Online International Conference Report

“New South Caucasus and New Economic Corridor: A Reality Check”

Jointly Organized by
Center for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS) Islamabad, Pakistan,
ADA University, Azerbaijan &
Center of Analysis of International Relations (Air Center), Baku,
Azerbaijan
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CONCEPT

The South Caucasus has remained a fault zone between East and West. The states themselves contain diverse populations, reflecting the history of the Caucasus as a frontier of Europe, Russia, Turkey, and Iran, all of which remain important actors in the region. The victory of Azerbaijan in the Second Karabakh war has changed the political and economic dynamics of the Caucasus region. Therefore, it is significant to highlight the opportunities and benefits of the new economic corridor amid changing regional realities.

Key Takeaways:

a. To highlight the significance of new economic corridors for the south Caucasus regional countries.

b. To discuss the socio-political and economic transformative patterns in the Caucasus region and beyond.

c. To devise relevant strategies to enhance regional integration in the changing dynamics of the world.
On 21st June 2021 an online international conference on New South Caucasus and New Economic Corridor: A Reality Check was jointly organized by the Center for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS) Islamabad, Pakistan, ADA University, Azerbaijan & Center of Analysis of International Relations (Air Center), Baku, Azerbaijan.

The aim of the Conference was to highlight the opportunities and benefits associated with the new economic corridors and changing regional realities amid the new South Caucasus.

The conference was attended by 35 participants from Pakistan and Azerbaijan and was also viewed live by 200 viewers on different social media platforms.
PROFILES OF SPEAKERS

Mr. Fariz Ismailzade, Executive Vice-Rector, ADA University, Azerbaijan

Fariz Ismailzade is Vice Rector for External, Government and Student affairs at the ADA University (since 2011). He has joined ADA in 2006 and worked in the positions of Director of Executive Execution (2006-2010) and Executive Dean (2010-2011). Mr. Ismailzade is currently pursuing a Doctoral Degree at the Maastricht School of Management. He holds an Executive MBA from IE Business School (Spain), and a Masters Degree in Social and Economic Development from Washington University in St. Louis, and a BA in Political Science from Western University in Baku with one-year interim studies at Wesleyan University in Connecticut.

Mr. Orxan Bagirov, Leading Advisor, Center of Analysis of International Relations, Azerbaijan

Mr. Orkhan Bagirov is a leading-advisor in Baku-based Center of Analysis of International Relations. His research areas in the center covers the regional economic relations (South Caucasus), international economic relations (implications for South Caucasus), transportation corridors and economy of the Armenia. Orkhan Baghirov joined AIR Center in July 2019. He formerly worked for Center for Strategic Studies (SAM) as a research fellow and for Center for Strategic Communications as an expert-analyst. In his previous capacities, Orkhan’s research also included macroeconomics, public finance, monetary policy, economic diversification, multilateral financial organizations. Orkhan is PhD candidate in Economics and holds MBA from Park University of USA. He acquired bachelor and master degrees from Azerbaijan State University of Economics. He has published numerous articles and participated in several book projects as a co-author.
Dr. Mehmood-Ul-Hassan Khan, Member Board of Experts, Centre for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS), Islamabad, Pakistan

Dr. Mehmood-Ul-Hassan has vast experience in serving different departments of the Federal Government. He has also a rich experience in research, cultural diplomacy, peace and conflict resolution and defence issues. He has been in this profession for more than 26 years. He worked in BBC Asia Network as regional expert on Afghanistan and Middle East in 2004. He worked as regional expert in USGAM, Turkey and had a great experience while interacting with TRT too. Transparency International UK selected him “peer Viewer” from Pakistan in 2015. His research and comprehensive articles have already been published in China, Uzbekistan, Iran, Turkey, Azerbaijan, USA, South Korea, UAE and Kuwait too. He has great experience in the socio-economic, geo-politics and geo-strategic issues of Central Asia, Caucasus and Middle East. He is a famous expert on CIS and Caucasus in Pakistan.

Mr. Shareh Qazi, Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan

Muhammad Shareh Qazi is serving as lecturer at Department of Political Science, University of the Punjab. He is a PhD Scholar from the same institution, having written on issues of nuclear diplomacy and deterrence strategy of South Asia. He writes on issues concerning warfighting doctrines, regional security, nuclear politics and strategy as well as on foreign policy. He was recipient of Certificate of Merit in Academic Excellence in Strategic and Nuclear Studies from the National Defense University, Islamabad and is also author of the book titled ‘Escalation Patterns in South Asia: Future of Credible Minimum Deterrence’.
**Dr Zarmina Baloch, Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Islamia College University of Peshawar, Pakistan**

Dr. Zarmina Baloch is a renowned Political Analyst and Lecturer in Political Science Department at Islamia College University, Peshawar. She has done her Doctoral Dissertation in Pakistan Afghan Policy Post 9/11. Dr. Zarmina has participated in several national/international level conferences as speaker. Ms. Baloch also has various publications to her credit. Additionally, Ms. Baloch is a Member Board of Experts of Center for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS) where she actively contributes through her expertise. Through the platform of CGSS, Dr. Baloch has delivered online lectures on various sub-areas of International Relations. She has also delivered lectures on various topics including "Strategic importance of South Asia and the hegemonic aspirations of the Modi administration in destabilizing the regional peace" and “Importance of humanitarian & cultural ties in strengthening close friendship & fraternal relations between the people of Azerbaijan & Pakistan”. She regularly participates as a political analyst on several forms of social media.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY, ANALYSIS & KEY RECOMMENDATIONS
Executive Summary, Analysis & Key Recommendations  
(Based on the speeches of respective panelists)

1. Proposal of Zangezur Corridor: An Opportunity to Enhance Economic Integration and Regional connectivity

a. The South Caucasus region occupies a small area on the world map. However, its geostrategic position makes it a crucial transport hub for the surrounding powers. Many external powers such as the U.S. and Russia have vested interests in the South Caucasus, thus placing it at the center of the Great Power Competition.

b. Azerbaijan is a prominent regional player, striving to play a delicate role as a balancer in the South Caucasus. Its geographical location places it at the center of important economic integration projects such as the One Belt, One Road initiative, the Eurasian Economic Union and the European Union.

c. Azerbaijan got the victory in the Second Karabakh War and liberated its territories from Armenia. Therefore, new transport and infrastructure opportunities have emerged for the region. The country is keen to promote economic development and cooperation. In contemporary times, it focuses on the construction of the East-West transfer corridor, helping to connect the crucial European and Asian markets through the Caspian Basin.

d. Azerbaijan government has invested in significant infrastructure projects such as the Lapis/Lazuli Corridor and the North-South Transport Corridor. It also supports China’s One Belt, One Road Initiative and has financed the construction of Alat port to enhance regional integration.

e. The economic projects amid railway lines connecting Azerbaijan, Armenia, Nakhchivan, Turkey were immensely disrupted due to Armenian occupational policies. However, the liberation of seven surrounding areas of Karabakh and the town of Shusha has opened new possibilities for the development and restoration of transportation hubs in the region.

f. Zangezur Corridor is one such project which Azerbaijan is proposing. It aims to create a transportation hub for the regional powers around the Karabakh area and
provide an economic link between Azerbaijan, Russian and Central Asian markets, extending directly to Iran and Turkey.

g. Zangezur Corridor not only provides connectivity opportunities for Azerbaijan but Armenia as well. It will assist Armenia to reach its significant strategic partner Russia and other Eurasian markets.

h. Moreover, opening the Zengezur Corridor will strengthen the already existing transport chain networks in the region, such as Caspian Transport Network, East-West Transport Corridor and the North-South International transport corridor.

i. Zangezur corridor entails the potential to effectively utilize Azerbaijan's strategic location on the historic Silk Road and transform it into a crucial logistic hub between Europe and Asia. It will further provide Azerbaijan with access to the Nakhchivan autonomous region.

j. The successful operation of the Zangezur corridor will further maximize the prospects of a future partnerships between Pakistan and Azerbaijan. The recent exchange of visits between the dignitaries of both states indicates the future development and strengthening of interstate cooperation.

2. **Security threat of Landmines: Obstacle to Economic development and Regional Rehabilitation**

a. The Karabakh region has remained densely mined since Soviet times, Armenian occupation has further increased the uncertainty. There has been no certain estimate of the landmines installed during the three decades of conflict, which serves as a huge obstacle or a challenge for the infrastructure development and rehabilitation of the region.

b. Landmines pose a challenge because they do not discriminate between combatants and common people. Landmines are cheap therefore, they are mass-produced and installed to gain military superiority in conflicts.

c. Azerbaijan and Armenia are not the signatories of the Ottawa process, which focuses on human security and calls for the international ban on landmines. The contemporary Post-War scenario of the Azerbaijan conflict has highlighted the significance of such international conventions.
d. The Azerbaijan government has appointed 15,000 people for the minesweeping operation. However, given the vast regional area and lack of information regarding the installation of anti-tank mines, the number of appointed people might prove less.

e. Land sweeping operations can prove challenging since the technology required is expensive and difficult to procure. Extensive manpower is needed to conduct the operation. The chances of explosive incidents are also high. Bobby traps installed in the area by the belligerent state can disrupt the project entirely.

f. Armenia might resist sharing the mine maps with Azerbaijan because the landmines are recognized as concealed weapons with the potential to inflict damage to Azerbaijan even after the conflict.

3. **Options and Recommendations**

   a. Armenia needs to give up its confrontational policies and cooperate with Azerbaijan in both the political and economic spheres, which in the long run can help maintain sustainable peace in the region.

   b. Armenia should settle down its internal political turmoil and cooperate with Azerbaijan on the restoration and development of economic corridors such as Zangezur. It can enhance regional connectivity and provide states with access to the Russian, Turkish and Iranian markets.

   c. Armenia must recognize Azerbaijani territorial sovereignty and sign a peace treaty with Azerbaijan. It can open new development avenues and strengthen bilateral relations between the two states.

   d. The regional power should put sincere efforts in the post-war reconstruction and restoration of the transportation network. It will eventually increase the economic significance of the South Caucasus to attract foreign investments.

   e. Serious efforts need to be invested to resolve the land mines issue in Azerbaijan’s liberated districts because they pose a serious threat to the population's economic ventures and overall security.
f. External powers involved in the peace agreement must pressurize Armenia to share the mine maps with Azerbaijan. The concentration of the landmines in the Karabakh region is a risky endeavor, especially for human security. The effectiveness of the sweeping land operation is significantly reduced due to the lack of mines maps.

g. It is significant to resolve the land mines issue because it entails the potential as a major obstacle in the economic development and overall normalization of inter-state relations. The peace agreement should include the clause related to the minesweeping operation and interstate military information sharing.

h. Track 1 and Track 2 diplomacy should be effectively utilized. Formal negotiations between the political officials of Azerbaijan and Armenia should be the first step towards its road to recovery and peace. Armenia should realize that human security surpasses ideological and political differences.
TRANSCRIPT’S OF THE SPEECHES
Speaker 1

Mr. Fariz Ismailzade, Executive Vice-Rector, ADA University, Azerbaijan

**Topic: South Caucasus and Central Asia: Opportunities under Belt and Road Initiative**

Thank You, Good Morning dear colleagues. Thank you for the wonderful introduction. I would like to say a huge thank you to the organizers of the online conference, especially my dear colleagues from Pakistan as well as some other speakers from Azerbaijan. Indeed, South Caucasus is going through a very interesting time and to discuss the transport opportunities that have newly emerged as a result of Azerbaijan liberation of territories is very important for Pakistan, Azerbaijan and the international community.

Azerbaijan has traditionally been on the Ancient Silk Route connected Central Asia to China and European Union Markets. For many centuries, the Silk Route has really developed and blossomed. Trade has been taking place along these Central Asian and Caucasus Countries which have been more or less prosperous but disrupted due to Soviet Union occupation. After the restoration of independence, Azerbaijan's Foreign Policy priorities has focused on the promotion of the East-West transfer corridor and to connect European and Asian markets through the Caspian Basin.
Building energy pipelines, especially oil and gas pipelines have been the beginning of this transfer corridor. Azerbaijan has successfully completed the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline, Baku-Supsa Oil pipeline and these pipelines have successfully linked Caspian Oil fields to the European Markets. Last Year, Azerbaijan completed a 40 Billion dollars gas pipeline which connects the Caspian Sea to the Italian ports and transferring Azerbaijani gas to Georgia, Turkey, Balkan countries and to the Italian markets. Therefore Azerbaijan has successfully implemented the East West transport corridor.
When it comes to energy transportation lines, several years ago the new railway was built from the financing of the Azerbaijani government which has connected Azerbaijani, Turkish and Georgian markets. It is successfully operating as a transfer hub, connecting the European, Central Asian and Chinese railway systems.

Several years ago, China initiated the One Belt, One Road Initiative which Azerbaijan has joined. This initiative aims at restoring the ancient Silk Route and building energy
Infrastructures, Ports, railways, Automobile roads in order to connect the Chinese market to the European Markets. Currently, most of the Chinese goods are either going through the Northern routes which include Russia and are very long, or via seas. The incident of the Suez Canal has shown that Sea routes can become vulnerable and fragile therefore developing the potential of the Central Asian Caucasus, Caspian routes give promise for regional trade and transport corridors.

![Map of the region showing transport routes]

Even the European Union, from the 1990's has been quite an active proponent of East West transport corridor. It has been financing a lot of projects related to the development of regional infrastructure.
In the last Several years, Azerbaijani government has also been part of two major regional initiatives. One of them is the Lapis\ Lazuli corridor connecting Afghanistan, Turkmenistan via Azerbaijan to the European Market, Turkey, Black Sea Basin.
The other project is the North-South Transport Corridor (NSTC) which is connecting Azerbaijani transport region to Iranian and Russian transport region therefore creating the North- South Transport Corridor.
For all these projects, New port in Alat is under construction which has capacity of transporting upto 20 million tons of goods per year via Baku-Tbilisi-Kars Railway. Now coming back to the Karabakh conflict, due to occupation 20% of Azerbaijani’s territory. The transport corridor via Armenia, Turkey and Nakhchivan has been disrupted for more than 30 years. All of these lands have been quite underdeveloped. The soviet Railway system which existed back in the 1990’s has also been disrupted. This railway system has been connecting Azerbaijan, Armenia, Nakhchivan, Turkey and Iran which was disrupted.

As a result of 44 days of victorious war, Azerbaijan has liberated the seven surrounding regions of Karabakh as well as some critical areas in Karabakh as well such as Shusha therefore big opportunities open up for regional development, infrastructure as well as the restoration of the transport hubs in the region.
What is interesting to note is that this new transport artery which might connect Azerbaijan and Armenia will not only lay peace and grounds for sustainable development between two countries but will also open up new transport corridors between Turkey, Iran and Central Asian markets. At the moment, Iran does not have any railway connection to Azerbaijan and Armenia. At the same time Armenia does not have any railway connection to Russia therefore the Zangezur corridor as shown in the map, lying on the lower level of Armenia, is successfully built which Azerbaijan is currently proposing if these occupying territories are restored. Azerbaijani government is already financially committed to the railway projects here. In two to three years, Azerbaijan can have a regional hub around Karabakh which connects not only the Armenia and Azerbaijani railway system but also via Azerbaijan, Armenia can have access to Central Asian and Russia markets, Iranian and Turkish railway systems. At the same time Russia will have access to the Iranian railway system.
The Karabakh area and Zangezur corridor can really serve as a hub for major powers in the region and can transform the South Caucasus into a regional hub for transport arteries between Europe, Central Asia and Chinese markets. Politically Azerbaijan has been advocating for Zangezur corridor but unfortunately due to the parliamentary elections in Armenia, the Armenian government is delaying this project even though according to the agreement signed between the Armenia and Azerbaijan leadership on November 10, 2020, opening of the transport corridors and borders is part of the ceasefire agreement. Azerbaijan is hoping that Armenia will settle down the political turmoil in the country and the elections of Pashinyan to the new term will give him the strong political mandate to agree on their transport corridors and to connect the Zangezur corridor to Azerbaijani railway system. In that regard the post Tukey, Iran, Russia and Azerbaijan will become interconnected and this will serve as a sustainable development, peace for the overall region.
Speaker 2

Mr. Orxan Bagirov, Leading Advisor, Center of Analysis of International Relations, Azerbaijan

Topic: New South Caucasus and new economic corridor: A reality check

First of all, I want to thank the organizers of the event. It is a great pleasure to be in the conference and give my speech. First I want to give historical financial information about the Economic situation in the early 1990's. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Former Soviet states got great opportunities to develop their economies because their economies were closed for about 70 years. It also gave a great chance to Azerbaijan and Armenia to develop their economies but unfortunately Armenia chose a different path: their territorial claims against Azerbaijan led to the first Karabakh war which resulted in the occupation of 20% of the Azerbaijan territories. This led to Azerbaijan and Turkey closing their borders to Armenia and opting aggressive policies. Armenia fell to the political blockade. Only with Iran and Georgia, Armenia was able to develop the transportation ties. Despite the severe economic implications of the occupation, the Armenian government never gave up their occupational policy and they even imitated these negotiations to prolong the occupation. Despite the occupation, Azerbaijan was able to develop its economy and with the cooperation of Turkey and Georgia, Azerbaijan initiated several transport and energy projects and because of its aggressive policy Armenia faced worst immigration, 30% of the population left the country and there were many social and economic problems. Despite all these issues Armenia didn't give up the occupation. Azerbaijan has to solve this problem by using its military forces. In the second karabakh war, Azerbaijan was able to withdraw the occupational forces of Armenia from Karabakh and restore its territorial integrity. The restoration of the territorial integrity did not only end the three decades of war but it also created great opportunities for economic development in the region. Most of the projects were implemented during the occupation, the future use of the cooperation opportunities was limited because of the conflict. Now that problems are solved there exists great opportunities for regional countries in order to develop their economic relations especially the Zangezur corridor which provides great opportunities for all the regional states including Armenians. In the
past three decades, the major problem for Armenia was that it was not able to reach the markets of Russia which is the biggest economic partner of Armenia. It didn't have the direct land linked to the markets of the Eurasian Economic Union but now the Zangezur corridor gives it a chance value. Through this corridor it will be able to reach Russia and the markets of Eurasia. Despite the fact that there were roads in Georgia but because of the political problems between Georgia and Russia they were not sustainability utilized. At the same time because of this corridor, Russia was given a chance to reach Armenia, one of its main partners in the region. Also, it provided alternative land routes to the markets of the Middle East. For Turkey, it makes the opportunity to get its target in Azerbaijan which will lead to the development of bilateral relations between them and also tourism relations. For Azerbaijan, it creates opportunities to free itself from the blockade. Due to the occupation problem, it was hard to reach this part of Azerbaijan. For the land routes, Azerbaijan mostly used the land surrounding Iran. Now Azerbaijan can reach directly. It will also provide an opportunity to Azerbaijan to develop its economy. As we saw the trilateral agreement between Russia, Azerbaijan and Armenia after the second Karabakh war which highlighted the opening of the economic and transport communication. Therefore, the opening of these economic and transport links will provide the opportunities for all the countries which will eventually lead to the development of the region. It will help transform South Caucasus, one of the main transportation hubs of Eurasia. Thanks for your attention and if you have any questions, I am willing to answer.

Speaker 3

Dr Mehmood-Ul-Hassan Khan, Member Board of Experts. Centre for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS), Islamabad, Pakistan

Topic: Strategic Importance of Zangezur Corridor and Expected Partnership with Pakistan

Thank you very much, inviting me again to seek my expert opinion. First of all, I welcome my strategic partners, Mr. Fariz, my brother from ADA University and Air Institute, the
famous think tank from Baku. So, my article regarding the Zangezur corridor has already been published in ANKASAM, the famous Turkish think tank and also widely circulated even in different mega media houses of Azerbaijan. So, I will be very precise after the 103rd National anniversary of the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan, and 44 days after the second war of Karabakh landscape of the South Caucasus region has been redesigned and reshaped. The landslide victory of Azerbaijan has opened new avenues of regional connections, cooperation, corridor, connectivity and formation of formidable corridors. Moreover, the historic Shusha declaration further enhanced chances of greater regional connectivity, socio economic integration, food and energy cooperation and last but not least, military cooperation in the South Caucasus region between Azerbaijan and Turkey. To a larger extent, maybe with Pakistan, historical trilateral declarations amongst Azerbaijan, Russia and Armenia ended a long unresolved and frozen Karabakh conflict in November 2020 and subsequently brightened the chances of sustainable regional cooperation, stability and security in South Caucasus region and even Caspian region. It included the reference to the transportation corridor linking Azerbaijan western region with the Nakhchivan autonomous region. In this context, the foreign minister of Sergei has already paid a personal visit to Baku for the resolution of demarcation and the limitation of burning border issues between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Russia also offered to provide assistance with the delimitation and demarcation of the border with the proposed setting up the joint Armenian Azerbaijan commission and most recently the swapping of the prisoners between Azerbaijan and Armenia and sharing of 97k deadly land mines information with Azerbaijan has brightened the chances of bilateral cooperation in terms of information sharing of land mines. The proposed Zenguzer corridor has multiplied socio economic geopolitical and geostrategic dividends, which primarily Connect Central Asia with these Caspian region, Azerbaijan and Armenia from the Pacific Turkey, it also it will extend or expand the railway network, which my friend I have already mentioned, between Russia, Azerbaijan, Turkey and Armenia and will have positive impact on regional trade activity it hopes that the Zengezur will be instrumental to future South Caucasus region reconciliation and economic cooperation. If operationalized properly, it will be an Azerbaijan enclave between Armenia and Iran to the north, and a short border with Turkey to the south. It hopes that Zenguzer will open numerous trade routes from Pacific to Turkey connecting Central Asia, the border
Caspian region, Azerbaijan, Armenia, while providing an opportunity to extend the railway network between Russia, Azerbaijan, Turkey and Armenia and also Iran. The opening of this corridor would further strengthen the Caspian transport network that stands for CTN including the east west transport corridor. And the north south international transport corridor that IDC It would also facilitate the oil and gas pipeline system. extending from the Caspian to Europe. It would further enhance, transit capacity of a region that has already played an important role for the European Union, the United States, Russia and China gas supply chain. Critical analysis of the proposed corridor upholds that it permits the operation of its transport corridor connecting Europe and Asia, which has the strategic importance to Russia, China, and promises potential economic benefits to all regional countries. Thus, it holds a grand economic business investment and connects propositions to all the regional countries. It will drastically improve Azerbaijan’s position in the east west and north south transport corridors as it is situated on the historic Silk Road and seeks to become a logistic hub between Europe and Asia. Interestingly, it will further reduce the distance of land routes to Azerbaijan. Unfortunate presently, only an air or land routes via Iran and Turkey links Azerbaijan, it is estimated that by establishing an easy and smooth shortcut with businesses would be furthered developed by gaining access to the East West transport corridor as well as reducing travel distance to Azerbaijan and Russia. Moreover, it would improve the South Caucasus transit role in the middle corridors that is China’s alternative corridor under the flagship of the One Belt one road initiative due to which cargo transportation has been tremendously increased through Azerbaijan, or on its way from China to Turkey and vice versa. It evaluates the development of the proposed corridor through Armenia, it would further improve the middle corridor ability to link Europe and Asia. It will further improve trade activities between Azerbaijan and Turkey by shortening the transit time. In this connection, the Baku Tbilisi kars (PTK), and Georgian road has already been linked with Azerbaijan and Turkey. However, the short-term route has its own strategic importance and potential to improve economic ties. Since the beginning of BRI, Azerbaijan welcomes and supports Chinese investment in the South Caucasus region, the unblocking of all communication in this South Caucasus region, not only Azerbaijan’s position as a logistics hub, but also China’s ability to transport goods to Europe with the shortest path. After the opening of the proposed corridor Turkey will have a new logistic corridor connecting
Central Asia and China, Russia and Armenia will also benefit from the proposed Corridor. It has the potential to become Russia’s primary route for goods transport to the South Caucasus region and neighboring countries. Russia strain would travel through Azerbaijan on the west where the proposed corridor links Armenia, Turkey and Iran. While Russian goods could travel through Turkey to the Middle East and other South Asian. The proposed corridor will also provide an alternative route for Russia to reach the markets of the Middle East through the territory of Turkey. It also has potential importance for Russia in terms of getting a direct land route to Armenia, its strategic partner in the South Caucasus region. Russia does not have good ties with Georgia. But, now it will be able to overcome transportation obstacles in the economic relations with Armenia. Interestingly, the proposed corridor between Russia and Armenia will also lessen the economic problems of Armenia in reaching the markets of Russia and Euro Asian Economic Union. The absence of a land route to the main trade partners has negatively affected Armenians foreign economic relations and its economic security. The proposed corridor will create the opportunity for Armenians to get a railway road linked to its other trade partner, Iran. Previously due to the lack of necessary financial resources and inability to attract foreign investment, Armenia was not able to build a railway road to Iran from its territory. No cargo transportation between Iran and Armenia could be implemented through this proposed corridor. Bilateral relations between Pakistan and Azerbaijan are getting better. The horizon of bilateral relations is no more widened and brighter, positive, productive and participatory. Chances are very high to have a sustainable strategic partnership in terms of infrastructure development, in terms of resettlement of IDPs and reconstruction of newly liberated areas. Last but not least, clearing of deadly landmines for which the chairman or DG of frontier work organization while visiting Baku has already extended its score through Brotherly countries and Azerbaijani population. Most recently Pakistan Armed Forces Chief General Qamar Bajwa visited Baku, for the further strengthening of its bilateral relations. So, we do hope that the future is very colorful, very bright and diversified. We do hope that the trilateral partnership proposition amongst Pakistan, Azerbaijan and Turkey has already been there. By visit and exchange of five dignitary’s official from Pakistan, and even from a brotherly country, Azerbaijan is on the move. The Chief Naval commander of Azerbaijan was in Pakistan for the further strengthening of naval cooperation, joint trails and other
associated issues. So being a prominent regional expert of Azerbaijan, and CIE, I suggest that track to diplomacy should be the mantra of Azerbaijan to resolve existing demarcation and other delimitation issues with Armenia in which the main focus should be on commercial diplomacy. Certain economic concessions and regional and rational geographical manipulations may be an effective tool to get diplomatic approval from Armenia. Mr. Fariz has already mentioned that the presidential election is over in Armenia, and we do hope that just sanity will prevail at last and the whole region of South Caucasus will be more progresses more sustainable, prosperous and dignified and free of any kind of conflict. Sincere effort must be initiated to show us the proposed Economic Corridor, economic potential and peace orientation to Armenia. Armenia must recognize Azerbaijan's territorial integrity and sign the peace agreement with Azerbaijan for its own economic benefit. To conclude, the establishment of the Zenguzer and the restoration of our economic corridors will further enhance investment potential of the South Caucasus region, no new geopolitical landscape and strategic corridors has opened new opportunities for all the regional countries to attract more IDs, foreign direct investment, which should be it should not be wasted by Armenia. It offers numerous economic benefits for all the South Caucasus region which will further expand regional transport networks. It will be a value addition to the North South International corridor and Middle corridors. Azerbaijan believes in economic connectivity and does not support excruciating conflicts. Azerbaijan believes in regional railways networking and does not seek any breakaways secretive activities to sabotage the regional peace. Armenia must realize that no human survival, national sovereignty, territorial integrity, economic sustainability, political stability and social peace does not rely on a series of confronter genocides and ethnic cleansing but spirits of cooperation, coordination and cooperation pave the way for others. Thank you.
Speaker 4

Mr. Shareh Qazi, Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan

Topic: New South Caucasus & Non-state Security Threat of Landmines

I would like to extend a warm gratitude to CSS to the ADA University and CIR from Azerbaijan for extending this wholesome debate on how we need to tap into one of the most economically rich and viable regions but largely ignored due to infighting and conflicts within what we like to call Transcaucasia. Now, the topic which I've chosen revolves around the concepts that are given by Mr. Ismail, substantiated by Mr. Bagirov and then expanded upon by Dr. Mahmoud on economic connectivity and integration. Whilst we look at rehabilitation of people from war torn areas, as well as infrastructure development to initiate what we may like to call the economic Silk Route, specifically dedicated for this region, a big challenge or a big hurdle in the way, the land mines. Now how do the land mines operate. This area, even before it was separated and was part of the Soviet Union, was saturated with land mines, it was called a densely mined area. The estimates maintained by the United Nations and the Halo trust organization that specifically works on minesweeping puts around 50,000 to 150,000 land mines in the Nagorno Karabakh region alone. This is a big challenge because of four principal issues. Number one, land mines are a very cheap way of achieving military superiority in a conflict zone. So, they're mass produced and mass installed. Number two, the parties involved in this conflict. The Nagorno-Karabakh and the transportation conflict in Georgia, Ossetia and Abkhazia as well. They've not really been signatories of the Mines ban convention that was signed under the Ottawa process in the 90s. So, this still, even though they're not producing any new land mines, they're still using the Soviet era land mines. The infamous one which is called the Black Widow, because it has 300 feet kill radius for anti-personnel mines under heavy explosive density for anti-tank mines. Now, these personnel mines or tank mines are not going to distinguish between an ambulance or a commoner rehabilitating himself back to his home. So, this is a huge issue. The third criteria are that to this point in time, there exists no estimate of the minefields that have been placed by Armenians and Azerbaijanis within the span of these three decades of conflict. The fourth most important thing, all important stakeholders to the rehabilitation
process for this region are also not parties to the Ban Mine Convention. So, the Ottawa
process, which somehow talks about human security, for rehabilitation by allowing at
least convenience of space to the rehabilitators to go back and repatriate themselves to
their land, are vulnerable because they have no idea where a minefield might exist.
Azerbaijani government has dedicated 15,000 people at this point in time to conduct
minesweeping operations. But even those 15,000 in total is a very small number because
we have no idea where the Armenians might have placed their minefields, not to mention
the anti-tank mines, which are anti vehicular devices and were installed without
information while the Armenians were retreating. So being a military secret, this is a big
issue for the economic corridors. This is a big issue for the rehabilitation of human beings.
This is a big issue because apart from the minefields and the minesweeping operation,
you would have to conduct what is typically known as the explosive remnants of war
issue. You have an unintended Explosive Ordinance at your disposal. This is an area which
has been ripe with conflict for the last three decades. It's full of ammunition and ordnance
scattered around booby traps, to deny access, land mines to deny access and area denial
to the adversary. All of these issues are going to be a big hurdle when you're looking at
rehabilitation. And the first step, what must be done between Armenia and Azerbaijan is
that even if you read the peace process that has been very recently signed, it has no talk
of mind sweeping operations, or sharing confidential military information as to what can
protect human security. So, despite all economic activities, to resume, human life to
rehabilitate itself, the life to come back to its original status, Zengezur corridors or other
economic processes to initiate all of these initiatives are vulnerable because they are
under the threat of massive land mines, which are not detectable. The Secret or the
confidentiality of placement of minefields is not yet exchanged between belligerent
parties, the status of what category of mines have been used, and what junction roads
have been vulnerable in the placing of those mines has not yet been shared. So, we're
going to initiate an economic process, but the security angle of that entire process is still
in limbo. And that's where I think a cooperative arrangement or a cooperative agreement
must be signed, before these parties could engage in exchange of economic activities.
Furthermore, I believe that it also provides the entire destructive capacity of war in
Nagorno-Karabakh in other regions of transportation allows states like Pakistan and
Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, China, America and Russia to at least introspect, on the effect
of how explosive remnants of war, including these minefields can limit your ability to economically cooperate but on the other side can also provide you your first avenue of conversation between adversaries who have been fighting for about so many decades, Dr. Mahmoud was very kind enough to mention that the Director General frontier works organization has offered services to Azerbaijani armed forces in conducting minesweeping operations. But again, if you introspect, Pakistan itself is not a member of the Ottawa process. And that allows us a chance to reflect on the level of disruption and the level of post rehabilitation destruction. Hundreds of people have lost their lives while they were coming back to the Nagorno-Karabakh above in a matter of weeks, which tells you that the destructive capacity of post war debris, or these explosive remnants of war is an issue that has to be primarily addressed before you commence your economic activity. Because you might not know while you're building a railway road, or while you’re moving on a highway project, there might be a minefield around and that minefield might create quite a lot of vulnerabilities for you. We’re not talking about highly economized countries, we're talking about countries who have lost a lot of financial potential, while they were in engagement with one another, who lost a lot of infrastructure potential, who lost a lot of human security potential. And now they're trying to rehabilitate in that they're surrounded by somewhere around 100,000 150,000, maybe more, because that is a careful estimate made by the United Nations back in 2005. So, we don't know what the situation is for the land mines in 2021. Maybe if the Armenians, while they were retreating, were able to plant more minds. Maybe at this point in time we do not have a fair idea of the category of mines that has been placed. Is it the Soviet era landmines were they able to produce more are able to dispatch more minds insensitive regions and how much would that damage your post rehabilitation economic recovery cycle, because that’s the part where you need to have a cogent understanding that if you're going to rehabilitate an area, which is saturated with explosives lying around, you’re playing with fire? It's a very dangerous premise because it can hurt you and your road to economic recovery far more effectively than any other maneuver. Once the Armenian elections are over and the new government takes shape, one can expect that Azerbaijan and Armenia might come to an agreement on doing something at least from the lines of the Ottawa process, because there are certain regulations that restrict military forces to using some category of conventional methods.
And anti-personnel mines are at the highest category of those issues, because they are mines that will not discriminate between a soldier and a common man returning from home. So, we cannot risk farmers or for workers or builders of constructive equipment to come in, in an area which is saturated by these explosive substances moving around with the quantity of the quantum of damage being significantly higher, because this area is a high-density minefield. It has to be a mindset before you can commence your activities. The problem with mine sweeping issues is four layered, number one, they’re very expensive, because you have no idea where a minefield is. You have to scrounge the entire area for all the explosives you can get your hands on, and then conduct multiple surveys to find out. Number two, the technology used in minesweeping is very technical. So, you need to procure that technology as well. Number three, it would require a high manpower to conduct this, these sweeps. Because this is a large area, we’re talking about hundreds of miles, not some few kilometers or a few meters. And the fourth is that whilst you’re conducting these minesweeping operations, you have to be mindful of the fact that there will be explosive incidents, there will be accidents, because of inadvertent destruction of those mines or explosions, or other booby traps are such equipment available that can disrupt your entire project. And because of these forties, it’s very difficult to conduct these operations alone. So, you need that sensitive information as to where those mine fields are, you can’t rely on that the enemy or the adversary in the war. A few years ago, or before the ceasefire might not be so keen on sharing. Maybe at this point in time, some belligerent might recall that these minefields can serve their purpose once the other party starts rehabilitating. So, Armenia might not share the secrets of minefields with Azerbaijan in the sense that it can cost Azerbaijan even after the war is over. This sensibility needs to go from Transcaucasia because it is a dire human security issue. The only way you can address this human security issue is by the sense that you start off a conversational process of getting from Dr. Mahmoud Track 2 diplomacy, Track 1 diplomacy. Formal engagement on the Ottawa process between Azerbaijan and Armenia could be the first step, which could be called the road to recovery. Once you have recovered, then is the phase for rehabilitation so later you can think about economic projects of such a high stature in such a dense nature because without these mines being cleared, every road, every junction, every train station is vulnerable. The consequences of those vulnerabilities might exacerbate your human security problems tenfold. So that
is something we need to work on. The United Nation has rules very clearly laid down. The instruments of international law guide these principles which are elaborately mentioned. Many state members are parties to these conventions, the serious parties that are really involved in the economic recovery of Transcaucasia are the ones who are not yet signatories to these causes. So, talking about economic security in an environment where you’re concealing weapons of catastrophic consequences, is something which is a very risky endeavor, it could push these two states back into war. Because once people of Nagorno Karabakh get back to their region, start their life over, you have no idea where a farm or a field or a dairy equipment might be under a minefield. And that’s where the sensitivity comes in. So human security before economic security is what I would preach at this very point in time. And I would like to thank CGSS and all the other partners for this endeavor. I hope, once these rounds of discussions are over, we might see some sustainable steps being taken in terms of human security in conflict regions Transcaucasia because human security is the principal guarantor of economic freedom and economic liberty, which is the hallmark of what we are trying to achieve in this discussion today. Thank you

Speaker 5

Dr Zarmeena Baloch, Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Islamia College University of Peshawar, Pakistan

**Topic: New South Caucasus: From Middle Power doctrine to Regional Balancer**

The South Caucasus occupies a small area on the world map. The scale of interest in the region is much bigger than its geographical size suggests with natural borders, large neighbors, and considerable homogeneity at various times in its history. South Caucasus is a distinct and inter-connected region with a total population of 16 million. The collapse of Soviet Union in 1991 fundamentally altered the political dynamics of the South Caucasus as each of the new successors came to seek their national interests and foreign policies. In terms of its geostrategic importance has always fluctuated as it competed with other agendas of Global powers while South Caucasus was previously considered to be
on the periphery of international agenda. It became much more important to both its neighbors and influential non-state actors. Middle power doctrine can be applied to this region as there were sovereign states in the region having moderate influence in the region at that time. Today South Caucasus is a diverse geopolitical region which occupies the strategic point in international transport. Well however three countries differ strategically in this region. They have each taken separate routes since the breakup of the Soviet Union and independence in 1991. Georgia is located strategically on the coast of Black Sea. It was not a very successful country, at least in the first half of 1990’s then underwent peaceful democratic rules and revolutions in 2003 than it started developing its Pro Western Policy orientation. Well, here we can say that since there is no significant Georgian diaspora community so that is why it suffers from unpractical foreign policy decision making. Then Azerbaijan, it is located strategically on the coast of the Caspian Sea. Baku was the world’s first oil capital in 1890’s. It is overwhelmingly Muslim. It currently performs a delicate balance between Russia and the West. Azerbaijan is pursuing an independent policy in the region regarding global powers. If we look at other states here, Armenia and Georgia, it seems that Azerbaijan is having a more powerful and balancing foreign policy. Now looking at the 19 century Great Game was pointed to define the geopolitical rivalry in the region between Russia and British Empire. The primary Geographical area of the old Great Game was found in Central Asia and India where colonial positions and trade was often concerned. There is a significant difference in practice of the new Great Game which has become a short hang of competition for influence, Profit, Power and Hegemony. The crisis of the South Caucasus is influenced by the relations between NATO and Russia. Associated threat perception gives rise to the shaping of the alliance preference by Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. The resulting dynamics have been characterized in terms of a new Great Game. This is political rhetoric with the older Great Game played out in Central Asia and other geographical regions. US interest in the South Caucasus after the demise of the Soviet Union was non country specific. The main aim in 1990’s was to manage the peaceful transition at that time, broadly aiming to construct market economies, promote democracy. In the mid 1990’s the Caspian oil started booming and this region got new significance. Unlike the US and European Union approach of trying to change the values and norms of the region which is potentially a threat to the political and economic elites of the region. As well as Russia
applying the regime stability approach at the same time. The result is the more the West tries to democratize the region, the more likely the regimes in the region will turn to the powers as Russia and China, driven by the instinct of regime survival. It would be accurate to say that the rising tensions between the US led West and Russia globally are mirrored in the South Caucasus. Whether it’s the risk of more disagreements and even the possibility of the conflict cannot be completely ruled out. So here we can see the logic of the Russian policy and actions aimed at preventing or limiting the foreign actors influencing the region. So here we further throw light, how Azerbaijan in this geopolitical scenario is trying to balance the region in South Caucasus. It’s only the Azerbaijan Foreign policy which can play this delicate role. Azerbaijan, a geopolitical pivot, a former US security advisor once has described it as constantly performing a balancing act in its relation with the United States, Russia and Iran. The latter two share borders with Azerbaijan to its North and South respectively. There is a significant competition between the United States and Russia over Azerbaijan. The leaders of Azerbaijan are accustomed to accommodating the leadership of both the countries which is where they are performing this balancing act which is crucial for the country’s sense of sovereignty as well. The relation with the US has been classed as strategic partnership. Given lower oil profits, Azerbaijan has intensified its efforts to diversify its economy and transportation links with Central Asian States. The countries of the region have been the main motors behind the new burst of the economic initiatives. The European Union has not been actively involved in that. Over the last few years, Azerbaijan has invested Billions of dollars into commercial infrastructure and transportation projects. It is finalizing the construction of the larger ports in the Caspian Sea which is around 60 kilometers South of Baku. There is a railing also which is turning Baku Airport into a modern hub. Billions have been invested in the roads system significantly decreasing the travel time between the Caspian Sea and Azerbaijani-Georgian Borders. The main idea of these projects is to position Azerbaijan as a link between Asia, Central Asia, south Caucasus and Europe. Despite the attractiveness of the East-West corridor. Azerbaijan does not reject the idea of a North-South Corridor from Russia to Iran. Azerbaijan was in favor of this project however the economic crisis and sanction against Russian, opening of the Iranian markets posed challenges to it but at the same time. Unlike its neighbors, other states in South Caucasus, Azerbaijan has placed greater emphasis on the Middle East also
recognizing the benefits of nurturing strong ties with Islamic countries in the broader Middle East. Azerbaijan is also an active member of OIC and often hosts high level committee meetings. It was with the support of OIC members that Azerbaijan was able to secure its nomination in the United Nations Security Council and played a very vital role. Meanwhile Azerbaijan is considered as a key geographical territory for many integration projects European Union, Eurasian Economic Union and recently established One Belt One Road championed by China. All three initiatives are targeting Azerbaijan and here it is balancing all these projects at the same time balancing the Great Game of International powers in the region. Now we can conveniently say that the New South Caucasus has moved from the middle power doctrine to regional balancer where Azerbaijan is playing the leading role. Thank You so much.
Online International Conference Report

MEDIA COVERAGE

National Herald Tribune


Azerbaijan has completed 400bln gas pipeline that connects the Caspian Sea to an Italian port, transporting gas from Azerbaijan via Georgia, Turkey, and other Balkan countries to Italian markets: Fariz Ismailzade

Says Azerbaijan Govt has been part of major regional initiatives that include the Lapis Lazuli Corridor which is connecting Afghanistan and Turkmenistan via Azerbaijan towards the Central European market

Creation of the Zangazur Corridor will add a new artery to the transportation network of Eurasia and positively affect the economic and trade relations between the regional countries: Orxan Bagirov

SALEEM RAIS

ISLAMABAD, June 21: An online international conference on “New South Caucasus and New Economic Corridor: A Reality Check” jointly organized by CGSS Islamabad, Pakistan, ADA University, Azerbaijan Center of Analysis of International Relations (Air Centre), Baku, Azerbaijan on Monday.

The conference was moderated by Mr. Nishan Naini, Project Executive, Center for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS) Islamabad, Pakistan. He highlighted that the victory of Azerbaijan in the Second Karabakh war has changed the political and economic dynamics of the Caucasus region. Hence, the conference aims to discuss and highlight the opportunities and benefits of the new economic corridor amid changing regional realities.

Mr. Fary Izmailzade, Executive Vice-President, ADA University, discussed South Caucasus and Central Asia: Opportunities related to the Belt and Road Initiative.

He shared a comprehensive presentation and discussed that South Caucasus is going through very interesting times as new transport opportunities have emerged in the region after Azerbaijan liberated its occupied territories.

He highlighted that last year Azerbaijan has completed the 400 billion gas pipeline that connects the Caspian to an Italian port, transporting gas from Azerbaijan via Georgia, Turkey, and other Balkan countries to Italian markets. Hence, Azerbaijan has successfully implemented the east-bound transport corridor when it comes to energy infrastructure and pipeline.

He also discussed that in the last several years the Azerbaijani government has also been part of major regional initiatives that include the Lapis Lazuli corridor which is connecting Afghanistan and Turkmenistan via Azerbaijan towards the Central European market.

He shared that we are hopeful that Armenia will settle down the political turmoil of the country, agree on the transport corridor, and connect the Zangazur corridor with Azerbaijani railway systems. This will serve as sustainable development and peace for the region.

Mr. Orxan Bagirov, Leading Adviser, Center of Analysis of International Relations, Azerbaijan discussed the creation of the Zangazur corridor and its importance for the development of regional cooperation.

He stated that despite the negative effects of the conflict, Azerbaijan was able to rapidly develop its economy and implement important joint transportation and energy projects with other regional countries such as Georgia and Turkey. Furthermore, the provisions of the tripartite agreement related to the restoration of economic and transport relations create great economic development and cooperation perspectives for the countries.

He highlighted that the creation of the Zangazur corridor will add a new artery to the transportation network of Eurasia and positively affect the economic and trade relations between the regional countries. Using this corridor Turkey will get a direct land route to Azerbaijan, one of its main economic regions. This, in turn, will boost bilateral economic and trade relations between them.

Dr. Mehdi R. Hassani Khay, Member Board of Experts, Center for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS) Islamabad, Pakistan highlighted the strategic importance of the Zangazur corridor and expected partnership with Pakistan.

He stated that after 44 days of the Second Karabakh war, the landscape of the South Caucasus region has been re-designed and reshaped. The victory of Azerbaijan has opened new avenues of regional cooperation and cooperation, and potential corridors.

Furthermore, the historic Shiitska declaration has also increased chances of enhanced regional connectivity, socio-economic integration, food, and energy cooperation, and military cooperation in the South Caucasus region between Azerbaijan and Turkey and the Kazakhs run Pakistan as well.

Since the beginning of BRI, Azerbaijan has welcomed Chinese investments in the South Caucasus region. The proposed Zangazur corridor will multiply socio-political and geostrategic dividends which primarily connect central Asia, the Caspian region, Azerbaijan and Armenia. It will also have a positive impact on trade activities. It is estimated that this corridor will be instrumental for future South Caucasus region, reconfiguration, and economic partnerships.

Mr. Sharif Qul, Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan discussed the New South Caucasus and the Non-state security threat of iranization.

He highlighted that the threat of landmine poses significant challenges to spatial development postwar and also interrupts daily life by acting as dead weapons. Apart from human casualties, they also contribute to damage to infrastructures, livestock, agriculture, and other essential services associated with postwar rehabilitation.

He stated that Pakistan-Azerbaijan collaboration for post-conflict rehabilitation would be an additional endeavor to accelerate rehabilitation by contributing to an already stressed and extensive micro-recovery program. It also allows international stakeholders to create a compliant environment between bilateral parties for the exchange of information pertaining to minefields installed during the conflict.

Dr. Zaineb Baloch, Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Islamia College University of Peshawar, Pakistan discussed New South Caucasus: from Middle Power desertion to regional balancer.

She highlighted that though the South Caucasus occupies a small area on the world map, the scale of interest in the region is much bigger than its geopolitical size might suggest.

In terms of its geopolitical and strategic importance, the region has always been considered as a hotbed with other agendas of global power foreign policy. The region has become much more important both for its neighbors and influential neo-national actors.

She stated that today the South Caucasus is a diverse geopolitical region that occupies an important position in regional compact. The three countries in the region, have taken separate routes from the breakdown of the Soviet Union.

She emphasized that as compared to Armenia, Azerbaijan has always had a more powerful and balancing foreign policy. The conference was attended by 55 participants from Pakistan and Azerbaijan and was also viewed live by 200 viewers on different social media platforms.
Online Conference on Digging Deep into EU Disinformation Lab Revelations organized by Center for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS), Islamabad

On 22nd June 2021, an online conference on Digging Deep into EU Disinformation Lab Revelations was organized by the Center for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS), Islamabad.

The conference commenced with the Opening Remarks of Mr. Tarig Malik, Former Chief Technology Officer, CNIO. He stated that fifth-generation warfare is information warfare. Before the information disclosed by EU Disinformation Lab, when analysts used to discuss Fifth-generation warfare and its tools, it seemed quite unbelievable. India, to achieve its various economic, political, etc. agenda, is disseminating fake news about Pakistan.

Discussing the propaganda tactics by India, he stated the level of state support, effort, and how it was manipulated by spreading it globally is evident of the fact that India was a well-organized and planned attack to malign Pakistan.

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Khan, Professor, Department of Politics & International Relations, International Islamic University, Islamabad discussed the Hybrid Warfare, India’s Subversive activities against Pakistan.

According to Dr. Khan, Hybrid Warfare is a highly debated subject in the academic spheres. He mentioned that the use of prominent personalities, influential media, and NGOs are a few of the tactics used by India. In addition to this, Dr. Khan also explained different domains in which India has penetrated to spread fake news about Pakistan. These domains include International Media, NGOs, Europe, and America, and various other foreign governments.

In this regard, Indian Informational Technology plays a significant role. Dr. Khan, sharing his view, mentioned that the Indian Campaign against Pakistan is also one of the main causes of disturbing global and regional peace and stability as India has deeply penetrated the contemporary international system.

Moreover, he mentioned that to deflect Pakistan on various fronts, India has established numerous groups which are actively working to achieve the Indian interests and objects.
CGSS Youtube Channel

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nnQvHIAmRhw
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