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Security and Economic Prospects of Fencing Along Pak-Afghan Border

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ABSTRACT

Every border strategy is fixed in between two fears: security failures and economic crises. Durand Line and its unprincipled monitoring remained most disruptive bilateral issue between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Despite full scale kinetic operations in tribal areas of Pakistan Army, series of deadliest terror attacks across Pakistan shattered resilience of nation and forced her armed forces to install security fence as a “Need” rather than “Option”. Continuous sense of insecurity among populace and economic instability forced nuclear armed Pakistan to permanently protect her 2430 kilometers western border from illegal / sponsored movement of hardcore terrorists, smugglers and drug cartels. At present, installation of security fence and maintenance of effective border management system along Durand Line are contributing significantly in improving internal security situation and economic disparities which will systematically enhance friendly diplomatic relations, security collaboration and economic cooperation with Afghanistan in near future whereas in parallel also playing considerable role to encounter anti-Pakistan propaganda / security and economic proxies of hostile intelligence agencies.

Keywords: *Security, Economic prospects, Pak-Afghan Border*

Introduction

Internationally recognized borders between nations are politically created geographical lines which represent geographic demarcation, ultimate sovereignty and perimeter of legitimacy. Durand Line is also termed as “Soft Border” which was demarcated in 12 November 1893, an outcome of bilateral consensus in shape of agreement between Amir Abdur Rahman of Afghanistan and then British Raj in

India. Pak-Afghan border is a coexisting and mutually dependent globally acknowledged border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Conventionally, Durand Line was drawn out as a “region” and not as a “separating line” (Aniszweski, 2009, p.6) between people of common religion and culture. Due to lack of effective border management system since its demarcation; writ of both state governments and development of tribal region remained at lowest level (Omrani, 2009, p.185). Multiple non-state actors i.e. Terrorists organizations, smugglers mafia and drug cartels working under hostile intelligence agencies exploited illiterate, unemployed and socially backward tribesmen and indulged them in illegal activities to destabilize security situation and economic prosperity of Pakistan through indiscriminate suicide bombings in mosques, public places, on security forces and brutal massacre of innocent children.

1. Significance and Dynamics of Pakistan-Afghanistan Border

Landlocked Afghanistan was termed as “Heart of Asia” and “Cockpit of Asia”. It remained centre of interest for world powers due to prolonged political instability, weak governance and Law and Order situation. Unstable Afghanistan always posed security and economic challenges for regional states especially neighbours. British government in India desired to avoid direct conflict with Afghanistan and wanted to administer own areas without any external interference. British government sent British diplomat Mortimer Durand to resolve border dispute with Emir of Afghanistan Abdur Rahman Khan between then British Raj in India and Afghanistan. As a result, an imaginary boundary called “Durand Line” was mutually decided in 1893 through a treaty between then British India and Emir of Afghanistan (Schofield, & Østhagen, 2020, pp.1-2). Main objects of “Durand Line” were to safeguard interests of British Raj in the region, give stability to Afghanistan and to stop then USSR intrusion towards further South. Durand Agreement sparked a sense of separation among Pashtun tribes residing along Durand Line. On independence in 1947 from then British Raj, Pakistan recognized already demarcated Durand Line as her western border. Pakistan tried to address reservations of Afghan government and Pashtun tribes on Durand Line but Afghan authorities declined to negotiate border dispute and continued to proclaim erstwhile FATA as part of Afghanistan. Decade long Soviet – Afghan War (1979-1989), Afghan civil war (1989-2001) and US intrusion in 2001 after 9/11 incident, left Afghanistan in complete turmoil. Hostile paid terrorist outfits hijacked Pashtun tribes and exploited their ethical code “Pashtunwali”. Terrorists established “Safe Heavens” along hybrid tribal border belt and subsequently convert into “Terrorist Hubs” (Imtiaz, 2011, pp. 41-45).

In year 2006, General Pervaiz Musharraf started to install security fence along Durand Line but strongly opposed by Afghanistan (Hashmi, 2013, p.7). Series of deadliest suicide attacks and raids by hardcore terrorists on military personnel and installations, government buildings / organizations and public places (mosques, markets, churches, children parks and schools) shattered complete nation. Pakistan Army launched series of military operations in erstwhile FATA, Swat and across country (Al-Mizan, Zarb-e-Azb and ongoing Radd ul Fassad) to eliminate menace of terrorism and extremism from Pakistan’s territory. National Action Plan was formulated through national reconciliation to encounter security and economic challenges of Pakistan (Musharraf, 2006, pp.189-194).

2. Nature, Ethos and Clerical System

Lack of governance, education, lawfulness, employment, development and security apparatus stalled progressive social, cultural and economic development of tribal areas and its people. Inhabitants were forcibly indulged by non-state actors (terrorist outfits, smugglers and drugs cartels) in terrorist activities, goods smuggling, drugs and human trafficking to earn their livelihood. Tribal leaders never asked for their fundamental rights, both state governments also failed to provide essential security and progressive economic development in tribal region. In Afghanistan, Pashtuns are largest ethnic group in smaller population and always form government. In Pakistan, being second largest ethnic group and also hosting three million Afghan refugees since soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Pashtun tribes living on both sides of Durand Line share same religion, civilization, language and tribal traditions. They are distinguished by their Pashto language, tribal outlook and strict adherence to specific ethnic code of lifestyle “Pashtunwali”. Tribal ethos of Pashtuns are so intermingled that they never thought or even bother to follow any formal procedure since demarcation of Durand Line in 1893.

Durand Line was non-existent for Pashtun tribes and they used to cross the border as per their convenience to meet their daily needs (Mazhar and Goraya, 2009, pp. 204-220). They are known for their self-esteem, comradeship, hospitality, bravery, sacrifice for others, hardcore fighters and mastery in combat skills. They always fight in self-defense and never compromise on sovereignty of their land for honour of their clan. Gun culture is common, customary for every teenager to be proficient in handling of gun / firearm / explosive and strict adherence of “Pashtunwali” means “Code of lifestyle and Honour” (Omrani, 2009, pp.185-193). Based on set of principles, norms and traditions; Pashtunwali encompassing three supreme imperatives:-

- (1) **Melmastia** - To provide food and shelter to all who ask it without considering any compensation.
- (2) **Badal** - To get revenge on insult or attack, even if occurred willing or unwilling.
- (3) **Nanawati** - To provide asylum and protection to all who seek it. Reaching at the offender’s place, force the merciless to admit the petitioner’s appeal with no option.

“Council of Elders” known as Jirga has all rights to amend ethical code as per needs of Pushtun tribes and prevailing environment (Mazhar, 2009, pp.204-220). Pashtuns follow and implement decisions of Jirga as an obligation without considering any personal aspiration. “Pashtunwali” revolves around a symbolic character known as “Mullah” who acts as a pivot (Schofield, & Østhagen, 2020, pp.1-2). Mullah; the most respected and honoured personality, a true spiritual motivator who portrays vast knowledge about “Islam” and “Shariat”.

Since demarcation of Durand Line, erstwhile FATA was granted a “Special Status” under “Frontier Crimes Regulations” by then British Raj in India. Pashtuns were deprived from three fundamental rights; Appeal (Right to Request for Review), Wakeel (Right to Represent) and Daleel (Right to produce Evidence). It’s an un-

Islamic, illegal and unconstitutional law. It promoted “Rule of Man” rather than “Rule of Law” in shape of Collective Punishment Clause, Unlimited Executive and Judicial jurisdiction of Political Agent (Hilali, 2002, pp.298-299). In May 2018, once FATA was merged with KPK; this “Black Law” was also abolished to stop human right violations. Under protection of Shari’a Rule inside Afghanistan and FCR in erstwhile FATA; militants, smugglers and drug traffickers hijacked Pashtuns & exploited “Pashtunwali” through Mullahism.

3. Global and Regional Interests

Sole purpose of direct invasion by world powers i.e. USSR and USA was to safeguard their national security and economic interests which not only created lust for power among Talibans due to Afghan civil war (Daniels, 2013, pp. 93-100) but also deprived Afghan people to get benefit from globalized economy. Sense of continuous instability, insecurity and marginalization forced Pashtun tribes to play in the hands of drug and human traffickers, smugglers and hardcore militants. In year 1979, USSR exploited “Soviet-Afghan Friendship Treaty” and invaded Afghanistan to safeguard her national interests. USA quickly anticipated opportunity to become superpower by preventing spread of communist rule and defeating USSR in Afghanistan which will further help in disintegration of USSR (Subrahmanyam, 1974, pp.71). Afghan insurgents known as “Mujahideen” were funded to fight against soviet forces. Afghan rebels were tasked to topple pro-soviet Afghan government and compel soviet forces to retreat from their territory. War lasted for nine years; left Afghanistan in civil war thus became hub for global terrorism, smugglers and drug traffickers (Ahmed, 2016).

RAW under Indian national policy, funded same Mujahideens to start deadly proxies against her Nuclear armed rival Pakistan. In year 1988, USSR retreated from Afghanistan under “Geneva Accords” mutually signed between Pakistan and Afghanistan; USA and USSR as “Guarantors”. USA stopped funding same Afghan Mujahideens, left Afghanistan and her people in chaos. During Afghan civil war, terrorist organizations choose Pashtun inhabited tribal region along Pak-Afghan border and converted into “Hub of Terrorism” (Imtiaz, 2011, pp.33-35). Militants thoroughly examined weaknesses of “Pashtunwali” and started diverting illiterate tribal leaders towards own version of Islam through “Mullahism”. With every passing click of clock, terrorist organizations became financially stronger and recruited youngsters to execute their deadly agendas across the world. Incident of 11 September 2001 deliberately forced US and NATO forces to declare “Global War on Terror (GWOT)” with a purpose to ensure national security and protect economic interests (Butt, 2015). GWOT started with illegal invasion of Afghanistan with three goals (Lambah, 2011, p.16):-

- (1) Removal of Taliban Government from power.
- (2) Eliminate Al-Qaida and its leader Osama Bin Laden.
- (3) Destroy safe havens of terrorists from Afghan soil.

NATO forces sought Pakistan’s help to sustain logistics support during “Operation Enduring Freedom” in Afghanistan. After two decades of war in Afghanistan, U.S administration could not accomplish its ambitions except dramatized killing of

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Osama Bin Laden in Abbotabad, Pakistan. U.S executed pre-planned night intrusion just for the sake of moral victory and as a face saver in front of the world (Amiri, 2017). At present, White House administration is constantly negotiating with Afghan Talibans for permanent ceasefire and peace agreement. The fact is that U.S has security and economic interests in South Asia therefore, does not want to retreat from this ungoverned territory which shares border with following counties :-

- (1) Pakistan (only Muslim Nuclear State with strongest Army and main partner of OBOR Initiative – CPEC).
- (2) Iran (Developing Nuclear Weapons and against Saudi’s monarchy, monitoring Strait of Hormuz and Persian Gulf).
- (3) Landlocked Central Asian Republics (Rich in Natural Gas).

Multiple and conflicting interests of predominant states especially U.S, India and Russia are continuously infusing instability, insecurity and economic crisis in this volatile region (Ghani, 2013, pp.13-14); thus created space for militant groups to establish footholds along Pak – Afghan tribal border areas which were operating freely inside Pakistan on orders of hostile intelligence agencies to achieve following goals:-

- (1) Disintegrate Balochistan through sub-nationalist agenda.
- (2) Instigate Pashtun tribes residing along Pak-Afghan border to run “Pashtun Tahafuz Movement” for revolt against Pakistan Army and writ of Government.
- (3) Politically and economically destabilize Pakistan through sub-nationalist people, smuggling, drug and human trafficking (Ahmed, 2016).

Foreseeing imminent threats, Chinese authorities also demanded Pakistan to improve / enhance existing border management system of her western border as unmonitored and lawless. Pak-Afghan border can jeopardize CPEC (Ghani, 2013, pp.13-14) through proxies from Afghan soil under funding of hostile intelligence agencies as such situation will continue to pose security and economic challenges for Pakistan in near future. Internal turmoil in Afghanistan and Indian proxies in Gilgit-Baltistan, KPK and Balochistan will remain a continuous security challenge for Pakistan which have direct impact on CPEC. Moreover, India is also financing development projects in Afghanistan as well as in Iran including opening of Chabahar Port for transit trade between India-Iran and Afghanistan through Gulf of Oman (Subrahmanyam, 1974, pp.21-23). Chabahar port is just seven two kilometers away from Pakistan’s Gawadar Port which is constructed with financial support of India to sabotage CPEC and also encounter China’s OBOR initiative on U.S directive. Despite all efforts of Pakistan, probability prevails that terrorist organizations owned by hostile intelligence agencies will materialize their proxies from Pashtun inhabited tribal areas of Afghanistan. Moreover, due to contradictory interests of world powers in South Asia, handlers of these terror outfits / drug cartels / smuggler gangs will keep financing anti-Pakistan elements and exploit Pak-Afghan border to accomplish their malicious activities thus; unfenced Durand Line will remain an active threat to sabotage security and economic stability of Pakistan (Their, 2009).

4. Global Design of Border Management

It is a global practice to demarcate geographical frontiers between states to avoid direct confrontation through national or international agreements which is legally accepted as well as mutually recognized and called as “International borders” (Polner, 2009, pp.9-12). Keeping in view political motives, security interests and economic gains in the region, states identify their limit of influence on land, air and ocean through internationally recognized geographical lines. Effective border control mechanism plays an important role to ensure internal security of any state from external threats which further helps in political, socio-cultural and economic stability. Globally, frontiers are always monitored through paramilitary forces or armed forces of any state for three reasons: -

- (1) To ensure own safety and security from external threats.
- (2) Secondly to stop illegal immigration, drug trafficking and smuggling of banned goods.
- (3) To permit legal migration and facilitate transit trade agreements.

Keeping in view complexity of internal problems and vulnerabilities of ineffective border management system which largely depend upon state’s security and economic policies, borders can be classified (Polner, 2009, p.5) into following four types: -

- (1) **Coexistent Border.** It exists between neighboring states with friendly bilateral relations.
- (2) **Interdependent Border.** It exists between two neighboring states which promote tourism and provide trade friendly environment.
- (3) **Integrated Border.** It exists between more than two states which provide enhance services to their nationals and foreign tourists through friendly policies like visa waivers to boost economy and tourism i.e. twenty-six Schengen countries in the European continent.
- (4) **Alienated Border.** It exists between those states which have strained bilateral relations due to ideological differences, territorial disputes, human rights violations and presence of potent military threats through illegal invasion or proxies to challenge sovereignty (Soofi, 2015) i.e. India-Pakistan border, Pak-Afghan border.

Pakistan’s effort to open “Kartarpur Corridor” as a goodwill gesture for Sikh community is the major step towards de-escalation and normalization of bilateral ties with India which can later enhance tourism and boost economy of both states. Similarly, Pakistan has also opened legal entry points i.e. Torkham and Chaman along Pak-Afghan border for effective monitoring of transit trade and immigrants. Borders always identify autonomy and intact territorial integrity of any country. It is the prime responsibility of every country to ensure security and economic prospects of their people through effective border management system which can secure national interests. Internationally recognized border management design is elaborated through analysis of three major aspects (Polner, 2009, pp.9-15) which include different components to bring synergy in overall effort: -

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- (1) Border Aspect.
- (2) National Aspect.
- (3) Regional / International Aspect.

Aspect	Components	Perspective
Border	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personnel • Physical 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training, threats and operations. • Infrastructure, manpower, logistics and equipment.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication, intelligence, Data Management & Analysis.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy and procedure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maturity of principles, implementation of laws and adherence of regulations.
National / Country	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organization design 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluation of leadership, synergy in communication and level of cooperation.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regular assessment and revision of dedicated financial, technical and human assistance.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaboration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assistance, joint ventures, Intelligence sharing, contribution and role in global / regional agreements.
Regional / International	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interactions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bilateral, multilateral and operational.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accountability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clear intentions, authentic source of information to curb corruption and stop human rights violations, quick reaction of responsibility holder.

5. Types of Border Management System

- (1) **Coordinated Border Management System.** Methodological approach is being adopted to manage transit trade, tourists and immigrants as well as guarantee border security while taking confidence of all stakeholders (Polner, 2009, pp.11-12).
- (2) **Integrated Border Management System.** A realistic approach is being adopted to handle mutual trade, tourism, immigration and ensure safety of frontiers through amalgamation of national border regulatory assets with international Border Regulatory Agencies to achieve common benefits. *In case of Durand Line, Integrated Border Management System (IBMS) can be adopted by both states to facilitate people.*

6. Challenges of Border Management

- (1) **Human.** Everyday Border Regulatory Agency of each state comes across various forms of normal or impromptu challenges which are being posed by humans due to their legal or illegal actions. Legal actions are being considered “Non-Threatening” for the country whereas illegal practices are being considered “Threatening” which can harm security and economy of any state.
- (2) **Political.** Political stability and security mechanism of any state is directly proportional to security of its borders. Unstable Afghanistan as “Failed State” due to political instability, insecurity and economic crisis is still posing threats to security and economy of Pakistan.
- (3) **Economic.** Global phenomenon that highly developed, developing and undeveloped countries exist in the same region and often share common frontiers. Economic indicators of each state are interlinked with security of its frontiers. Many developing countries are still far behind to maintain stable economy due to unfriendly economic policies, inflation, financial recession, proxy wars and illegal practices i.e. smuggling which incapacitate them to take advantages from positive prospects of globalization. Behavior and lifestyle of inhabitants is directly proportional to four factors which have implications on their routine in that particular region (Rana, 2015, pp.9-11):-
 - (1) Geographical constraints.
 - (2) Demographical factors.
 - (3) Climatic conditions.
 - (4) Writ of Government.

Pakistan’s border with Afghanistan is divided into two zones due to diverse geography and demography:-

Zone – A: Erstwhile FATA (Now KPK) – Afghan Border.

Zone – B: Balochistan – Afghan Border.

Erstwhile FATA has further three subdivisions:-

Sector – A: Chitral – Malakand.

Sector – B: Bajaur – Mohmand – Khyber – Kurram Agencies.

Sector – C: North Waziristan and South Waziristan Agencies.

Zone – A. Population is ethnically harmonized, Pro-Pakistan and Pro-Army. Area is vulnerable for infiltration due to mountainous terrain. It facilitates Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) militants to plan and execute their terror activities from safe havens in tribal areas of Afghanistan deep inside Pakistan through their facilitators / sleeper cells (Ahmed, 2016, p.13).

Zone – B. Population is very less and also scattered due to high barren peaks and vast plains in the south with harsh climatic conditions both in summer and

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winter. Area is also devoid of development and road connectivity. Infiltrators face problems due to physical and human limitations. Another unsettled and long-awaited aspect between Pakistan and Afghanistan is the division of twenty three Pashtun inhabited villages along Durand Line. Before fencing residents were habitual to move freely as per their convenience without abiding any legal procedure. Pakistan's Interior Ministry protects 2430 kilometers Pak-Afghan border through Frontier Constabulary Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Frontier Constabulary Balochistan which is being put under overall control of Pakistan Army in terms of deployment. Defense of Pak-Afghan border is based on three tiers:-

- (1) **1st Tier** - Frontier Constabulary Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is defending Pak-Afghan border in KPK Province and Frontier Constabulary Balochistan is defending Pak-Afghan border in Balochistan.
- (2) **2nd Tier** - Pakistan Army assists both Frontier Constabularies.
- (3) **3rd Tier** - Police maintains internal security.

7. Security Fence: Option or Need

Pashtun inhabited tribal areas on both sides of Durand Line remained hybrid, troubled, undeveloped, lawless and economically unstable due to frequent foreign interventions / internal unrest. Misperceptions, miscalculations, non-serious attitude and unprincipled conduct by international powers, regional players and state governments forced Pashtuns tribes to remain conservative, backward, illiterate and unemployed (Thier, 2009, pp.93-104) which not only raised poverty, sense of deprivation and mistrust but also promoted gun culture, use of unfair and illegal means to earn livelihood and fighting traditions for settlement of old land or honour rivalries.

Intentional or unintentional economic victimization, ethical unjust ultimately challenged security and economy of both states. Tribesmen were not kept and treated like human being by successive elected governments of both states (Hilali, 2002, pp.298-299). Later, hardcore militant groups exploited same major weaknesses of Pashtuns as they were residing with locals and seeking their physiological as well as physical help through "Pashtunwali". Continuous negligence by both states enabled tribal leaders to establish their own self-governance. To avoid humanitarian crisis, Pakistan provided unconditional refuge to Afghan refugees despite security and economic risks.

Despite all efforts / sacrifices by Pakistan, if terrorists are still being recruited, trained and launched from Afghanistan through support of hostile intelligence agencies, than cordial bilateral and military relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan will remain strain (Ahmed, 2016). South Asian states will keep on facing security and economic challenges due to unstable Afghanistan. Consequently, at national as well as international level; installation of security fence by Pakistan along Pak-Afghan border is considered to be the "**Need**" rather than "**Option**" for permanent security and economic prosperity of Pakistan, region and the world.

8. Planning Parameters, Designing and Installation of Fencing

National perspective is very clear that as a nation Pakistan sacrifices more than seventy thousand precious lives of innocent people including children and security forces in fighting one of the deadliest war against militancy (Subrahmanyam, 1974, pp.42-43). Despite all efforts, fencing is inevitable because influx of foreign funded militants, smuggling of goods, drug and human trafficking will continue from both western neighbours, presently under strong Indian influence; ***till the time security fence coupled with effective border management system is not being install by Pakistan.*** Therefore, fundamental tactical / technical aspects kept in mind before installation of security fence are:-

- (1) **Fence Design Vis a Vis Cost Effect.** Design of any fence depends upon its cost. For a better design, the cost of fence will rise. There is a need to strike a balance between its design and expected cost in order to meet the desired requirements. It should have flexibility to effectively tackle all types of cross border threats (infiltration, smuggling, drug and human trafficking, illegal immigration etc) without disclosing its security mechanism (Hilal, 2020).
- (2) **Obstacle Value.** Obstacle value of an obstacle refers to the time and effort requires to breach it. A fence with good obstacle value will help in gaining requisite time to generate effective response against any breaching effort.
- (3) **Surveillance and Monitoring Mechanism.** Any obstacle unattended has got no obstacle value in tactical and technical sense. Installation and design of fence should be such that it can be monitored and observed round the clock through technology and manual means.
- (4) **Terrain Considerations.** Before designing and installation of fence, type of terrain is required to be kept in sight. A terrain difficult to negotiate requires a fence with lower obstacle value as compared to the terrain which provide easy going for intruders.
- (5) **Nature of Threat.** Nature of threat is also dictated by the type of terrain and an important aspect for fence design. Any terrain which can generate a mechanical threat has to be fenced with a lower obstacle value and vice versa.
- (6) **Sustenance.** Any obstacle requires continuous and regular sustenance / maintenance in order to keep it effective over the years. Design of fence should be such that it can be sustained and maintained with ease in a cost effective manner in all weathers.
- (7) **Effective Monitoring.** Security features of any fence are directly proportional to prolong safety and effective monitoring under changing climatic conditions as well as prevailing threats 24/7. It also gives sense of satisfaction and confidence to deployed troops in case of any emergency.
- (8) **Logistics.** Fence design be such that it provides less strain on its logistics and transport.

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Design of security fence was one of the major challenge for Pakistan Army as it was to be installed on high rocky mountainous and in plain desert (Schofield, & Østhagen 2020). Harsh climatic conditions (both in summers and winters) and geographical limitations neither support easy installation nor allow quick repair / maintenance of damage caused due to heavy snowfall, frequent rainy spells and strong winds.

9. Security Features of Fencing

To institute best international practice of effective border management, Pak-Afghan border is not designed and installed as a *stand - alone obstacle but as well thought out system (Tribune, 2014)*.

Surveillance & Intrusion Detection System (SIDS).

SIDS is part of security fence system and provides technical monitoring and surveillance of the fence round the clock. The major components of SIDS include following: -

- (1) Ground Surveillance Radars.
- (2) Motion Detection Sensors.
- (3) Solar Lights.
- (4) PTZ Camera.
- (5) Thermal Imaging Quad Copters.
- (6) Display modules at various tiers of Command with live monitoring through networking.

Construction of Fortress Basing Upon Proof of Concept (PoC). In order to keep security fence under constant human observation, construction of 843 forts is also part of Security Fence Plan.

- (1) Forts will be self-sustained.
- (2) Design of forts not only provides enhance inherent defense but also supplements the monitoring and physical security of fence.
- (3) Forts are located at a distance of 1 – 2 kilometers from each other and interconnected through tracks.
- (4) Apart from forts, watch towers are also be constructed all along security fence.

Border Terminals

- (1) To keep effective monitoring through checking of Goods and surveillance of users move.
- (2) Approximately eleven agencies are working on terminals that include National Data Base Registration Authority (NADRA), Federal Investigation Agency (FIA), CUSTOMS, National Logistics Cell (NLC), Inter-services Intelligence (ISI), Military Intelligence (MI), Frontier Constabularies

(FCs), TPL (Pakistan's indigenous Mapping Solution) and United Nations Organization.

- (3) New regime of Visa policy has been introduced which has been implemented on all authorized crossing points.

10. Expenditure, Progress and Completion

Keeping in view planning parameters, design and installation of security fence along Pak-Afghan border, details of expenditure on fence manufacturing, transportation and installation are:-

(1) Manufacturing Cost Kilometer	-	8	Mn	PKR	/
(2) Transportation Cost Kilometer	-	1	Mn	PKR	/
(3) Installation Cost Kilometer	-	1	Mn	PKR	/
(4) Cost Per Kilometer	-	1	Billion		
(5) Total Expenditure 2430 billion (2430 kilometers Pak-Afghan border)	-			Approximately	

Fencing is divided in three areas; Critical (high threat), Desirable (medium threat) and Non-Fenceable Area (low threat / Koh-e-Safaid). In **Khyber Pakhtunkhwa**, out of **918 kilometres** of Critical and Desirable Areas; **850 kilometres** has been fenced. In **Balochistan**, out of **1268 kilometres**; **941 kilometres** fence has been installed and **completion by end of year 2021**.

11. Impact of Fencing on Smuggling, Drugs and Human Trafficking

Positive prospects of security fence are quite apparent in shape of less terrorist activities, goods smuggling, drugs and human trafficking which have already enhanced internal security and boost economic activities across Pakistan (Ghani, 2013, pp.13-14). As a result, socio-economic activities under CPEC are completing with rapid pace including terror hit tribal areas through merger of erstwhile FATA with KPK. Fencing has also cut decade's old chain of drug cartels which were intentionally poisoning the youth of Pakistan and working on pay roll of hostile intelligence agencies; so saving future generation from menace of drugs. Therefore, security fence will definitely contribute a lot in establishing permanent peace and enhance economic stability in Pakistan which will directly uplift socio-economic status of Pashtun inhabited tribal areas of Pakistan as well as Balochistan.

12. Socio-Politico-Economic Dynamics of Border Region and its Impact on Fencing

Erstwhile FATA and Balochistan remained less populated, socio-economic underdeveloped and politically unstable. Off late, Government of Khyber Pashtunkhwa and Balochistan through support of Federal Government and Pakistan Army is seeking progressive development of the provinces, yet governance outreach,

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institutional inadequacies, procedural hiccups and resource constraints impede fast-paced development. Fencing of Pak-Afghan Border / Pak-Iran Border was thus a geo-political imperative (Amiri, 2017) and after its realization, it is offering positive dividends; albeit it has affected traditional economic activities, particularly in border regions/ near border Zones.

Prevailing negative economy (Rana, 2015, p.8) linked to terrorism, smuggling, narcotics and Non-Custom Paid vehicles has been checked/ curtailed, affecting livelihood of people in Border Zones and somewhat in depth areas. This carries a potential to induce despondency and reaction (may be violent) at some stage. Locals are feeling economically threatened by fencing and greater border control mechanism, with a potential to cause social unrest, exploitable by anti-state elements /Hostile Intelligence Agencies. Unless an alternate economy (in multiple domains) is enacted, negative sentiments will continue to grow. This economy void, despite social level engagements, will persist

Economy of border areas is largely dependent on agriculture (24%) and livestock (31%), followed by smuggling (26%) and narcotics business (11%). Average daily income is as low as \$1-3 a day. Economy stakes on both sides of the border are common, owing to social linkages, tribal land and businesses. Approximately 26,000 - 30,000 **Lagris** daily move from Chaman to Afghanistan for labour/ local businesses. **4000- 4500 Afghanistan labour** move to Chromite mines in Balochistan during mining season (Rana, 2019, p.11). Available economic avenues are appended below:-

- (1) Adequate human capital.
- (2) Gateway to Afghanistan through Chaman (N-25) and connectivity to KPK/ Punjab.
- (3) Quetta - Chaman Railway track.
- (4) Planned Socio-Economic Zones at Bostan and Chaman, trade corridor with Afghanistan through Chaman.
- (5) Agricultural potential with vast rangeland (550,000 hectares).
- (6) Immense mineral potential.

13. Socio-Economic Maneuver to embrace Near Border Zones. Pakistan Army engaged 40 kilometers area in immediate depth for socio-economic development alongside fencing to embrace local populace. Quick Impact Projects/ socio economic maneuver is being undertaken; however, ownership by Federal / Provincial Government is essential to achieve desired end-state. Army Field Formations have taken a lead role in identification of projects, basing on Need Assessment of near border Zones, thereby assist provincial governments in preparation of Public Sector Development Plan 2019/ 2020. Nonetheless, 21% of the total requirement has been included which is insufficient and need to be increased in annual allocation.

14. Socio-Economic Fallout of Fencing. Paradoxically, fencing has improved the security, creating favourable environment for economic development,

however, impacted local economy, which can subsequently lead to instability. Traditional linkages between divided tribes/ families including Afghan Refugees have been severed. Squeezing Otaak businesses and **check on Hundi / Hawala** (Daniels, 2013, pp.93-100) is affecting circulation of capital in local markets, inducing price hike, thereby raising frustration of already deprived populace. Fallout could be as under: -

- (1) Curtailed cross border movement and inflow of goods is likely to impact daily sustenance, accentuating alienation.
- (2) Move of divided families, including live stock will be impacted.
- (3) Divided villages will be bisected, challenging existing social and political issues.
- (4) Move of labour/ lagri across will be obstructed, impacting their livelihood. Check on smuggling would render 0.435 Million people jobless, indirectly impacting the local markets in immediate depth.
- (5) Narco peddlers will be left jobless, due to blocking of narcotics.
- (6) Local youth involved in illegal activities, likely to be diverted towards negative activities.
- (7) Check on Non-Custom Paid vehicles will reduce workload on workshops.
- (8) Residents of border villages with socio-economic grievances might be exploited to destabilize fencing effort and internal security situation with sub nationalist political parties giving fillip to it - need to reenact alternate economy.

15. Model to Re-enact Alternate Economy in Border Region. To re-enact an alternate economy in border regions as a substitute of negative economy (smuggling and narcotics) curtailed by fencing through enhancement of local economy, cross border trade (semi-formal/ formal), connectivity with the mainland and establishment of Socio-Economic Zones (SEZs) /industrialization. Strategic framework for **Alternate Economic Model** would revolve around economic streams encompassing following broad contours: -

16. Manifestation. Before, discussing manifestation of **Alternate Economic Model** in recommendations, there is a need to recapitulate socio-economic dynamics of border regions and impact of fencing: -

- (1) Unemployment in border areas (70-90% with 35-45% youth) warrants alternate means of living and employment opportunities.
- (2) Frequent cross border movement of labor and divided families entails regular mechanism.

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- (3) Population involved in smuggling and narcotic trafficking has to be incentivized and diverted to legal businesses.
- (4) Poor socio-economic indices of the area warrant immediate reforms and development efforts.
- (5) Reduced dependence on goods from across necessitates supply chain of indigenous products.
- (6) Poor communication infrastructure in the area needs development of access to the mainland.
- (7) Immense economic potential of the area needs to be harnessed.
- (8) Presence of Afghan Refugees necessitates their management and subsequent repatriation.

17. Military and Economic Implications of Fencing. As per assessment of security and economic facts, following are the military and economic implications of fencing: -

- (1) **The Pakistan Army Achieved Its Efforts In The War On Terror.** The Army has successfully eradicated the roots of terrorism from erstwhile FATA and Balochistan where terrorists were freely crossing border and taking shelter in tribal areas of Afghanistan bordering Pakistan. The challenging task (Kumar, 2011, pp. 17-19) of sealing the most porous Pak-Afghan border has reduced infiltration of terrorists, smugglers, drugs traffickers and their facilitators. The myth that Durand Line cannot be fenced has been finally shattered and vanished.
- (2) **Pak – Afghan Military Coordination has Improved.** Government is working with Afghan officials on the “Afghanistan-Pakistan Action Plan for Solidarity” (APAPS) for “constructive and meaningful” (Amiri, 2017) engagement between the two countries. The border control teams on both sides have been organized which will coordinate and evaluate issues of border terminals and solve it with mutual cooperation. The border control teams would create working groups in political, economic, intelligence sharing, military and issues related to Afghan refugees in Pakistan.
- (3) **Proposal of Returning Afghan Refugees.** Military action against terrorist facilitators after fencing revealed that most of the Afghans resident / registered or unregistered are fond on terrorist activities therefore the government has proposed to send Afghan refugees back to their country. On the other hand, it has been proven that masterminds of most terrorist attacks in Pakistan are on the Afghan side. The arrested suicide bombers are also Afghans. 60 percent of Afghan territory is either out of Kabul’s control or is contested. “Such places in Afghanistan have been instrumental (Amiri, 2017) in attracting terrorist groups from all

over the world. The presence of such groups not only poses threat to the security and stability of Afghanistan but also undermines security of its neighbors and the region as a whole.

- (4) **Fencing the Border has Improved Export / Import.** Afghan people are dependent on Pakistan in business sector since before the installation of fence. Unauthorized routes were being utilized to smuggle items including perishable, contraband items and drugs. Since most of the critical areas have been sealed and border terminals have been developed with latest gadgetries to check the illegal items. Sealing of the border has increased export / import more than last 10 years. Customs have been made effective to generate revenue as per international best practices.
- (5) **Effective Border Management has Created Job Opportunities.** The locals have been facilitated after border management because before installation of security fence Afghan labor was working inside Pakistan on low wages but after the new visa regime policy, it is by compulsion that traders, hotels and goods transportation agencies are hiring local people, therefore effective border management has increased job opportunities for local populace.

18. Recommendations. Pakistan and Afghanistan have paramount importance in global and regional politics, security and economy due to its geo-political and geo-strategic location (Daniels, 2013, pp.101-104). However, in past decade, both state governments remained handcuff to provide peaceful security environment, economic prosperity and equality base social status to their people due to internal fault lines as well as external vested interests. Under same context, tribal areas on both sides of Pak - Afghan border remained hybrid and turned into gigantic hub for drug paddlers, goods smugglers, human traffickers and hardcore terrorist outfits.

19. Security Measures

(1) Short Term

- (a) Government of Pakistan through efforts of provincial governments should ensure registration of unregistered Afghan refugees.
- (b) Both provincial governments should harmonize their efforts to influence, agree and regain trust, moral / physical support of tribal leaders and their tribesmen in order to ensure protection of fencing in their respective areas.
- (c) As a constant feature, security forces deployed long Pak-Afghan border should carryout surprise area sanitization operations in tribal areas to ensure timely identification of anti-state elements.

(2) Mid Term

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- (a) Gun culture in tribal areas should be abolished forthwith without any discrimination through constructive legislation and strict implementation by all law enforcing agencies (Daniels, 2013, pp.93-100).
- (b) Government of Pakistan should establish “**TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT AND BROTHERHOOD FUND**” at national level.
- (c) Federal government should establishment honest, loyal and hardworking judicial system in tribal areas.
- (3) **Long Term**
- (a) Through proactive and effective diplomacy, Government of Pakistan with bilateral support of international community, international monetary donors and Afghan government should devise practicable roadmap for peaceful repatriation of 3 million Afghan refugees.
- (b) Like Pakistan Army, Winning Hearts and Minds (WHAM) projects should also be identified by elected parliamentarians for their respective constituency.
- (c) Government of Pakistan should also identify and timely fix hybrid fault lines in her money exchange rules and regulations in line with National Action Plan (NAP) in order to stop foreign funding to terrorists, extremists and fundamentalists.

20. Economic Measures

- (1) **Short Term**
- (a) **Enhanced Local Economy**
 - i. Increase Employment Opportunities.
 - ii. Harness local Agricultural Potential.
 - iii. Promoting Livestock Trends.
 - iv. Dedicated Investment Policy for KPK and Balochistan.
 - v. Encouraging Local Investors through Ministry of Commerce.
 - vi. Improvement in Social Life through Quick Impact Projects.
- (b) **Trade**
 - i. Provision of Dedicated Crossing Points.
 - ii. Formal Trade with Tax Exemption Regime.
 - iii. Semi-Formal Trade with Lenient Tax Regime.
 - iv. Connectivity with Mainland.
- (2) **Mid Term**
- (a) Delivering services / Enhanced Public outreach.
- (b) Job Creation.
- (c) Incentivize people with NIC across to shift to Pakistan.

- (d) Establishment of Non-Custom Paid Vehicle Parks.
- (e) Enhancement of Technical Human Resource Development.
- (f) Harness untapped / Inactive Mineral Potential.
- (g) Construction of Check Dams.
- (3) **Long Term**
- (a) Establishment of Socio-Economic Zones.
- (b) Management of Afghan Refugees.

21. Conclusion

Being Muslim states and immediate neighbour, Pakistan and Afghanistan do not only share 2430 kilometers long porous internationally recognize Durand Line but also have common socio-cultural-economic nexus due to similar demography, ethnography and sentiments. Both states faced security failures and economic crisis in different era which not only paralyzed both developing countries to remain politically, socially and economically unstable but also put Pakistan and Afghanistan in isolation from positive prospects of globalization (Mazhar & Goraya 2009, pp.204-220). This continuous wave of insecurity and economic instability was later hijacked by hardcore militants, drug cartels and goods smugglers which further misaligned both states. In both states; political differences, non-serious attitude of establishment, trust deficit among state departments, lack of intelligence collaboration and ineffective border management system could not allow for timely response to encounter hardcore militancy, sectarianism, drugs and human trafficking, goods smuggling. It is obvious that if Pak-Afghan border is stable and secure, bilateral cooperation and legal trade will exponentially increase which will not only create sense of mutual trust between two Muslim neighbours but also stabilize the complete region. Hence, both states need to leave behind past political differences and move ahead to ensure better future for their generations because this is the only way that will guarantee both nations to effectively secure common interests, encounter common threats and future challenges. Fencing and enhanced security apparatus (Amiri, 2017) has increased stability in the area; however, it has impacted local economy of border zones negatively, which require necessary immediate attention and remedial measures at provincial, Federal and Army level.

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