixed costs by Rs. 7 million for each establishment and saved more than Rs. 435 million at the industry level, if we assumed the total PPE manufacturers are 60 only.⁷

2.2.4 Reduction in Operating Cost

The reform has also reduced operational costs: (i) by saving energy expenditures on the HVAC system, and (ii) by reducing the wage bills. The reduction in wage bills is because the establishment is no more required to hire a pharmacist to supervise PPE manufacturing. The average annual salary bill of a pharmacist is around Rs. 720,000, which implies that the industry would save around Rs. 43.2 million due to this reform.⁸

⁵ See: <https://www.usp.org/global-public-health/promoting-quality-of-medicines/pakistan-begins-to-manufacture-export-quality-assured-ppe-s>

⁶ For details see: https://pakistanbiz.com/Safety-Products_SID186.html

⁷ Our survey shows that the system capacity required for 1 Kanal establishment (which is the minimum land requirement) is 14 tons. The HVAC system of this capacity costs around Rs. 7 million.

⁸ The average monthly salary of a pharmacist is Rs. 60,000, and we again assumed that there are 60 manufacturers of PPE.

2.3 Permission to Approved Premises for Additional Relevant Processes

The regulatory regime did not allow the manufacturers of the pharmaceutical drug to engage in medical device manufacturing within one premise. Therefore, the businesses had to establish another facility to manufacture the medical devices even though it may have unutilized land out of 4 Kanals that is dedicated to drug manufacturing. In September 2021, DRAP introduced a reform in this regard and allows drug manufacturers to use the approved premises for additional relevant processes such as manufacturing medical devices.

2.3.1 New Entries in Medical Device Manufacturing

The reform has opened the opportunity for drug manufacturers with valid Drug Manufacturing licenses (DML) to participate in medical device manufacturing. Therefore, 650 drug manufacturing establishments that have registered with DRAP are the potential entrants to manufacture medical devices.

2.3.2 Reduction in the fixed cost

Since the manufacturer does not have to establish a separate facility to manufacture a medical device in the drug manufacturing facility. Therefore, the investment in the piece of land is no more required. Assuming that the area required to establish a medical device manufacturing facility is 2 Kanal, real estate prices in the industrial area of Islamabad show that this would cost more than Rs. 7 million.⁹ Now if we further assume that all 650 drug manufacturers also start medical device manufacturing. Then the reform **reduced fixed costs by Rs. 4.5 billion** at the aggregate level.

2.4 Elimination of Pharmacist Requirement

After the elimination of a pharmacist requirement in PPEs manufacturing, DRAP extended this elimination to all medical device manufacturers in November, 2021. The underlying rationale for implementing this reform is that the manufacturing of medical devices is not the same as manufacturing drugs. Therefore, establishments manufacturing medical devices can operate without the supervision of a pharmacist.

⁹ The data in industrial plot prices obtained from zameen.com

2.4.1 Reduction in Operating Cost

As discussed in the above reform, the elimination of hiring a pharmacist has reduced the average annual wage bill of an establishment by Rs. 720,000. At the aggregate level, this reform saved around **Rs. 692.6 million** keeping in view that there are 962 medical device manufacturers in Pakistan.¹⁰

2.5 Extension of Validity Period of Good Manufacturing Practice (GMP) Certificate

The validity of the GMP certificate was 1 year and establishments were required to renew it on yearly basis. The certificate's validity period has been extended to 3 years under this reform following international practices. This reform has reduced the recurring administrative burden faced by healthcare businesses **by around Rs. 1.3 million**.

2.5.1 Reduction in Administrative Cost

Travelling and logistics cost: As calculated above the average cost related to logistics and travelling is Rs. 29,433 which an establishment has to bear during the renewal of the certificate. Since there were 15 establishments listed within DRAP, the reduction in travelling and logistic costs observed due to this reform is around Rs. 441,495.

Reduction in GMP certificate: The renewal fee for the GMP certificate is Rs. 25,000. Now the manufacturers do not have to pay this fee annually. This also translates into an annual aggregate saving of around Rs. 375,000.

Documentation Cost: Previously the application was required to apply along with all documents. As estimated above, the average cost of documentation for a single manufacturer is Rs. 3,560, which also translates into Rs. 53,400 at the aggregate level.

Opportunity Cost: The opportunity cost stands around Rs. 28,846 for each establishment as shown above. This translates into saving Rs. 432,690 opportunity costs that the industry was born.

2.6 Online Issuance of Registration Certificate for Medical Devices

DRAP has also automated issuing of registration certificates for medical devices and licenses. Medical device manufacturers can apply for registration from anywhere in Pakistan without visiting the DRAP office physically. Therefore, the establishments are spared visiting twice to get a registration certificate for the medical devices.

¹⁰ <https://www.zoominfo.com/companies-search/location-pakistan-industry-medical-devices-equipment>

2.6.1 Reduction in Administrative Burden

Automation has reduced the administrative burden (learning cost, compliance cost, and psychological cost) significantly. The calculations made in the “one-stop-shop for licensing of medical devices” case are also applicable here. These calculations show that an establishment could save around Rs. 50,301 due to automation. At the aggregate level, this translates into the **reduction of administrative burden equivalent to Rs. 48.3 million.**¹¹

2.7 Online Issuance of No Objection Certificate (NOC) for Export of Medical Devices

Similarly, the process of issuing NOC for the export of medical devices has also been automated by DRAP under this reform. The manufacturers that we have interacted with during our survey acknowledge the implementation of this reform as the right step towards the promotion of exports of medical devices.

2.7.1 Reduction in the administrative burden

As discussed above in detail that the administrative burden of applying physically at the DRAP office is around Rs. 50,301 for an establishment. Automation has enabled the manufacturers to save this administrative cost along with other hassles. The data obtained from DRAP indicate that during the fiscal year 2020-21 around 7,048 NOCs were issued to medical device manufacturers. By assuming an equal number of NOCs would have been issued after the implementation of this reform, the industry would have realized a **reduction in administrative burden by Rs. 354.5 million.**

¹¹ Since there are 962 medical device manufacturers currently operating in the market. For details see: <https://www.zoominfo.com/companies-search/location-pakistan-industry-medical-devices-equipment>

Russia and Ukraine Crisis: From Geo-Political Confrontation to Putin's Ambition to Regain Lost Grandeur

Author

Roqia Khurshid

Abstract

The article discusses different aspects of the Russia-Ukraine Crisis ranging from geo-political confrontation, to Putin's ambition to regain lost grandeur resulting from Soviet disintegration. Russia's renewed incursion in Ukraine has initiated deadly conflict in Europe and laid down the foundation of new hostilities between Russia and US-led West and the epicentre of confrontation is Ukraine. Ukraine has remained in constant boil for the past many years for various reasons ranging from internal instability, to Western interference and hostile relations with neighbouring Russia. Ukraine has also been hotbed between West and Russia for its abundant natural and agriculture resources as well as its geo-strategic location blessed with close proximity to Black Sea and Mediterranean Sea making it geo-strategically important for Europe and Russia equally. The Ukraine crisis has left World in a chaotic situation and endangered regional and global peace and stability. Crisis has also resulted in global food shortage and economic crisis globally and shattered the pillars of the global economy. The article articulates that only end to conflict will be by positive approach followed both by Russia and the West.

Keywords: War in Ukraine, Nationalism, Geo-politics, Future Outlook of Europe, Consequences

Introduction

The recent Russian incursion of neighbouring country Ukraine started in February 2022 is considered as hallmark of Europe's deadliest armed engagement since World War II. The origin of conflict can be traced back to November 2013, when Euromaidan protests erupted in Ukraine after Russian supported President Viktor Yanukovich rejected the European Union

Association Agreement in favour of loan and gas at lower price with Russia. Eventually, civil unrest escalated and marked people's dissatisfaction with the existing government and prompted Viktor Yanukovich to leave Ukraine (Stan, 2017). Dozens of people died in bloodiest violence and by February 2014, the capital was under control of various European backed opposing parties. Resultantly, Russia shifted its focus to Crimea in the Southern region of the country, with majority of Russian ethnic population. Russia had already stationed its Black Sea fleet in Crimean Peninsula. Russian President Vladimir Putin sent Russian army to Ukraine's border for a startling military exercise. Initially, the Russian President denied the presence of Russian army in Crimea but very shortly Russian Army seized the government buildings and took control of two Crimean airports. In March, Russia conducted a referendum and ethnic Russian majority Crimean population overwhelmingly voted in favour of Russia and on March 21, 2014 Putin annexed Crimea. The US and West called it a sham and illegal referendum and imposed economic sanctions on Russia (clinch, 2022). Technically, if we see there are various factors which contributed to political turmoil in Ukraine which includes ethnic conflict, strategic importance, abundant natural resources and most importantly competition between West and Russia. The United States (US) and its European allies are equally responsible for the crisis. The root cause of trouble was NATO's expansion, a key component of West plan to move Ukraine out of Russia's sphere of influence and assimilate into West. Russia repeatedly raised concerns over the issue and ultimately, Putin responded by taking Crimea, a peninsula which was expected to be used by NATO as a Naval base against Russia. Putin considers western involvement in Ukraine a key strategic threat to Russian sovereignty (Mearsheimer, 2014). Further details of the Russia-Ukraine crisis will be highlighted in ensuing paras.

a. Ukraine: A Constant Boil

The 2014 Russia-Ukraine conflict imitates the patterns of troubled relations in previous decade across the former Soviet Union not only in Ukraine but in Estonia and Georgia as well. The 2007 cyberattacks on Estonia and the 2008 war in Georgia are affluent examples of troubled

relations between post-Soviet independent states and Russia. The previous and recent crisis in Ukraine has become a signal case for post-Soviet independent states. The conflict of status quo and constant boil of uncertainty roiled by internal instability, amplified by external incitements, designed by Putin's expansionist ambitions and west response tends to reverberate across the region. Putin's seizure of Crimea and intrusion of eastern and south-eastern Ukraine caught West off-guard and initiated efforts to respond to Putin's actions in Ukraine (Metre et al., 2015). Crimea, a significant strategic location that originally belonged to Tatars later on, was conquered by the Ottoman Empire and remained under its control till the 18th century. In 18th century Crimea was conquered by Russia and remained as an autonomous part of Russia till 1954. In 1954, Nikita Khrushchev gifted the peninsula to Ukraine as a token of appreciation for the three hundred years' anniversary of Ukraine unification with Russia. At the time it didn't appear to be a big deal for Russia but it became so after the Soviet Union collapse. The complicated background of Crimea has remained a constant boil between Russia-Ukraine confrontation. Later on, during the Joseph Stalin period Crimean Tatars were expelled from Crimea on a charge as German collaborators. Crimean Tatars were not allowed to return back until 1956, resultantly, Tatars inclination extended towards Ukrainian government. All of these factors caused Ukraine and Crimea to stand in a confused state between Russia and West with uncertain identity (Clarke, 2019). Based on the history, Putin always insisted that Crimea fairly belongs to Russia and its annexation would protect Russia. Europe considers Crimean annexation as a land grabbing act of Putin and doesn't recognize Russian annexation. The biggest move in Europe since World War II, triggered years long confrontation and strategic rivalry between Russia and Ukraine (Timsit et al., 2022) which will be briefly explained in the ensuing paragraph. The contested annexed zone map between both countries is attached below.

**Map of the
Conflicted Zone**



Source:

Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc.

b. A Strategic Rivalry between Russia- Ukraine

Russia annexation of Crimea and NATO eastward extensive expansion since 1997 has left Russia unnerved and resulted in strategic rivalry between east and west. Ukraine has emerged as a focal point of confrontation between the US-led west and Russia. Since 1990, NATO has gone through five rounds of enlargement to include former Soviet Union States and various Warsaw Pact states. NATO considers it a strategic partnership while Russia considers its encirclement. Ukraine immediate next to Russia was extensively struggling to join NATO in 2014 and the issue took a central role and Putin sent Russian troops to Crimea. Russia believes Ukraine’s addition in NATO an imminent threat to Russia and challenges its security (Glucroft, 2022). NATO’s eastward expansion by Russia is seen as direct threat. The provocative acts by NATO and eastward edging towards Russia complicated the situation and left Ukraine in unending conflict. Russian imperialism or NATO expansionism will be the biggest challenges for Europe in upcoming years. Logically NATO expansionist ambitions has endangered small countries on the border of Russia and undermined strategic stability in the region (Suny, 2022). Not only

NATO, Russia also struggled to expand its influence in the region by technological advancements and exerting soft power techniques in the region. Russia also employed digital disinformation campaigns in neighbouring countries especially in Ukraine to sow discord and divide among people. This was mainly done after the Russian annexation of Crimea in 2014 to promote Russian nationalism. Russian tactics remained decisive for a couple of reasons which included geographical proximity, presence of Russia forces because of the 1997 deal, majority of the ethnic Russian population and Neo-Stalinist policies provided Russia with conclusive results. Later on, the same practices were followed in other countries of the region (Clarke, 2019). Russia has played very smartly in last decade and gained popular support in disputed border region. The fundamental problem for Ukraine and the West is that it is easier for Russia to destabilize Ukraine than for the Ukrainian government even with the West's assistance. Russia supports Pro-Russian ethnic population in border areas by financing and arming them, making it impossible for the Ukrainian government to manage and stabilize the situation in conflict. In the similar way Russia annexed Crimea a key strategic location in 2014 and Luhansk, Donetsk, Zaporizhzia in 2022 (Metre et al., 2015). Ethnic and Nationalistic ambitions has further complicated the crisis between both neighbouring countries which will be discussed in ensuing paras.

Roots of Ethno-Nationalistic Identity in Russia-Ukraine Crisis

The Russia-Ukraine crisis resulted because of various internal and wide-ranged geopolitical issues. While discussing geopolitical factors of the conflict nationalistic ideology and ethnic rifts should also be taken into consideration. Russian nationalism and identity played a significant role in transformation of the conflict. Ethno-linguistic division and exploitation of historic memories played an accountable role in transforming conflict. Society is affected by political transformations in any country. Since Soviet disintegration Ukraine was eagerly struggling to escape from the Russian orbit and Russia, and was hesitant to acknowledge eternal loss of Ukraine, was trying to undermine the process by manipulating loyalties and cultural

characteristics of masses in eastern Ukraine. Crisis in Ukraine is more about nationalism rather than an ethnic conflict like Yugoslav. Relating to identity, a number of factors are involved in the Russo-Ukraine Conflict (Harris, 2020). Ukraine has remained under a rule of corrupt political elite and Russia took advantage of this situation. Ukraine tried to democratize political institutions under western influence but were confronted by Russia. Historically, Ukraine acquired gigantic territory from Russia in eastern and southern region and that almost 17 million Russians largest minority living in Ukraine offers Russia reasonable interest making case stronger for the local population that Russian nationalism is beyond the borders. Therefore, in that way, the 2014 annexation of Crimea and now three other regions of Ukraine should not be a surprise for West. In the past, Russia intervention in Georgia and Chechnya are affluent examples of Russian ambitions.

Apart from Western assertions, if we see the Census of 2001, Crimea was the largest region with multi-ethnic and multi-lingual characters (58.3 % Russian, 24.3% Ukrainian and 12.1 % Tatar population. The Ukraine government, Western media and their Western supporters characterized Crimean separatist as having minor support. 97 % of the people in Crimea voted in favour for joining Russia. The Pew Research centre reported that 91% of people viewed referendum as free and fair. The other region Donbas taken by Russia consists of Donetsk and Luhansk has second highest Russian ethnic proportion (38.5%) whereas 72% Russian native speakers also develop fervour for Russian nationalism (Harris, 2020). Similarly, fourth region taken up by Russia is Zaporizhia. According to available 2001 census, the Russian language share in total population was 48.2 % whereas, share of Russian population in total population was 24.7% of total population (Knoema, 2001). Therefore, it is quite convincing that Russian nationalism also played a crucial role in stirring up tension in Ukraine.

Another connotation of Russian nationalistic approach lies on the concept of *Novorossiya* (New Russia), that is the legacy of 18th century. It also expects a reshaped Black Sea region, which consists of Southern region starting from Crimea to Odessa splits from Kyiv and joins Russia.

New Russia is not an exclusively geographical concept by which Russia claims territories lost in 1991. It justifies Russian intensive interference in neighbouring states and reasserts Russia as a great power (Laruelle, 2015). Russia's recovery status and ethnicization of accompanying rhetoric is further complemented by the idea of *Russkii Mir* (Russian World) which tends to unite and support ethnic Russians with in Russia and outside Russia. Putin also launched *Russkii Mir* foundation in 2007 to promote Russian nationalism and preserve Russian cultural identity (Kuzio, 2016). The conception of existing nationalism validates both sides: Ukraine is attempting to preserve the right to exist and its existence should look like (Multicultural, tolerant, democratic and multi-ethnic) whereas, Russia wants to see Ukraine's existence under the Russian hegemony and identity as a subservient state to Russia. Emphatically, the nationalism is main agenda of confrontation for both states. On one side, Ukraine wants to democratize country and on the other Russia considers Ukraine's national architecture as artificially influenced by West and threat to Russian identity. Russia's seizure of Crimea, Donbas and Zaporizhia and its efforts to occupy and fuel conflicts in other region is further proof of its non-consensual approach to Ukraine. Russian authorities believe that Ukraine's contemporary national image has threatened the existence and permanency of contemporary Russian national imaginary. For Putin maintaining a robust influence over Ukraine is way beyond its foreign policy priority and consider Ukraine as integral component of their own country's identity. In 2016, Putin said that Russian nation is emerged from Kyivan Rus via Prince Volodymyr, a Prince proclaimed by Putin as the protector of Russian land and a prescient statesman. Such assertions by Putin presents a submissive Ukraine as essential and existential to Russian national identity (Knott, 2022). The Russian conception of considering Ukraine as an integral component all hinges over the conception that if Ukraine leaves Russian sphere of influence it will be considered as attack on Russia itself. Ethnic nationalism and Russian imperialism are very much relevant to Russian invasion of Ukraine. Russia is deliberately targeting civilian and military to demoralize as much as defeat and a decisive victory. Russia's is indiscriminately targeting civilian population and culture to demolish Ukrainian and Western

cultural identity. Ukraine is struggling to be free from Russian type and somehow Western version of nationalism. Culturally, linguistically, nationally disjointed society looks like as an significant way to study political and social attitudes by disaggregating between language practice and language identity. Ukraine is home to 40 million people and the stands second largest country in Europe after Russia with abundant energy and agricultural resources (Knott, 2022). Geographical location and NATO's enlargement in Europe has a lot to do with other factors which will be discussed in ensuing paras.

Russia's Geo-Strategic Interests in Ukraine

Russia's renewed incursion of Ukraine is subject to many complicated factors ranging from Right versus Wrong, democracy versus authoritarianism, globalization versus protectionism and victory versus defeat. Another aspect of crisis is geo-strategic rivalry more related to expansionist objectives and encirclement of rivals to sustain existing World Order. Undoubtedly crisis in Ukraine has dented global security and peace in Europe. Russia's expanding geo-strategic ambitions in Europe are of critical importance (Hagman, 2022). After the Soviet disintegration in 1991, Russia suffered from territory as well as military loss. Over the time Russia regained strength and started its expansionist ambitions to regain regional grandeur as a regional hegemon. Access to Mediterranean Sea is of crucial importance for Russia. Accessing Mediterranean Sea is a significant component of Russia's military strategy and invasion of Ukraine. Mediterranean Sea will provide Russia easy access to the Middle East, Southern Europe, and North Africa. In Europe Mediterranean region is a jostle of great power rivalry between the US, NATO and Russia. The downfall of Soviet Union resulted in the geopolitical competition in the region. Russia disbanded its fifth Eskadra in 1992 and Turkey emerged as primary Naval actor in Eastern Mediterranean and Ukraine in Black Sea region. Russia is very tactfully playing to pawn NATO's existence in the region and defend Russia's southern flank but still have a lot more to do because Russia doesn't have a strong Navy like the US. Since Russia's annexation of Crimea and Crimean Peninsula in 2014, the Black Sea fleet has added an

expeditionary capability. Now Russia's ambitions are more than about getting control of Crimean Peninsula; they are about accessing the Mediterranean region (Can Kasapoğlu, 2021). Russia's geo-strategic ambitions are not only confined to accessing geographical routes but to harness and exploit Ukraine's abundant Natural reserves as well.

a. Strategic Resources (Agriculture and Energy Resources)

Energy production and exports plays a tremendous role in Russian economy. Both Russia and Ukraine are big players of global energy markets not just in oil but for abundant reserves of natural gas and coal and Europe heavily relies on Russia and Ukraine to overcome its energy needs. Alone Russia is responsible for about one eighth of the world's oil exports (Victor, 2022). Similarly, Ukraine has one of the globally largest reserves of titanium, iron ore, lithium and abundant deposits of coal especially, in Donbas and eastern region. Collectively, Ukraine's natural resources are worth tens of trillions of dollars and if Ukraine loses control of eastern region; it already has lost control of four significant regions will also lose its two third of coal and gas deposits. Ukraine will also lose abundant reserves of rare earth metals essential for high-tech components. According to Canadian geopolitical risk firm SecDev almost \$ 12.4 trillion worth of Ukrainian energy resources, rare earth metals and minerals are in Russian possession. In addition to that, Russia has also seized 11 percent of Ukraine's oil deposit, 20 percent of its natural gas deposits, 42 percent of metals and 33 percent of rare earth metals including lithium. Some of them were taken by Russia in 2014 and remaining are taken in 2022. At the moment Russia is holding 30 billion tons of hard coal deposits cumulative commercial value of \$ 11.9 trillion. Russia has also seized a significant limestone and coal deposit crucial for steel production (Faiola & Bennet, 2022). Statistically, if we see natural gas deposits Ukraine has around 1.09 trillion cubic meters of gas reserves second largest in the world after Norway which accounts for almost 1.53 trillion cubic meters. However, most of the natural resources are untapped because of lack of technical might and infrastructure development. Presently, Russia is largest exporter of gas to Europe accounting for almost 40 to 50 percent of Europe's energy

needs. Germany is the largest consumer of Russian gas almost 55 percent of its need and a huge goes by Ukraine and a transit fee of almost \$ 7 billion is earned every year. As massive gas reserves remain unexploited still Ukraine is crucial for gas transport from Russia to Europe. Russia also set up the Nord Stream II gas pipeline through Ukraine to supply gas to Europe. Ukraine was also 5th largest iron ore exporter in 2019 globally. Similarly, according to estimation up to 20 percent of titanium ores are present in Ukraine. In 2021, China was the one of the largest importer of Titanium ores from Ukraine. Titanium is heavily used in manufacture of aeroplanes (Mohan, 2022).

Another important component of strategic resources is Ukraine's grain basket. Ukraine is also one of the largest suppliers of wheat and corn and it heavily contribute to Ukraine's economy. Africa and West Asia are largest buyers of Ukrainian and heavily rely on Ukrainian cereals. Over 50 percent of Ukraine's wheat and corn shipment heads to Africa and Middle East. A strong Russian hold on Ukrainian mineral and agriculture resources will unnerve Europe and the US. Russian hold on Ukraine will challenge the US and NATO's authority in Europe and Russian influence in Europe could only grow stronger with Ukraine's invasion and by capturing its worthy resources. It will also enable Putin to pursue its years long ambition to build Russian empire in Europe and emerge as hegemon of the region (Mohan, 2022). By capturing strategic positions and abundant natural resources of Ukraine would enable Putin to rule the region and challenge NATO and West dominance in the region.

Putin's Ambitions to Build Russian Empire in Europe

On February 24, Putin shocked world by starting war in Ukraine. This is however, not a something new. Putin has repeatedly used history as an instrument to achieve his policy goals. Putin himself compare with Peter the Great and Tsar. Putin initially used history as inspiration but gradually transformed into weapon. Putin build that narrative deliberately within country and across the border in Ukraine to justify his actions and secure powerful position globally. In initial years of his rule Putin emphasized on the spiritual unity between Russia and Ukraine.

Putin at various occasions claimed Belarusian, Ukrainian and Russian one people. The agenda behind this narrative was to familiarize people with Putin's long term objectives. Putin considers Ukrainian and Russian people one nation (Drost, 2022). In 2021, Putin wrote an article *Historical Unity of Russian and Ukrainian* in which he outlined all his ambitions for a united Slavic identity over the past years. Putin recalled all glorious time and events of past. He considered only true sovereignty of Ukrainian is possible with Russian Unity. Putin in his election campaigns has repeatedly focused on Greater Russia. Putin also said that Russian and Ukrainian has same language and culture and Ukraine is old Russia and on different occasion Putin declared Ukraine as periphery. Putin considers Modern Ukraine entirely a product of Soviet era. Both Ukraine and Russia has formed a single economic system over the decades and centuries. Ukraine was step by step involved in geopolitical game to encircle Russia therefore, all things that untied us and bring together are under threat (Putin, 2021). Putin's remarks clearly indicate his ambitions to regain lost glory.

In June this year, Putin once again in meeting with young Russian entrepreneurs expressed similar feeling in which he compared himself Peter the Great and Russian Modernization Tsar. Putin has long argued that Ukraine don't have legitimate national identity and Ukraine is exclusively puppet of West. By summoning the memory of Peter the Great, it is clear that Putin's aim is driven by sense on historical dynasty and Putin's project of imperialism is not only limited to Ukraine but beyond Ukrainian territories that once belonged to Russia (Hodge, 2022). Putin's ambitions exemplify that Russia will no longer follow the Western World Order especially the US but would position itself as an independent centre of power in Europe and maybe beyond Europe in Mediterranean and African region. Putin is exactly following Primakov doctrine firstly presented by Yevgeny Primakov in 1996. Putin is contributing to the development of multipolar world order as an alternative to US led unipolar World Order. As Russian economy is progressing and Russia is more enthusiastic in pursuing its goals. Growing political division between US and Europe has also strengthened Putin's narrative and has exposed targets for Russian interference. The quest for recognition as a great power has been

both result of Russia's geographical expansion and respective drivers. Geographical expansion in eyes of Russian leaders will be a key driving factor to recognize Russia as a great power. Economic and political restoration in last decade has enabled Russia to re-establish control over its neighbours. It can be seen by 2008 war with Georgia, 2014 annexation of Crimea and invasion of Ukraine in 2022 and may be way beyond Ukraine in future (Gurganus & Rumer, 2019). Russia is utilizing all means to advance its foreign policy and geopolitical objectives. Economic sanctions, International isolation and geo-political encirclement are all failing to control Russia and put a barrier against Putin's ambition to build a Russian empire in Europe.

Recent Developments: Annexation of Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson and Zaporizhzia

In recent years, first Armed conflict in eastern Ukraine erupted in 2014 and resulted in annexation of Crimea. Crimean annexation unnerved western powers. In 2015, France, Germany, Russia and Ukraine initiated negotiations to end violence through Minsk Accord. Efforts to reach a diplomatic settlement remained indecisive. In first quarter of 2016, NATO positioned four Battalions to Eastern Europe, moving troops from Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland to deter Russia. Similarly, in next year 2017, US also positioned two US Army tanks brigades in Poland to further strengthen NATO's presence in the region. Furthermore, in March 2018, US approved sale of anti-tank weapons to Ukraine bolster its defence. In October 2018, the US, and seven NATO countries conducted military exercises in Ukraine. Next two years served as stalemate years between both parts because of global pandemic. By the end of Summer 2021, US intelligence reported that Russia is ready to invade Ukraine and finally on 24 February 2022, Russia invaded Ukraine and declared it as a special military operation to demilitarize Ukraine and to protect Russians in Ukraine (CFR, 2022).

Initially, Russia tried to seize the capital Kyiv but following its failed attempt, Russia shifted its focus exclusively to eastern Ukraine. Since the summer 2022, most fighting has largely been confined to east and south of Ukraine. By the end of September 2022, Russian backed

authorities in the occupied eastern regions of Ukraine: Donetsk, Luhansk, Kherson and Zaporizhzhia held referendum on joining the Russian Federation. Annexation was also followed by mobilisation of 300,000 Russian reservists. According to polls in Donetsk and Luhansk over 98% people voted in favour of Russia while in Zaporizhzhia 93% and in Kherson region 87% people voted in favour of Russia (Beaubien et al., 2022). Russian backed leaders of disputed regions claimed that it was necessary as their region was facing constant threat from Ukraine and NATO. During an address Putin also assured Russian support for these regions (PIA Новости, 2022). Russian moves were widely condemned by international community and declared it a sham referendum similar like referendum held in Crimea. Russian ministry of foreign affairs claimed that votes were taken place in accordance with rules and regulations of international law and people of Donbas and Southern Ukraine has used their right of self-determination according to UN Charter. Ministry also claimed that international observers from various countries which includes Italy, Germany, Venezuela and Latvia monitored the referendum and recognized its legitimacy. In result of that referendum Russia also passed various laws which includes Russian citizenship law, introduced rouble as currency and military formations in those regions (Mills & Butchard, 2022).

The recent annexation and referendum of Ukrainian region are meant to signal a clear message to West that Russia has no intention of backing down from its military and political objectives in Ukraine despite the recent setbacks in Ukraine. Ukraine has lost its 40,000 square miles. The referendum has also closed doors for negotiations too and open the possibility to the total liquidation of Ukraine as an independent state because any territory gained by Russia in future could be integrated into Russia. On the other side, Ukraine has expedited the process of joining NATO (Al Jazeera, 2022).

Implications

Putin's ambitions are not only confined to gaining territory in eastern region its way beyond Ukraine as mentioned earlier. It's not end of the game. As US and West are supporting Ukraine

militarily danger of direct clash between West and Russia are expediting. Russia has already warned of nuclear retaliation (Mills & Butchard, 2022). The Russia's planned wave of annexation could also include proxy territories outside Ukraine. Russia could ignite hybrid warfare in Ukraine as it Russia is doing since 2014 against Ukraine. Annexation of Ukrainian land is likely the only off-ramp that Putin interested in. Even this is face saving option as well for Putin as Russia has also suffered a lot in Ukraine. Russia's future aims of complete regime change in Ukraine would be a devastating blow to Ukraine and West. Russia's annexation plans are still not granted to succeed as Russia has to face strong counter offence from Ukraine in coming month and Ukraine has resisted in Lyman region crucial for connectivity in Donbas region. Russia's annexation plans depend upon consolidating control of occupied territory, establishing administrative capabilities and preventing Ukraine from counter offence (Lawlor & Clark, 2022). Ukraine's western partners in future will have narrow window of opportunity to support Ukraine. Their extended support can initiate a direct confrontation between US, NATO and Russia. Ukraine forces must expedite their counter offence efforts to protect other parts of Ukraine. As Putin has annexed eastern Ukraine, Russian can reconstitute its forces and renew invasion of Ukraine in coming years, with greater strength and with more territorial advantage. The West must take threat seriously real as it will expand to European horizons. The ethical and political consequences of longstanding Russian occupation of Ukraine would be devastating and it would necessitate Western support for Ukraine for continuity of counteroffensive operations (Lawlor & Clark, 2022). It will also entirely change future outlook of Europe which will be under discussion in next part.

Future outlook of Europe

Russia's invasion of Ukraine will have retrospective geo-political and geo-economic repercussions for Europe and global community. The looming Russia-Ukraine crisis is not only confined to Ukraine but could escalate to the rest of Europe. The war in Europe is third asymmetric shock in last two decades, first was 2008 financial crisis, then COVID-19 Pandemic

and now war in Ukraine. The war in Ukraine will have adverse impact on neighbouring countries due to the influx of refugees and their extensive reliance on Russia and Ukraine to overcome energy needs. Europe is facing economic crisis and soaring inflation. Europe will also face consequences of this third asymmetric shock for almost next 15 years. War in Ukraine will force European countries to increase defence spending and could increase polarization in Europe (Borrell, 2022).

The unending war in Ukraine has also lowered prospects of post-pandemic economy recovery for developing economies of Europe and Central Asia. Economic activity will remain sluggish in upcoming years especially in next year 2023, with minimal expected growth of 0.3%. Energy price shocks will continue to destructively impact region. Ukraine's economy is estimated to contract by 35 % this year. According to World Bank estimates, social and infrastructural recovery in Ukraine needs at least \$349 billion. Prolonged or intensified war could cause larger economic and environmental loss to Europe (World Bank, 2022). The overall economic costs of the war are still difficult to predict. However, impacts for different member states will be different. If we exclusively see economic and political outlook of Europe, Central and Eastern European countries appears to be more most vulnerable among remaining European countries. These countries heavily rely Russia for energy imports and can see heavy price hike in upcoming years whereas, Germany and Italy are also heavily dependent on Russian gas. Moreover, both countries are largest importers in absolute terms. Energy intensive economies in western and Northern Europe will also suffer disproportionality. To keep political unity and integrity EU has to share burden collectively. EU heavily relies on energy imports from Russia. In 2020, EU imported almost 23% of its oil, 45% of its gas and almost 45% of its total coal from Russia. While trade in other sectors between EU and Russia is declining because of Crimea factor but EU is unable to replace Russia for its energy needs. These direct dependencies will heavily impact Russia and EU relations (Redeker, 2022).

In short run, it will be hard for these countries to find alternative suitable options. As distribution of oil and gas relies on pipelines and other physical infrastructure, import loss will be even more difficult to manage. Import loss vulnerabilities will be higher in Hungary, Slovenia or Latvia. However, it will also cause strain on global energy markets. Rising energy prices in coming years are likely to hard hit in relatively poor cold European countries considerably harder than those of other member states (Redeker, 2022). In response to political and geo-graphical conflict global economic outlook has also worsen and future global economic growth will remain in shambles. Since the conflict started in February 2022, global inflation has risen to over 6 percent its highest level since 2008. The hike in energy and food prices has further triggered inflation (Guénette et al., 2022).

Politically, it's safe to predict this era of crisis will continue for number of years. Geo-political rivalries, political turmoil in neighbouring regions, deep economic and social inequalities and threats of global warming will make a tough environment for EU to keep intact. In Europe, it is largely believed that Crisis are often a crucial stimulant for the development of European integration but it varies from case to case. Up till now, European Union has shown a collective resilience and unity against Russian aggression but as the war continues collateral damage for EU mounts, asymmetries are beginning to emerge. Most countries in Northern and Eastern Europe considers Putin's reaction as direct threat to Russia's national security. It will considerably require a capable political leadership to overcome emerging divisions in Europe and ensure EU's continued unity in confronting Russia (Lehne, 2022). National egotism and Nationalism will limit the capacities of EU. In stressful situations horizons shrinks and immediate concerns take priorities. Governments priorities national interests' despite of collective unity. In case of Europe, trust among EU members will play a central role and a key ingredient will be highly crucial for successful crisis management. In future, EU's internal divide between Northern and Southern European members will be a key challenge for EU to preserve coherence, unity and collective integrity. Therefore, it is crucial to synergize all efforts to address populist and anti-EU movements across the Europe as it could weaken the EU ability

to act together. In future, EU will have to overcome traditional conceptions of national sovereignty and rise to new level of unity. Stronger and deep rooted bondage that were dreamed by Jean Monnet will be the best guarantee of EU's resilience in an era by beset by crisis (Lehne, 2022).

Way Forward

Russia's war in Ukraine is the deadliest armed conflict in Europe since the culmination of WWII. The conflict is the amalgamation of numerous factors which resulted in the series of conflicts and confrontations and left Europe, Central Asia and the rest of the world in a chaotic and vulnerable situation. The legacy of conflict can be tracked back with Soviet disintegration and later on Crimean crisis in 2013. Political, economic, nationalistic and imperialistic factors were the major drivers of the conflict. Europe has a history of troubled relations with Russia and the recent Russian incursion of Ukraine is a clear manifestation of renewed geo-political rivalry between major global powers. A former Soviet Republic, Ukraine is a major bone of contention between Russia and West because of its geopolitical, geo-economic and a strong cultural resemblance with Russia. The Russia-Ukraine crisis reflects patterns of troubled relations in past decade. Russia annexation of Crimea and NATO eastward extensive expansion since 1997 has left Russia unnerved and resulted in strategic rivalry between east and west.

The regional fiasco has also unnerved EU and especially Eastern European countries as the sounds of conflict escalation are resonating beyond Ukraine. Both Russia and the West are equally responsible for the deadliest conflict in Europe. NATO's expansionist ambitions and encirclement of Russia has added fuel to fire. The West is equally responsible for the conflict in Ukraine. Western leaders including the US clung to the provoking policies against Russia and advanced the crisis. Later on, the West tried to deal with Russia with harsh sanctions that had little effect. The crisis has also exposed the fragility of European Union. Germany and Italy have shown concern and resisted imposing economic sanctions. The West has been continuously

supporting Ukraine militarily and financially against Russia and increasing Russian anger. If conflict keeps escalating in the upcoming month Europe can be in a more troubled position.

It is unlikely that Putin will get back from its expansionist ambitions. There is a solution to the Ukraine crisis but the West has to abandon its plans of westernizing Ukraine and make it a non-aligned buffer zone between the NATO and Russia. West must admit the fact that Ukraine is crucially important to Russia and their support to anti-Russian regime will fail. The US and its western allies must abandon NATO's enlargement in Russian sphere of influence. Stable and peaceful Europe is in global interests, as the world is already facing horrific consequences of three crises that have happened in the last three decades. Sticking with existing policy will further complicate Western relations with Russia. The US and its European allies have an open choice either to keep confronting Russia and devastate Ukraine or end hostilities and move towards conflict resolution.

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The Second Iraq War's Background: How Does War Stimulate It?

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Abstract

As a result of the Iraq War in the Middle East dating back to the very early years, conflicts have been ongoing in the 1980s. As a result, the main causes of the conflicts in Iraq can be traced back to the First Gulf War in August 1990. The war began in Iraq and Kuwait, but it spread around the world under the leadership of the United States, one of the most powerful actors, and ended with the 2003 conflict with Iraq. When we specifically examined the Iraq War in 2003, we focused on U.S. and United Kingdom effects. This study is mostly an attempt to, for all intents and purposes, understand how the Iraq War stimulated the conflicts in non-direct and direct ways, with the being the major way.

Keywords: Iraq war, US foreign policy, Public opinion, Conflicts, Gulf war-International order.

Introduction

Many conflicts in the world have happened. But the most fundamental of these conflicts is the Iraq. Explaining what is going on in the region within the framework of the classical approach to international relations is a very superficial way. Because it is impossible to understand international relations in the Middle East, especially in the post-2000 era, just by explaining the subject in terms of "power" or "wealth". The approach of social constructivism, which uses "ideas, norms, cultural values, and identities" rather than "power" as the basis of events in geopolitics and international relations, will serve as the basis for this study, which discusses the foreign power behavior these actions.

Research Methodology

The first part of the observations analyzed First Gulf War which was the onwads of Iraq War, focused on USA and foreign coalition factors, and the second part, the began and general awareness of the war, its causes, and effects on the many parts of the world continent were collected using perception operations for in indirect ways. The last part is the study of the conclusion after the war in Iraq analyzing the perception of USA-UK-Iraq trials.

The First Gulf War

The main reason for the start of the Gulf War was Saddam Hussein's half-day invasion of Kuwait's capital on August 2, 1990, after claiming that Kuwait was part of Basra province, the second most important city in the southern part of Iraq. In this war, also known as the First Gulf

War or Operation Desert Storm, the main actors were not only Kuwait and Iraq but also twenty-eight other countries, led by the United States, which participated in the war by forming a coalition of seven hundred thousand coalitions. This coalition was the largest coalition in history after World War II. In response to the war, the member states of the United Nations imposed economic sanctions on Iraq. America, on the other hand, initially tried to communicate with the Iraqi government diplomatically. On January 17, 1991, the war showed its power with an air operation and was supported by a ground operation on February 24 (Allison, W. T. 2012). In response to the operations, Iraq imprisoned Japanese, American, Polish, British, and American nationals who were in the country to work. However, one hundred and eighty thousand soldiers of the Iraqi army, who could not resist any longer, laid down their arms and surrendered to the coalition forces. Thus, Iraq lost the war. In Kuwait, Jabir III Al-Ahmad Al-Jabir Al-Sabah, the emir and commander of the military unit, came to power again. On the Iraqi side, an agreement was signed by the United Nations. 191 With the agreement signed in April, the embargoes on Iraq were lifted, and some areas in Iraq were not allowed to fly. But instead of a solution, this was a prelude to a new war that would start in 2003.

20 March 2003 Iraq War

In the late 2000, George W. Bush won the US elections, and the new conservative cadre that could play a role in his administration is not only shaping foreign policy, but also Middle East policy. This group believes that a new war is inevitable for American interests in the Middle East. Twenty years ago, the US entered Iraq together with Britain under the promise of "fighting terrorism", in the same way as the US entered Afghanistan. It was called "Operation Iraqi promising to bring democracy to Iraq. Unfortunately, this intervention resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people, including 500,000 defenseless children, and the expenditure of billions of dollars. First, the US and Britain invaded Iraq, claiming that the then-leader Saddam Hussein had developed deadly biological weapons that had never been tested before. In 2003, then-US President George W. Bush, who declared that Iraq was a threat to the world, commissioned a dossier to defend his claim with these words:

“For more than a decade, the United States and other nations have pursued patient and honorable efforts to disarm the Iraqi regime without war. That regime pledged to reveal and destroy all its weapons of mass destruction as a condition for ending the Persian Gulf War in 1991. Since then, the world has engaged in 12 years of diplomacy. We have passed more than a dozen resolutions in the United Nations Security Council. We have sent hundreds of weapons inspectors to oversee the disarmament of Iraq. Our good faith has not been returned” (The Guardian).”

Tony Blair, the then British president, supported the US and presented a report to the British parliament. In this report, it was stated that Saddam Hussein intended to use these weapons within 45 minutes, and it was among the claims that Saddam aimed to hit both the entire Middle East and Greece. Contrary to the claims made by the US and UK presidents, Hans Blix, the head of the United Nations Arms Control Commission, prepared a counter report and announced that he had sent a team to Iraq for inspection and that no nuclear weapons were found as a result of the inspections. Thus, the US and Britain failed to provide sufficient evidence for the invasion of

Iraq, and no European country wanted to side with the US-UK duo. The US and the UK, unable to gain support, began to attempt to invade Iraq despite the lack of approval from the United Nations Arms Control Commission. With this attempt, international law was violated. The world protested this attempt. In Washington and San Francisco, 300,000 citizens joined the slogan "No to War." In London, 2 million people; in Milan and Barcelona; and in Madrid, 800,000 people stood up against Bush and Blair. The demonstrations spread around the world to Moscow, Tokyo, France, Turkey, and many other countries. The protests in Turkey were important because the US wanted to use the Turkish land to launch its attack from the north. The Turkish people did not want to take part in the war against Iraq and demanded that the parliament vote against the resolution. 533 deputies participated in the vote on the "March 1 which was brought to the parliament and went down in Turkish history. In the end, the resolution was rejected because there was no majority. Then, on March 19, the first version was repeated, and this time it was passed by the Parliament. In this second resolution, it resulted in the acceptance of the use of only Turkish airspace by US planes. Five hours after the approval of the threshold, the US began to attack Baghdad (Göztepe, 2004). Years later, George W. Bush, who wrote a book called "Decision Points" (2010) about his thoughts during the period, stated that he was astonished by the decision and mentioned that Turkey, a NATO ally, had let the United States down by letting them down. In addition, the then US Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, described the voted resolution as a political embarrassment. Then, on March 17, 2003, George Bush warned Saddam Hussein and his family to leave the country. After that, he announced American citizens with these words;

"We come to Iraq with respect for its citizens, their great civilization, and the religious faiths they practice." "We have no ambition in Iraq except to remove a threat and restore control of that country to its own people (CNN, Bush Declares War Thursday, March 20, 2003)."

Two days after the warning, Bush launched an operation with the coalition forces. The actions under the name "Operation Freedom" started on March 20. Strategic areas of the Baathist regime in Iraq were targeted. The Iraqi government could no longer resist the US and Britain collapsed. Saddam Hussein was found three years later, from where he had fled, tried, and executed on December 30, 2006, for allegedly committing mass murder. Among the political developments during the occupation, the Shiites were given the seat of power, the Sunnis the ministry of parliament, and Jalal Talabani the presidency. The Kurds, on the other hand, announced that they declared themselves the Kurdish Regional Government of Iraq in the regions of Dohuk, Erbil, and Sulaymaniyah according to the constitution prepared by the US. Following these developments, Iraq witnessed Shiite-Sunni sectarian conflicts, and the country was dragged into civil war. Thus, the Kurds were granted autonomy. The sectarian conflict that began with the invasion of Iraq on January 22, 2006, marks the beginning of the Shiite and Sunni sectarian wars. Bombing of the tomb of Shia imams in Sammara. Due to the confusion in the country, more than five million Iraqis started to migrate to other countries.

Conclusion and General Evaluation

To understand the enmity between the US and Iraq, we need to go back to August 2, 1990. After Iraq attacked Kuwait on August 2, 1990. After the invasion of Kuwait February 27,

the US believed that since Iraq remained a permanent threat in the Middle East, countries in the region would approach the US for protection, which would lead to an increased US and UK military presence in the region. After eight years of war, the UK announced its departure from Iraq on May 22, and the US on told the media that US and other foreign troops were still kind of present in Iraq, numbering 2,500, showing how the allegations of basically biological weapons, which were for all intents.

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