

# **Maritime Security Governance: Pakistan Perspective**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Pakistan's strategic importance in the maritime domain has been at the center of debate. Particularly with the on-going development "Port of Gwadar" and how it may emerge a new economic architecture in the region and globally. However, the broader significance lies in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road (MSR) initiative by China that includes Port of Gwadar under China Pak Economic Corridor (CPEC), aiming to strengthen regional connectivity. The purpose of this study is to examine the need to strengthen maritime security governance, particularly in reference to Port of Gwadar and 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road. In turn this study adapts an analytic and descriptive approach for assessing theoretical and empirical evidence to measure significance of maritime security governance and how it may be affected by current challenges in the seas. Further, frameworks under international relations; regionalism, constructivism and critical security studies approach support the core argument "strengthening maritime security governance". The major finding of this study is evident through collective security and how effective it has been in eradicating crimes in the seas. The major implication of this paper is for both policy makers and academia to view maritime security governance as a coherent approach towards security and cooperation.

**Keywords:** Maritime Security Governance, Port of Gwadar, 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road, China-Pak Economic Corridor, Transnational Crimes

## Introduction

With the on-going developments in the seas under China's global initiative of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road (MSR), Pakistan's role in the maritime sphere has become increasingly important today. China-Pak Economic Corridor (CPEC) - Port of Gwadar remains a central project under the MSR that will emerge a new economic architecture regionally and globally. According to experts from policy making, academia, research and development; Port of Gwadar would become a strategic gateway for growth, trade and cooperation globally. The broader understanding of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road (MSR) is connecting series of ports in Asia, Europe and Africa and harnessing an environment of global and regional integration through economics, trade, human to human exchanges and research and development. It becomes a stouter clarity to view Pakistan's vital role in the MSR, which is rooted in dynamics of harmony and cooperation towards both participating states and others. However, there is an absolute need to interpret the success of Pakistan in the maritime domain which lies in addressing non-traditional security threats in the seas.

**Figure 1. China's Proposed New Silk Roads**



Source: Council on Foreign Relations, 2015

According to Khan (2006) in his paper; "Pakistan's Foreign Policy in the Changing International Scenario" *The foreign policy of Pakistan, or of any country for that matter, is based upon certain factors, principles and objectives....Factors and principles such as peace and security, national interests, ideology, geopolitics and strategy, economic interest, regional and*

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*international situations, and domestic conditions....result of changing national interests and paradoxical regional and international situations.* Hence, present direction of Pakistan's foreign policy prioritizes cooperation and harmony in the region and globally, and the same is supported through global projects as China-Pak Economic Corridor (CPEC). In connection development in the seas today not only remains aligned with commerce and infrastructure, but harnessing regional cooperation and harmony. Regime theory under the theoretical framework of international relations evolves the concept of an international society (Buzan, 1993) based on foundation of choices, incentives, power distribution and key roles and the same can be viewed in Pakistan's initiatives for greater integration. Not only is Port of Gwadar an integral factor towards internal development and economic growth of Pakistan, but it will open global avenues for commercial activities and industrial base.

The central argument of this paper is; why is there a need to strengthen maritime security governance? Transnational crimes in the seas offer perspectives from academic literature and policy reports that provide alarming examples and possible scenarios towards adverse outcomes that not only affect the national economy, but also disrupt international trade and sea-lanes (Anderson & Marcouiller 2002; Blomberg & Hess 2006; De Sousa, Mirza, & Verdier 2008; Burlando, Cristea, & Lee 2015). In relation to Port of Gwadar and 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road's success, safety and security; onshore for port facilities and offshore, sea lanes of communication is vital.

To provide a clear elucidation, maritime security's relationship with transnational crimes is not a coming of age phenomena, as piracy in the seas has always remained a challenge. However, post 9/11 terrorism offers various dimensions and one that has widely been argued and speculated is in the maritime domain. Transnational crimes in the seas do not have an established explanation, but they are any threats harmful to sea-borne activities such as; maritime terrorism, piracy, trafficking (humans, drugs and weapons), illegal fishing and cyber related crimes etc. From here it can be asserted why is there a need to strengthen maritime security governance in specific reference to success of the Port of Gwadar and overall MSR.

Maritime Security itself as a phenomenon has its roots in international relations and security studies, but till today lacks a universal definition. Its importance has grown post-cold war era as it has stepped out of the conventional security paradigm, where it was once thought to be protecting sea borders and vital sea embedded resources. Today non-traditional security

threats as transnational crimes in the seas are a grave concern for maritime security, as international trade and global economic survival remains dependent on sea lanes of communication (SLOC).

Port of Gwadar's strategic position in the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean defines its rising significance. According to Dr. Jamal Sanad Al-Suwaidi (2013) Director General of the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (ECSSR), *the Arabian Sea makes this region an indispensable economic artery and maritime corridor for world security and stability*. Further significance of Arabian Sea's relationship with energy shipments is explained by Vice Admiral (R) Irfan Ahmed (2015) of Pakistan Navy that *around 17 Million barrel Oil passes through Strait of Hormuz daily, around 3.5 Million through Bab al Mandeb, approximately 15 Million barrel oil passes towards Far East routes*. Arabian Sea's lanes are the life lines for many states as their energy shipments and other commodities pass through. And Port of Gwadar in connection would require an effective mechanism of maritime security governance for safe and secure sea operations.

Maritime Security Governance involves a mechanism for regulation of sea-borne activities by involving authorities who are an integral part of a formal structure of the national policy. But with today's transnational demands, security in the maritime sphere requires an extensive need for cooperation and collaboration between internal security mechanism and regional states for combating non-traditional security threats in the seas. The complex relationship between maritime security and transnational crimes has led scholars as Klein (2014) arguing; maritime stability protects operations in the seas from any disruptions and damage to international shipping, sea infrastructure, society and the environment. The threat from these transnational challenges is towards attacks on sea vessels and ports which in turn can lead to an economic breakdown and intensify sea conflicts.

This paper argues Pakistan's rising significance in the maritime sphere through development of Port of Gwadar and why strengthening maritime security governance remains important? Current literature is examined towards maritime security governance, transnational crimes in the seas and international legal framework to build a knowledge base towards the central argument. Further analysis is conducted by taking in expert opinions, where Port of Gwadar's international significance is positioned in key security challenges.

### Literature Review

The literature review of this paper focuses on three areas: 1) Maritime Security and Maritime Security Governance 2) Transnational Crimes in the seas 3) International legal framework

### Maritime Security and Maritime Security Governance

It is argued by Klein (2014) maritime security's interpretation varies according to a certain segment, instance defense forces would explain it as security of sea borders and territory, similarly in commerce and trade it will be defined as safety and security of sea vessels and ports. Explained by Kraska and Pedrozo (2013) in their book *International Maritime Security Law*, maritime security does not have a specific definition recognized globally, but it is stable order in the ocean under described laws of the sea.

Maritime Security Governance is concerned with those actors who respond to threats falling under defined rules, procedures and policies nationally, regionally and globally (Klein 2014). Pakistan's maritime security governance structure includes Pakistan navy, Pakistan maritime security agency and Pakistan coast guards.

Today with the changing global dynamics in the maritime sphere and with initiatives as 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road, there is a need for cooperation with regional and extra regional states towards stable governance in the seas. According to Bateman (2016) in his article *Maritime Security Governance in the Indian Ocean Region*; today the need for maritime security governance is rooted in dimensions of cooperation. Further, the need for effective maritime security measures is under both naval and civil maritime collaboration. Development in the seas depends upon maritime security, and in response effective governance leads to *Sovereignty protection, Maritime law enforcement, Maritime safety/SAR/Disaster Response, Marine environment protection, Resource management & protection, Marine scientific research and hydrographic surveys and Good order at sea- Protection from transnational crimes*. It is emphasized by Paleri (2014) in his book *Integrated Maritime Security: Governing The Ghost Protocol*, maritime security remains an integral part of the national security hence, as functional governance of the seas it is important for connecting it to the land perspective. With this argument it can be agreed that onshore security of the ports and other physical infrastructure

remains equally vital towards maritime security governance, as tactics of insurgents may vary for compromising sea-borne activities.

Pakistan's present position in relation to transnational dynamics of the seas indicates the need to strengthen maritime security governance due to Port of Gwadar's strategic position. Gwadar port is located in the Arabian Sea; 75 km east from Iran's border and Strait of Hormuz is 400 km away being the only way to the Persian Gulf (Ahmad, 2014, p. 461). *The need for sea governance can be explained through also 95% of Pakistan's trade is through sea lines of communication (SLOC).... Emerging concerns for Pakistan are also arising from the operationalization of the Gwadar port which is close to Straits of Hormuz, where a major percentage of the world oil traffic passes... In addition, growing religious radicalization in the Middle East and terrorism in South Asia are a matter of transnational concern towards maritime security for Pakistan. Firstly, there is an external threat towards the possibility of militant factions or insurgents attacking sea ports and vessels that can lead to floating bombs, stagnancy and collapse of regional and international trade. Secondly, through container shipments, insurgents can smuggle weapons, drugs and conduct human trafficking operations to finance their activities and recruit new members* (Iftikhar, 2015).

## **Transnational Crimes in the Seas**

Explained by Boister (2003) transnational crimes surpass state boundaries without limiting to a certain geographic area and they vary in methods. In this paper's context transitional crimes are viewed from a maritime sphere perspective of onshore and offshore security of Port of Gwadar. This argument is supported by former Diplomat Riaz Muhammad Khan (2016) who states; *the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) could only become a game changer, if Pakistan succeeded in overcoming its security challenges*. Pakistan has been at the center of international headline post 9/11 period by facing both internal and external security threats. Rising radicalization- terrorism and ethno-nationalism are rooted in the backbone of social evils; causing prevention of prosperity, limiting international cooperation and depicting a gruesome image of Pakistan globally. Examined by Kahandawaarachchi (2015) unlike Western donors or international institutions as IMF, World Bank or ADB, China does not put conditions while investing or providing loans, it is aware of the security concerns Pakistan faces internally and

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externally. Also China's stance is development of Port of Gwadar and other projects related to CPEC would address transnational security concerns and eradicate them through internal development. Therefore, sustaining Pakistan and China relations is also cardinal with on-going international political scenario. And strengthening maritime security governance would furthermore act as a driver towards strengthening these relations.

According to Pecastaing (2013) in his book *Jihad in the Arabian Sea*, the 21st century has evolved complex dynamics in the Arabian Sea that includes threats as rising radicalization, maritime terrorism, piracy, economic failure and environmental degradation. Organized crime in the Arabian Sea circles around speed boats of criminals smuggling drugs and weapons and trafficking of humans, from Yemen to Somalia and back into Yemen to supply arms to local insurgents. With the death of Osama Bin Laden in May 2011, a new spree of terrorism has risen, reinforcing Yemeni and Somali terrorists and their maritime agendas which are in close proximity to Dubai, Mombasa and Gwadar. Though the occurrence of maritime terrorism has not been the center of headline as piracy and smuggling, but supported by Former Chief of Naval Staff, Pakistan Admiral(R) Noman Bashir (2014) *after 9/11, there has been a mounting international concern related to the possibility of terrorists using relatively unguarded and vulnerable sea routes and ports to undertake acts of maritime terrorism.*

In context of this study, Pakistan's perspective is focused towards the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean region, where Piracy can be a threat to operations of Port of Gwadar and international shipping activities. Explained by Treves (2009) Piracy has shown its alarming position since the 1990s through capturing of ships, holding crew for ransom and engaging in acts of robberies. First it was group of armed men claiming to protect territorial waters of Somalia, but with absence of legitimate government enforcement; piracy absorbed itself with growing numbers. With Somali piracy's expansion, it became a *menace to navigation coming from the Suez Canal and going through the Gulf of Aden to the narrow area between the Horn of Africa and the Arabian peninsula.*

Till the year 2010 piracy was a grave concern in the Arabian Sea region. According to the Chatham House London (2016) *Piracy in the Indian Ocean has seen a marked decline since 2013 due to the combined impact of multi-national naval patrols, the implementation of best management practices by commercial shipping and progress in institution-building in Somalia. But to maintain these gains, and to combat other forms of maritime crime, including illegal*

*unregulated fishing and smuggling, requires continued sustained efforts by Somalia and its international partners to tackle its fragile economy and governance structures.* It is clear that reduction to crimes in the seas does not mean complete eradication; effective maritime security governance needs to be offer a consistent, coherent and responsive strategy at all times.

According to Bateman (2006) maritime terrorism has been overstated in many counts and it is necessary to understand its dimensions for both practical implications and theoretical debates. First there lies a strict distinction between maritime terrorism and piracy, as the first is based on political objectives and the latter for private reasons. Maritime terrorism is not a separate branch of transnational crimes; it is an extension of land based terrorist activities. However, like pirates, maritime terrorists do not possess the adequate skills to carry out operations in the seas. But possibly they can attain the required sets of skills from former naval personnel, fishermen and commercial seafarers. Like piracy, maritime terrorism does not engage in robberies, however if it happens, it is to generate money for strengthening their objectives. Following examples explain narratives of maritime terrorism, which offer insightful scholarship for both academia and policy makers: A) A terrorist group Abu Sayyaf Group in the southern Philippines carry their operations to raise funds through robbery in the seas. And, B) in September 2014 there was an attack on Karachi Naval Dockyard and the responsibility was claimed by Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP); they had an inside source for help (Dawn 2014).

Maritime Terrorism if compared to land based terrorism is not considered a significant threat because in reality terrorists face real challenges to carry their operations in the seas. These challenges remain in areas of capacity and training to attack possible targets. According to Country report on terrorism by U.S department of state (2014 and 2015) the total number of worldwide terrorist incidents in 2013 were 10415 of which 11 were maritime and similarly 13911 were total attacks in 2014 and 16 were only maritime related.

The most significant maritime terrorist attacks have been (Holman Fenwick Willan 2014).

- *Attack on the US warship the USS COLE in 2000.*
- *Attack on the French crude oil carrier the M/T LIMBURG off the coast of Yemen in 2002.*
- *Attack on the passenger ship the DON RAMON in Filipino waters in 2005.*
- *Attack on the Japanese very large crude oil carrier the M STAR whilst transiting the Strait of Hormuz in 2010.*



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The most imperative scholarship of maritime terrorism for academia and policy makers can be through the case of “Sea Tigers” of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). They led their operations against both commercial shipping and Sri Lankan navy. As explained by Bateman (2006) this can allow organizations alike Al-Qaeda to benefit and incorporate techniques and skills. However, over analyzing maritime terrorism and developing worst-case scenarios is equally irrelevant. But the rationale here requires research in multitude of factors in maritime terrorism as capabilities, intentions and vulnerabilities. And it remains of cardinal importance to learn from organizations as LTTE and their activities. Maritime Security Governance as an approach needs to be pragmatic while also analyzing previous sea based criminal acts.

### **International Legal Framework**

According to Bateman (2005) *law of the sea provides the legal framework for national rights and obligations at sea, while it is also an important catalyst for regional security cooperation and dialogue. A stable maritime regime, under-pinned by agreement on fundamental principles of the law of the sea, is an important contribution to regional security.* Effective Maritime Security Governance requires states to follow an international legal framework towards sea law that assists in developing a mechanism for maritime security, leading to protect sea-borne activities. *The United Nations convention on the Law of Seas (UNCLOS) provides complete clarity towards scope of territorial waters, limits of air space over one’s sea jurisdiction, innocent passage of sea vessels, rules for merchant and warships, contiguous zone, exclusive economic zone, continental shelf, right of states, development for offshore resources and protecting marine environment and global and regional cooperation, scientific research and settlement of disputes. These areas are of cardinal importance in the international maritime domain and it is essential for states in the Indian Ocean region to have identical interpretation of the UNCLOS, where consensus is formed on rules, laws and procedures* (Iftikhar 2015).

According to McNicholas (2011) in his book *Maritime Security an Introduction;* International Ship and Port Facility Security (ISPS) Code is an international framework of standards which needs to be adapted by governments, security agencies, local administrators and port and shipping industry to examine the threats pertaining to ships and ports affecting

international trade. The ISPS code offers comprehensive literature for ships and ports to train personnel, examine information, define communication protocols, restrict access, raising alarms and exercising periodic drills. The ISPS does not restrict itself towards maritime crimes, but also provides extensive guidelines on cargo tampering, smuggling, vandalism and using ships as a weapon.

## **Research Methods**

This paper's argument is aligned with the need to strengthen maritime security governance in context of Pakistan's rising significance in the maritime sphere. A mixed methods approach is integrated for this paper, whereas findings are a source from both primary and secondary data. Primary sources include content from speeches and arguments of former naval and diplomatic personnel, taken from newspapers and conference proceedings. They help focus on Pakistan's growing importance in the seas in context of Port of Gwadar- the MSR and the need to strengthen maritime security governance. Secondary sources include selected bibliography and journal papers to support theoretical knowledge and offer an international viewpoint. As strengthening maritime security governance is measured in a multi-perspective approach by viewing transnational crimes in the seas, past events and collective security measures.

## **Analysis**

### **Strengthening Maritime Security Governance**

Maritime Security Governance involves mechanisms for defined agencies in the maritime domain for responding to prescribed threats according to national policies and laws. And maritime security can be interpreted as *the security of sea lines of communication (SLOC), good governance at sea and serene activities for seaborne trade* (Iftikhar, 2015). With the complex nature of transnational crimes in the seas today, states realize the limitations towards conventional measures to maritime security. Due to significant numbers of crimes in the seas being outside a state's territorial waters, international naval presence and other collective security measures have become a dire need. Maritime security governance for Pakistan is vital in reference to international security challenges and in relation Pakistan Navy has played a pro-

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active in the Indian Ocean region since 2004 by participating in combined task force activities for combating transnational threats as terrorism and piracy (ISPR). Pakistan Navy has extended cooperation and support in international collective security measures in the maritime domain to combat terrorism and piracy through:

- a) Combined Task Force 150: which aims towards combating terrorism in the seas, its operations include in Horn of Africa and North Arabian Sea (combined maritime forces, 2016).
- b) Combined Task Force 151: which aims towards combating piracy, its operations include in Red Sea, Gulf of Aden and Somali Basin. (combined maritime forces, 2016).

Response of Pakistan towards protection of territorial waters has been through Pakistan Coast Guards, they are active in Pakistan's coastline of Sindh and Balochistan for combating crimes as human trafficking, smuggling of weapons and narcotics (Pakistan Army). And Pakistan Maritime security agency which is a branch under Pakistan Navy and it conducts operations independently; which are national and international maritime law enforcement, search and rescue, protecting sea vessels in the region against any threats, maintaining intra-coastal and offshore navigation equipment, and protection of Exclusive Economic Zone (Pakistan Maritime Security Agency).

The current literature offers clarity and a cogent position towards transnational crimes, particularly piracy and maritime terrorism. It is evident that transnational crimes in the seas have been overstated on many accounts, particularly terrorism and that also acts as a barrier towards practical policy implications. In supporting arguments towards strengthening maritime security governance in Pakistan's perspective, Port of Gwadar and MSR are critical to both port safety and security and harmony in the waters for shipping operations. In building up the central argument's strong analytic direction; experience from Pakistan's former naval chiefs and senior commandment is integral. According to Admiral (R) Noman Bashir (2014) good order in the Indian Ocean region is a challenge because terrorism in the waters faces threats from Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, Somalian extremists' presence in the Arabian Sea Region and the Islamic State operating in Iraq and Syria. Insurgents from these factions are operating in the waters and simultaneously are trafficking humans for training, weapons for fighting and smuggling narcotics for revenue generation. Elucidated by Admiral (R) Asif Sandila (2014) Port of Gwadar not only remains beneficial to China and international shipping, but it is expected to change Pakistan's internal infrastructure and economy by industrial development, new rail and road links and other

development projects. He also argues that while piracy is a danger in straits of Malacca, Somali pirates have their presence in horn of Africa and Gulf of Aden. A point to be also considered from Port of Gwadar's internal security is Baloch Nationalism, because lessons in the past are attacks on Chinese Engineers and expensive equipment and installations onshore being damaged. This is vital to note from two points first, smooth operations at the Sea port and second, Pakistan's response towards security in Gwadar that equally is important to China (Kahandawaarachchi 2015).

**Possible threats to Port of Gwadar and commercial activities in Pakistan's waters:**

- i. Smuggling of terrorists, weapons, narcotics and humans in commercial containers.
- ii. Hijacking of a Ships.
- iii. Attacks on vessels carrying petro-chemical commodities/LNG.
- iv. Attack on oil tanker.
- v. Attack onshore facilities of Gwadar port; example LNG terminal.
- vi. Insurgents using land around the port for a possible attack.
- vii. Illegal Fishing

Strengthening Maritime Security Governance fits under Pakistan's broader strategy where the current focus is on maintaining peace and stability in the seas and moving towards a direction of economic prosperity. All of these aspects are associated with an effective maritime security mechanism that strengthens existing capabilities for combating threats that are transnational in nature. Further perspectives under international relations; regionalism, constructivism and critical security studies approach are examined for supporting their position towards the need of strengthening Maritime Security Governance. As the same not only secures Pakistan's internal development interests, but signifies a) Pak-China Relations b) 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road c) over all Social Environment d) Regional Peace f) Security of political decisions.

### Regionalism

Liu and Regnier (2013, p. 6) state Regionalism is based on mutual cooperation to strengthen national interests; it is by collaboration between three and more states to achieve common goals and benefits. Though regionalism may have its variation towards how nations perceive it, but two core elements are interdependence and security. Interdependence is integration of production networks and improving infrastructure. Security can be elaborated for economy, energy, infrastructure, defence and maritime (Truong & Knio, 2016). Today with the changing global dynamics and intensity towards geo-politics, regionalism is not confined towards certain geography. 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road (MSR) can well be defined under the approach of regionalism, as it aims towards economic integration and regional connectivity in Asia, Africa and Europe through a collective approach based on peace to achieve joint benefits- “win-win” situation for all. Some of the initiatives under the MSR include construction of series of Ports along the route and development of Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and Silk Road Fund; they fit well into characteristics of security and interdependence. Maritime security governance defines itself strongly into a core dimension of regionalism, as it denotes security which includes economic and physical including maritime.

Pakistan’s role in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road is through development under Port of Gwadar, which would emerge as a strategic gateway towards trade and cooperation for the region and outside. China’s support for Port of Gwadar and other CPEC related projects is for both internal development of Pakistan and simultaneously connecting China’s land locked western regions for supply of particularly energy and other commodities. Another regional initiative is aimed at connecting Central Asian states for providing access to their vast natural resources (Kahandawaarachchi 2015). The success of 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road remains critical because with the support from China, especially with the prevailing security dynamics in Pakistan it is essential to strengthen governance and security aspects related to Port of Gwadar. Pakistan’s reliance on China is based on its friendship, but also a non-interference policy by the latter in domestic concerns (Daniels 2013). Pakistan has faced series of challenges globally during the last decade that now also include limited support from the West and international institutions due to political instability, terrorism and rising radicalization (Kahandawaarachchi, 2015). Therefore, Strengthening Maritime Security Governance remains immensely important towards Port of Gwadar and the Arabian Sea from three counts 1) Addressing transnational

challenges in the seas 2) Making 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road Successful in terms of regionalism 3) Retaining China's trust through keen interest for protection of development in the seas.

## **Critical Security Studies Approach**

Critical Security Studies approach contradicts the conventional approach of security, which is specified in terms of national interests under a realist approach. Its understanding is based not on protecting a state against transnational threats, but how security is perceived politically. Critical Security Studies approach is keen towards discourses of security in explaining a group identity, a policy and legitimacy of actors in providing security. Its focus is towards security recognizing social constructs and political strength. According to Browning and McDonald (2011, p. 236) critical security studies approach advocates international interdependence, social, political and economic involvement than military power. Development for Port of Gwadar under 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road defines a position towards international interdependence between Pakistan and China, in respect to critical security studies approach a political view of security is internal development and economic growth that strengthens the society from various challenges. According to the National Development and Reform Commission of China (NDRC, 2015) the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road extends cooperation in various domains of the maritime sphere from research and development, education, technology and human to human exchanges. From critical security studies approach it becomes essential after viewing the larger benefits under Port of Gwadar to the society; concrete measures are required for success of the overall project. It is certain that the larger economic and social benefits would be achieved in the maritime domain, but sustainability lies in decisions based on key actors' legitimacy, therefore strengthening maritime security governance is essential for securing social, political and economic objectives.

## **Constructivism**

Constructivism in international relations explains personal and social factors in international relationships that are an outcome of identities and cultures than choices based on power or material benefits. (Jackson and Nexon 2002). According to Hurd (2008) *The constructivist approach has been productive in this area because of its focus on the social content involved in*

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*the production of international relations, including state interests.* Perhaps, cooperation and constructive outcomes between states in this approach is possible under mutual trust. In regards to Pakistan and China's relationship, it has evolved strong since the 1950s, there has been firm history of cultural exchanges, support, trade and now development in the seas under 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road. Port of Gwadar's development is based on both Pakistan and China's identical choices that are economic-social growth and prosperity. The significance of this mega initiative by China can be understood through long term goals of both countries. Smooth activities at the Port of Gwadar and the Arabian Sea are critical towards the overall MSR initiative, therefore strengthening maritime security governance remains integral. Hence, an effective mechanism is in need as Pakistan's broader strategy aims at cooperation in the maritime domain, and also to sustain peace in the region by addressing transnational threats.

### **Discussion**

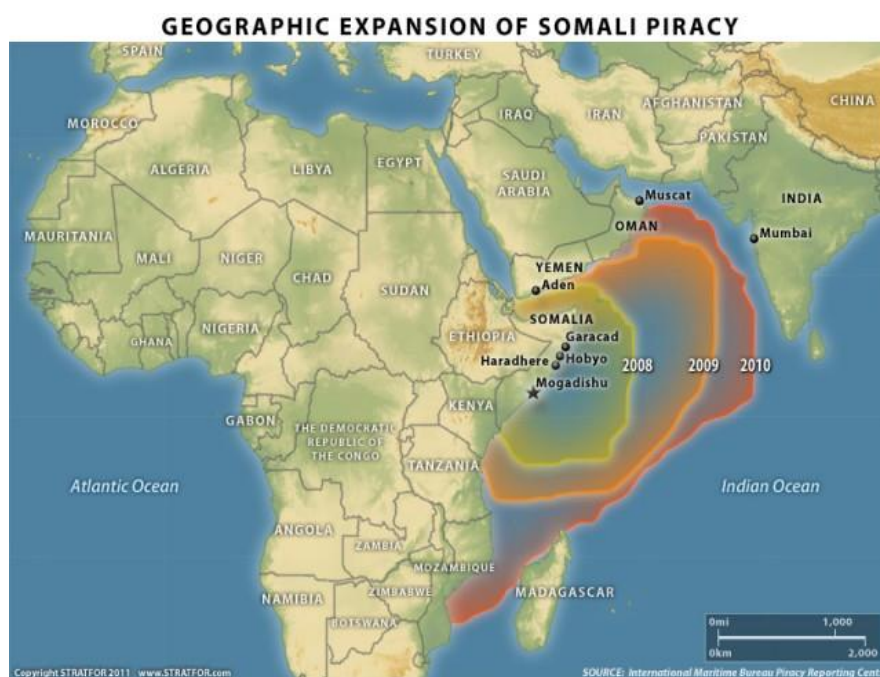
It is clear that transnational crimes in the seas do remain a challenge to maritime security. But there are certain areas that need to be examined carefully while devising a concrete strategy for strengthening maritime security governance. Three major challenges in the seas are piracy, maritime terrorism and trafficking and they offer extensive literature that has helped examine: 1) Limitations to maritime terrorism b) Importance of collective security c) Reduction to piracy in the Indian Ocean does not mean its complete eradication d) Trafficking can be used to finance criminal operations and use weapons and recruit new members f) Onshore security of the port remains equally important to maritime operations.

Maritime security governance as an approach needs to consider number of factors. While some initiatives have been taken by Pakistan Navy such as participation in the combined task force though, there is space for improving collective security measures. As many challenges to maritime Security are within both onshore and offshore areas; first faces threats toward port facilities and equipment and the latter for sea traffic.

A supporting position towards external collective security measures reflects on reduction in piracy in the Indian Ocean region. But first reference to figure 2 that depicts Somali Piracy expansion from 2008-2010, which is important to view in connection to the Arabian Sea. As from 2008-2012 Somalia Pirates were a Plague in Gulf of Aden, Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean.

Fast forward to 2015 and although reports of suspicious sightings still occur; the piracy problem has been hugely contained (Hill, 2015) reference table 1. One of the central reasons towards reduction in piracy in the Indian Ocean Region is collective efforts by foreign navies, as their presence through Gulf of Aden has intercepted it. Some of the international naval alliances are *Combined Task Force (CTF) 151 under the 30-nations Combined Maritime Forces partnership; NATO Operation Ocean Shield and EU Naval Force Atalanta* (Vespe 2015). Further *Additional onshore factors, such as the development of local security forces*, have contributed to limit Somali Piracy (RiskMap, 2016).

**Figure 2. Somali Piracy Expansion**



Source: Stratfor, 2011 ("Somali Pirates' Expanding Reach is republished with permission of Stratfor.")

**Table 1**

**Piracy Attacks Off the Horn Africa and Western Indian Ocean**

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Total Attacks	24	163	174	176	34	7	2	0

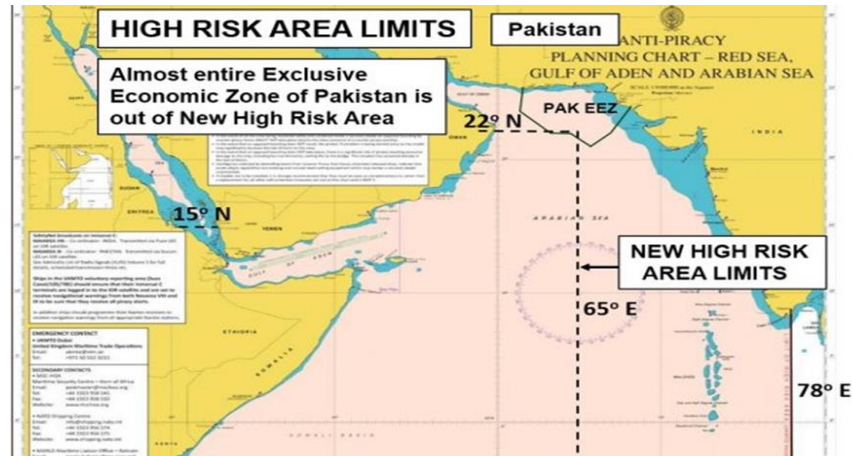
Source: Reproduced from European Union Naval Force (Op Atalanta) Somalia, 2015



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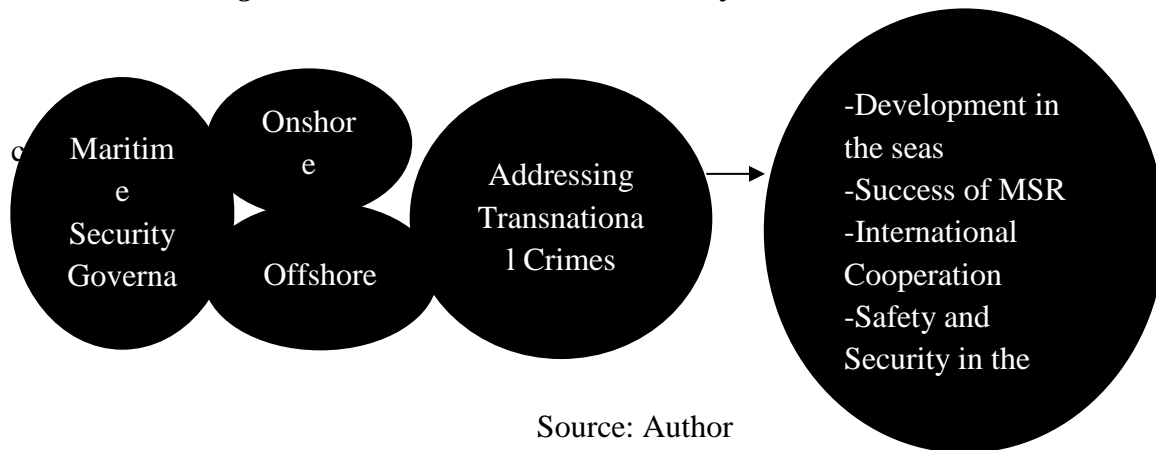
According to the Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia (CGPCS), Pakistan is no more involved in High Risk Area (HRA) of piracy, as it first was included in 2010, reference figure 3. That in turn strengthens seaborne activities, fishing, research and exploration and more significantly Port of Gwadar’s strategic position. One of the reasons towards this change is Pakistan Navy’s resilient role in the seas and collective security initiatives as Combined Task Force 151. Furthermore with Pakistan’s Exclusive Economic Zone being extended from 240,000 sq KM to 290,000 sq KM (Syed, 2015), that also requires devising Maritime Security Governance as an approach that counters Pakistan’s position from all threats in the seas, reference figure 4.

**Figure 3. High Risk Area- Pakistan**



Source: UKHO 2016, (Extract from Anti-Piracy Chart Q6011 is reproduced with permission of United Kingdom Hydrographic Office)

**Figure 4. Direction Maritime Security Governance – Pakistan**



Source: Author

## **Onshore**

a) Complying under rules of International Organizations:

- i. International Maritime Organization: International Ship and Port Facility Security (ISPS) Code -This contains both mandatory and voluntary procedures for improving maritime security. (International Maritime Organization, 2016). Interpretation of International Ship and Port Facility Security (ISPS) Code by of International Maritime Organization (IMO) is a crucial factor for governments aimed at security of their ports. ISPC applies to both ships and port facilities; it assists in the following areas:
  - Identification of various threats and implementation of security measures
  - Identifying roles of government, local administration and companies in different aspects of security.
  - Methods of disseminating security related information.
  - Defining methodology for security assessment and standards.

Further ISPS defines a standardized framework for governments and concerned agencies for security dimensions:

- Security plans and levels at the port
  - Security personnel
  - Equipment required for security
- ii. World Customs Organizations: (WCO, 2016).
    - Aims at inducing coherence and efficiency in customs procedures and cross-border trade.
    - Its framework includes: *principles for advance, electronic reporting of cargo and shipper data and requires importers to verify security measures taken by its suppliers.*

b) Initiating Local Joint Law Enforcement of both national and provincial agencies and department through collective, comprehensive and cooperative network using modern intelligence systems that should include:

- Police
- Maritime Security Agency

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- Pakistan Customs
- Gwadar Security Force
- Federal Investigation Agency
- Coast Guard
- Anti-Narcotics Force
- Frontier Constabulary
- National Database and Registration Authority
- Immigration and Passports
- Foreign Office
- Disaster Management Authority
- Pakistan Meteorological Department

These government institutions could form consensus for sharing of federal, provincial and tribal data including records of stolen vehicles, foreign fugitives, missing persons, known or suspected terrorists, and persons with criminal records. The comprehensive security collaboration would initiate *intelligence-sharing* and that would prevent cyber-crimes, terrorist activities and other threats to port's security (maritime and coastal). One key measure through Joint Law Enforcement by intelligence-sharing is maintaining up to date data base for all personnel within the limits of port:

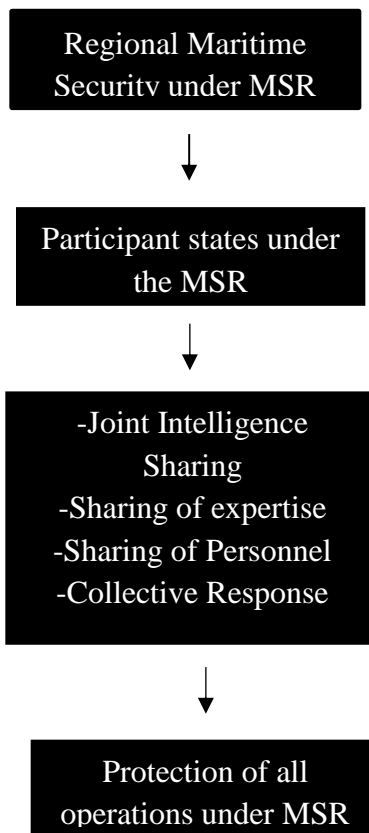
- Police
- Medical representatives
- Fire-Brigade
- Search and Rescue.
- Members of commercial organizations
- Traders (focal persons of imports & exports)
- Sanitation
- Foreign and Domestic Workers

### Offshore

Collective Security in international relations is explained as when states in a system agree to a security arrangement by identifying relevant threats and responding collectively (Kupchan & Kupchan, 1991). In response to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Silk Road, stakeholder states from

Asia, Africa and Europe could devise a collective security alliance that addresses non-traditional security challenges in the seas by responding collectively. The same can be achieved by joint-intelligence and sharing of resources through personnel and expertise. Unlike combined task force initiative which is voluntary, in respect to maritime security governance an approach could be constructed where all member states of the MSR initiative have to participate in such a regional maritime security initiative that protects all interests in the seas, reference figure 5.

*Figure 5.*



Source: Author

In Bateman's (2016) article *Maritime Security Governance in the Indian Ocean Region*, he distinguishes between Naval Cooperation and Civil Maritime Cooperation, as the later includes Coast Guards and Maritime Security Agency and other marine agencies as fisheries or oceanographic research, the same can be inculcated in Pakistan's maritime security governance mechanisms. Pakistan with its existing credibility for naval cooperation in the Indian Ocean

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Region, can harness safety and security for Port of Gwadar's and its maritime activities through collective security arrangements. The joint-intelligence sharing would allow up to date information towards possible threats not only limited to organized sea crimes or cyber related activities and even alert for natural calamities. United Nations convention on the Law of Seas (UNCLOS) can assist states towards consensus building by viewing threats in the seas as a universal concern, hence collective and timely response would be critical to intercept any threats.

### **Conclusion**

It is true to say in today's globalized world that peace, stability and economic development can only be achieved through cooperation amongst nations which is beyond conventional rhetoric perhaps, integration of states is essential for long term sustainability and economic prosperity. 21<sup>st</sup> Century Maritime Road is one such initiative by China that aims to connect states for harnessing an environment towards economic prosperity and world peace, based on the foundations for win-win situation for all. Pakistan and China's relations have strengthened since the 1950s and continue to grow through joint projects as Port of Gwadar and China Pak Economic Corridor (CPEC) related projects.

Today in international relations great powers weigh multiple factors before extending cooperation to developing countries. In concern to security challenges post 9/11, Pakistan has faced numerous setbacks; "war on terrorism" is the core issue, which in turn has led limitations on Western foreign aid. Port of Gwadar has emerged as the center of debate in many forums, there have been experts advocating for emergence of a new economic architecture of trade and cooperation in the region. On these lines, security challenges as rising radicalization, terrorism, ethno-nationalism and poverty have been a source of anxiety for Pakistan hence, development initiatives do remain in jeopardy.

China believes development of nations through modern infrastructure and economic prosperity can combat transnational threats, consequently Port of Gwadar can turn around Pakistan's socio-economic facet by eradicating poverty, unemployment and achieve equality in various sectors. What remains a pressing issue for Port of Gwadar in the Arabian Sea and the greater Indian Ocean region are transnational crimes as; maritime terrorism (onshore/offshore), piracy, trafficking and cyber-related crimes that can disrupt international commercial activities leading towards an economic breakdown, that will adversely affect Pakistan and other

stakeholder states. It is imperative for Pakistan to take prior initiatives for preventing such events and therefore, strengthening maritime security governance remains vital. Evidence was measured through current literature and also by assessing perspectives of Pakistan's former Naval Chiefs towards the challenges in the seas and how possibly Port of Gwadar may be affected. It was also analyzed through international relations theoretical frameworks; regionalism, critical security studies approach and constructivism that why strengthening Maritime Security Governance remains significant.

Strengthening Maritime Security Governance remains significant towards both onshore and offshore maritime activities. Onshore activities are related to the physical infrastructure of the port and its surroundings and offshore relate to all activities in the waters. Collective security measures remain core to both onshore and offshore maritime activities, as the first requires integration between domestic agencies and the latter between member states of the MSR. International legal frameworks under UNCLOS, International maritime organization and world customs organization would allow collective security measures to strengthen; by incorporation of relevant laws, regulations and procedures towards security, safety and responding efficiently in times of crisis.

## **Recommendations**

- Initiating collective security measures domestically and regionally; first between local government institutions and second member states of the MSR.
- Adapting best practices through UNCLOS, ISPS Code, and World Customs Organization.
- Integrating cotemporary technologies and systems; Underwater and Aerial Surveillance and Integrated Automated Fingerprint Identification System.

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## APPENDIX

**Table A-1** Infrastructure Index

Years	Commercial Consumption of electricity (GWh)	Commercial Consumption of oil (Tons)	Total length of the roads network (KM)	Number of the post offices (Thousands)	Number of telephone lines (Thousands)	Index of Infrastructure Zt
1972	7572	2782448	74187	7860	167.2	0
1973	8377	2865859	76029	7904	184.1	0.015555
1974	9064	2958559	76660	8149	201.4	0.039014
1975	9941	3413614	78630	8749	227.6	0.101766
1976	10319	3242123	80623	8043	249.3	0.058639
1977	10877	3386937	84589	9586	274.6	0.177549
1978	12375	3600505	85757	9888	288.2	0.215651
1979	14174	3890739	87715	10488	314.	0.274438
1980	14974	4151365	94173	11088	336.3	0.348173
1981	16062	4300898	93960	11238	358.8	0.370067
1982	17688	4847253	96859	11388	388.4	0.413629
1983	19697	5514418	99793	11528	445.	0.46332
1984	21873	6100195	111916	11698	461.	0.533279

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1985	23003	6615743	118471	11898	573.	0.599122
1986	25589	7056782	126243	12006	630.5	0.656425
1987	28703	7728191	133953	12116	679.4	0.719278
1988	33091	8528578	142941	12226	743.9	0.798622
1989	34562	9059315	151449	12193	839.	0.852196
1990	37259	9972457	162345	12193	922.5	0.925652
1991	41042	9961273	170823	13413	1,188.	1.067455
1992	45440	10982968	182709	13380	1,460.7	1.163299
1993	48751	12011846	189321	13196	1,547.5	1.221155
1994	50640	13225581	196817	13285	1,801.1	1.30887
1995	53545	13960167	207645	13320	2,126.1	1.401171
1996	56946	15601081	218344	13419	2,375.8	1.518136
1997	59125	15605966	229595	13216	2,557.6	1.556806
1998	62104	16624405	240885	13294	2,660.0	1.639146
1999	65402	16647751	247484	12854	2,874.0	1.638888
2000	65751	17767821	240340	12828	3,053.0	1.680855
2001	68117	17647898	249972	12233	3,252.0	1.698532
2002	72406	16960088	251661	12267	3,655.5	1.73325
2003	75682	16451954	252168	12254	3,982.0	1.760208
2004	80826	13421113	256070	12107	4,501.2	1.748344
2005	85628	14671260	258214	12330	5,227.5	1.89186
2006	93629	14626684	259,021 *	12339	5,240.2	1.932297
2007	98213	16847131	261821	12343	4,806.2	1.996225
2008	95661	18080419	258350	12342	4546	2.003921
2009	91616	17911199	260200	12366	3523	1.896639
2010	95358	19131700	260760	12340	3411	1.945643
2011	68741	18,886,507	259463	12035	3227	1.915571
2012	94260.73	13879345	261595	12035	3098	1.765458
2013	95942.41	20210998	274674.6	12196.32	3,252.1	1.840514
2014	97624.09	20661325	281347.8	12188.17	3,655.6	1.94654