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1. CONCEPT OF COOPERATIVE SECURITY

What is the issue?

The Concept of Cooperative Security is panacea to address threats concerning national security and harmony.

What is Co-Operative security?

- The concept of cooperative security implies that countries have, or seek, a degree of convergence with regard to threat perceptions, and challenges and opportunities with a conviction that it is advantageous to their security, stability and prosperity.
- Cooperative security can be predicated on shared values, ideologies, religion or economic interests along multiple axes.
- Cooperative security may logically begin with neighbors and the region but often transcends locational limitations.

What are few classic examples of co-operative security?

- **NATO** -The Cold War and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) implied cooperative security based on ideology.
- Germany has called for an integrated European Union (EU) military that would complement NATO.
- **IMAF**T -Similarly, the Islamic Military Alliance to Fight Terrorism

headquartered in Riyadh seeks to address a global challenge but is narrowly based on a common faith.

- Few important co-operative security agencies in Asia are as follows,
 1. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN),
 2. Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO),
 3. Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO),
 4. Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS),
 5. Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO),
 6. Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA).

What are India's commitments on cooperative security?

- India's initiatives over the last five years to build regional cooperation and security are anchored in its 'Neighbourhood First' policy.
- Indian administration has emphasised the importance of shared prosperity with our neighbours through his clarion call of "SabkaSaath, SabkaVikas, SabkaVishwas", the essence of which roughly translates as "Collective Effort, Inclusive Growth and Mutual Trust".
- India remains optimistic about the future of South Asia at a time when it



has emerged as one of the fastest-growing large economies in the world.

- India is keen to strengthen other regional groupings and partnerships such as the BBIN (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India and Nepal) and BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation) that includes Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Nepal and Bhutan.
- India is also committed to greater connectivity and cooperation with the ASEAN region through its 'Act East' policy.
- India has also expanded its cooperation with the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the East Asia Summit (EAS) in the extended neighbourhood.
- India's roadmap for regional security, is known by its acronym 'SECURE', its every letter is full of meaning.
 1. S stands for **Security** of our citizens,
 2. E stands for **Economic development** for all,
 3. C stands for **Connecting the region**,
 4. U stands for **Uniting our people**,
 5. R stands for **Respect for Sovereignty** and Territorial Integrity, and,

6. E stands for **Environmental** protection.

What is the role of Pakistan in co-operative security?

- The only exception to the cooperative process in South Asia remains Pakistan.
- India has made clear that there can be no dialogue unless Pakistan halts its obsession with the use of terrorism against India and other countries in the region and brings the perpetrators of the Mumbai and other terrorist attacks who freely roam in Pakistan to book.
- The Shimla Agreement commits both sides to discuss all issues through a bilateral dialogue, but Pakistan continues to breach its commitment with growing frequency.
- In conclusion, it can be argued that South Asia 'minus one' has achieved some measure of progress in strengthening regional cooperation.
- It is also hoped that the 'minus one' country will change its mindset, eschew terrorism and come around one day for the good of all in South Asia.
- Hopefully, Pakistan will one day support the growing developmental impulses in South Asia instead of irresponsibly brandishing the threat of nuclear weapons.



2. PAKISTAN'S INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLITICAL CRISIS

What is the issue?

India's decision to abrogate Article 370 has radically impacted the internal and external politics of Pakistan.

What is Pakistan's response on abrogation of Article 370?

- In the aftermath of the decision, Pakistan's entire state machinery was channelled towards convincing their own people as well as the people of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) that the Pakistan state would support the Kashmiris on all fronts.
- Pakistan Government has since raised the Kashmir issue in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) with the help of China, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) and in his maiden speech at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), apart from raising it with countries it considers friendly.
- Pakistan PM Imran Khan also tried to up the ante by repeatedly threatening the global community of the risk of Kashmir issue snowballing into a nuclear conflict between two South Asian neighbours.
- However, these initiatives have not yielded the desired results with the international community more or less endorsing India's position.
- India has maintained that the decision to revoke the special status of

Jammu and Kashmir is entirely its internal matter and that the step has been taken to ensure holistic development in the state.

- Meanwhile, the aggressive posture adopted by Pakistan has given the embattled Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) led government a breather at a time when the opposition is increasingly vocal about the deteriorating economic situation and poor governance in the country.
- By raising the pitch on the Kashmir issue, Imran found an opportunity to hide his government's failure on both internal and external fronts.

What are the aggressive policies of Pak administration?

- The National Accountability Bureau (NAB) has been used as a tool to nab opposition leaders for their past omissions and commissions.
- The dissenting voices are either being coaxed to join the PTI or incarcerated behind the bars.
- All kinds of efforts are being made to break them down physically and emotionally.
- In Imran Khan's Naya Pakistan, the all-powerful military continues to pull the strings and very much retains its influence over the domestic, foreign and security polices of the country as well as the judiciary.
- The three-year extension granted to the army chief General QamarJavedBajwa on the pretext of



“regional security environment” by the Imran Khan Government proves the military’s continuing stronghold on the civilian government.

- After grabbing power in two of the four provinces (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab) and allying with a new pro-establishment party in another (Baluchistan), the PTI has attempted to dislodge the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) Government in Sindh.
- There are also attempts afoot to split Pakistan Muslim League - Nawaz (PML-N) into two factions, one headed by Nawaz Sharif and other by currently leader of the opposition in the national assembly Shahbaz Sharif.

What are Internal governance issues faced by Pakistan?

- **Unsteady Economy** -The PTI-led government has been criticized for unsteadiness and an inability to defy Pakistan’s military or to resolve the country’s fiscal crisis.”
- It is also referred to the lopsided nature of the anti-corruption drive of the PTI Government and its lack of political will to enforce long-term measures for rooting out corruption.
- **Doctors Protest** -Adding to the troubles of the PTI-led government, doctors across Khyber Pakhtunkhwa took out protest rallies towards the end of September against the Regional and District Health Authorities Act, 2019 that in short talks about the

privatization of the government hospitals, and was passed recently in the provincial assembly.

- **Protest by Business Community** - Moreover, in the first week of October, after failed attempts to negotiate with the government over the complexities of documentation through the Federal Board of Revenue (FBR), the small traders and businesspersons also came out on the streets of Islamabad to register their protest against the government on the issue.
- **Azadi March’** -The JUI-F chief Maulana Fazl-ur-Rehman has been the most vocal critic of the PTI Government ever since it assumed office.
- In an effort to bring opposition parties under one umbrella, he had convened the first-ever all parties conference (APC) on June 26 this year in Islamabad.
- This was the first occasion for the opposition to put up a united front against the PTI Government and where seeds of a possible anti-government protest campaign from a single platform were sown.
- He had earlier claimed that along with the other opposition parties he will be able to mobilise more than ten lakh protestors to take part in the Long March to expose the real face of Imran Khan and his government.



What lies ahead?

- It is likely that Imran Khan's government will face increasing flak in future on account of its failure to garner greater international support on the Kashmir issue as well as inability to deal with burgeoning economic crisis in the country.
- Any effort by Pakistan to over-activate terror launch pads in order to draw world's attention to the Kashmir issue can prove counter-productive for the Imran Khan Government.
- A protracted military engagement with India can worsen the political and economic crises at home.
- Moreover, Pakistan's sponsorship of terror could result in it being blacklisted by the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) that will not only lead to international calumny but also restrict the flow of foreign funds for the cash strapped Pakistani economy.

3. CHINA'S PERSPECTIVES ON SECURITY DIPLOMACY

What is the issue?

India needs to learn from China's Security diplomacy which is emerging in Nepal and other neighborhood.

What is China's Security diplomacy?

- Security diplomacy has emerged as a major element of China's international relations in all geographies.
- The globalization and digitalization of the Chinese economy, the growing

movement of people across Chinese borders and expanding capital and human assets beyond borders have made law enforcement cooperation with the rest of the world a major priority for China.

- The range of issues involved in security diplomacy include tracking down fugitives from Beijing's anti-corruption campaign, criminals seeking safe haven in other countries, countering terrorism, preventing drug trafficking, assisting Chinese citizens and tourists abroad, and reining in political dissidents active in other countries.
- In the case of neighbors, security diplomacy takes on an added dimension, given the dynamic interaction between internal political stability and the situation across the frontiers.

Why Nepal is significant for China's security perspective?

- Nepal's northern border with China is entirely with Tibet, and Beijing sees security cooperation with Kathmandu as critical in controlling the movement of people across this frontier.
- Nepal, which was once hospitable to Tibetan refugees fleeing China, now extends full support to Beijing's law enforcement agencies in tracking and deporting them.
- Nepal's security cooperation has become intense ever since trouble



broke out in Tibet in the early years of this century.

- Growing bonhomie between China and Nepal's political leaders has provided a more permissive environment for this cooperation on Tibet.
- In recent years, Chinese security agencies have apparently gained effective access to border areas on the Nepali side in dealing with Tibetan exiles and have every reason to be pleased with Kathmandu's support.

What are the recent dimensions of China-Nepal diplomacy?

- China attaches to security diplomacy is reflected in the recently signed documents in Kathmandu on law enforcement.
- These agreements touched on border management, supply of border security equipment, mutual legal assistance, and collaboration between Nepal's Attorney General and China's "Supreme People's Procurator" (or the prosecutor general).
- China determines to accelerate the development of an ambitious Trans Himalayan Corridor between China's Tibet and Nepal.
- Recently China-Nepal agreed to "respect and accommodate each other's concerns and core interests".
- Nepal "reiterated its firm commitment to One-China policy" and acknowledged that Tibetan matters "are China's internal affairs".

- Kathmandu also promised not to allow "any anti-China activities on its soil".
- China, in turn, declared, its firm support to Nepal in upholding the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and its firm support and respect to Nepal's social system and development path, independently chosen in the light of Nepal's national conditions.

What are China's plans in its neighborhood?

- China's interest in "security diplomacy" as separate from "defence diplomacy" is not limited to Nepal.
- Strengthening internal security in China's far flung provinces with significant religious and ethnic minorities has always been a major political priority for the People's Republic of China in dealing with its neighboring countries.
- Trouble within or across the borders of Xinjiang, Tibet and Yunnan has meant greater cooperation with the neighboring states.
- In the case of Xinjiang, the focus is on the three Central Asian states (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan) as well as Pakistan and Afghanistan that share a border with the province.
- Securing the Tibetan frontier has been an integral part of China's difficult political engagement with India and



an increasingly productive cooperation with Nepal.

- Collaboration with Myanmar is central to China's security management of the Yunnan province.
- Massive modernization of its internal administrative structures, significant investments in new technologies, and an effective integration of law enforcement into China's foreign policy have transformed China's pursuit of security diplomacy.
- It is by no means limited to neighbors and is now spread across all geographies from developed countries in North America and Europe to the developing world in Asia and Africa.
- Thus like the other great powers that preceded it, China sees security diplomacy and law enforcement cooperation as important tools of statecraft.

4. INDO-CHINA INFORMAL SUMMIT 2.0

Why in news?

The second informal summit between India and China was held in the coastal town of Mamallapuram, south of Chennai.

What are the existing issues in Indo-China ties?

- China and India continue to compete and have a contradictory outlook on many strategic and civilizational issues.

- These include the nature of Asian security, regional stability and the role of the U.S. in the region.
- The China-Pakistan axis has been further cemented, Doklam and the disputed border between the two countries remains an issue of concern.
- India's efforts to 'dumb down' the Dalai Lama will have appeased China to an extent.
- The first Indo-China informal summit at Wuhan raised hopes that the two countries would jointly work together on an economic project in Afghanistan.
- However, this has proved to be short-lived; the political situation in Afghanistan deteriorates.
- China, along with countries like Pakistan, is keen more than ever on ensuring that India has no role to play in Afghanistan.
- Recent events in disputed regions reflect the challenges in fulfilling the collective promise.
- In particular, unresolved border issues and regional politics have left persistent suspicions between the two countries.

What are the geo-political significance of Indo-China?

- China and India are destined to play pivotal roles in the "Asian century."
- Both share interests in promoting a fairer, more inclusive form of globalisation.



- Together, they constitute 35% of the world's population, and their economies constitute 45% of global growth.
- Jointly, they have the critical mass to boost reform of institutions such as the WTO, IMF and UN.
- A robust Sino-Indian relationship would also be an anchor for regional stability.
- This could in turn pave way for a more integrated, prosperous Asian community.
- The Sino-Indian rapprochement is much a recognition of the reality of an increasingly multipolar century.
- In the coming years, Asian economies will become larger than the rest of the world combined in PPP terms, for the first time since the 19th century.
- A lack of leadership or consensus hampers the much-needed reform of global institutions such as the WTO, IMF and UN.
- **Transport & Connectivity** - Initiatives by China and India in an open, consultative manner could be seen as complementary, and not competing.
- Establishing a BRI International Cooperation Committee would enable active involvement by all countries, including India, when willing
- **Tourism** - Alongside the movement of goods and capital, flows of people are a vital component of Asia's integration.
- While Inter-Asian tourism and talent flows are booming, cultural ties between China and India remain below the potential.
- Improving visa processes and creating programmes for talent and academic exchange could help in this regard.
- **Environmental protection** - This is a potential and important area for long-term cooperation.
- As the most populous countries, joint efforts between China and India will be crucial to tackle environmental challenges like climate change.
- In this regard, both the countries are inextricably linked through a shared atmosphere, water resources, and the Himalayan ecology.

What are the potential areas of cooperation?

- **Manufacturing and Technology** - China and India have huge complementarities given their strengths in manufacturing and Technology services, respectively.
- China is a leading investor in AI and quantum communications, India is a world-leader in software outsourcing and IT consulting, cooperation in this area would catalyze the growth of the sector in Asia region.

What measures are needed to utilize the potential?

- Turning the trust deficit into a "cooperation dividend" would mean forging a new paradigm for Sino-Indian relations.



- The above synergies could be unlocked through deeper cooperation in trade and investment.
- To this end, China and India should redouble efforts to complete the RCEP.
- This free trade agreement would boost economic ties between China and India as well as be a game-changer for integration in Asia.
- In the Mamallapuram summit, the two leaders should focus firmly on the future if they are to lay the foundations for a lasting bilateral relationship.

5. TUKEY'S ATTACK ON KURDS

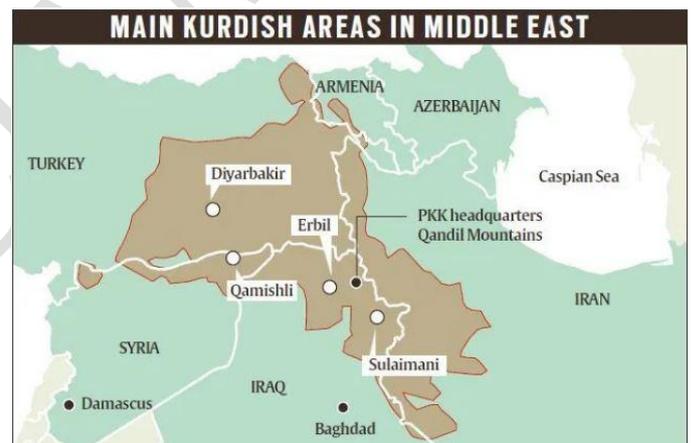
Why in news?

US forces pulled out of Syria, leaving Turkey forces to cross the border into Syria thrash Kurdish positions, and take over Kurdish-held territory.

Who are Kurds?

- The Kurds are the world's largest stateless ethnic group.
- Kurdish nationalists claim a history going back 2,500 years, but they became identifiable as a distinct community only in the 7th century, when most tribes in the area adopted Islam.
- The majority among the Kurdish people today are Sunni Muslim, but there are adherents of other faiths too, including Sufism and other mystical practices.

- They live in the highlands of southern and eastern Turkey, northern Iraq, the northeastern Syria, northwestern Iran, and parts of south Armenia, and are a minority in each of these countries.
- Small communities live in Georgia, Kazakhstan, Lebanon, and eastern Iran as well.
- There are an estimated 25 million to 35 million of them numbers that are broadly comparable to those of Assam, Jharkhand, Kerala, and Telangana, as well as of Canada and Australia.



Why is Turkey attacking the Syrian Kurds?

- At the Versailles peace conference after World War I, the Kurdish Ottoman diplomat Mehmet Sherif Pasha proposed borders of a new Kurdistan that covered parts of modern Turkey, Iraq, and Iran.
- However, the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), which partitioned the old Ottoman dominions, marked out a much smaller territory, entirely in what is now Turkey.



- Turkey negotiated with the Allied powers and, in 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne overtook Sèvres and ended the idea of a self-governing Kurdistan
 - Over the decades that followed, the Kurds made repeated attempts at establishing a de facto Kurdistan with defined national borders — and in the process attracted massive Turkish repression, including bans on the Kurdish language, names, songs, and dress.
 - Sporadic terrorist attacks continued until 2013, when the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) declared a ceasefire.
 - This collapsed when Turkey joined the war against the Islamic State in 2015 and started to bomb PKK targets in Iraq.
 - As the Islamic State swept across Syria and Iraq, the only fighters who were able to resist the onslaught were the Syrian Kurdish militias, the most powerful of which was the People's Protection Units, known by its Kurdish initials, YPG.
 - The Kurds, who lived mostly along Syria's border with Turkey, had begun an armed defence of their areas after the civil war started in 2011-12.
 - In 2014, as the US joined the war against Da'esh, it found in the YPG a helpful regional ally.
- and provided some advantage in a future deal to end the war.
- Once the Kurds, backed by the Americans, had forced Daesh out of northern Syria, they took over the re-captured land along the Syria-Turkey border, home mainly to ethnic Kurds, Arabs, and some other groups.
 - The YPG has close links with the PKK, and for Erdogan's regime (Turkey's Administrator), this seemed like a serious security threat.
 - For the US, the problem was of balancing decades-old hostilities and suspicion between its two allies, Turkey was part of NATO and an ally against Assad; the Kurds had just helped defeat the Islamic State at the cost of losing over 11,000 fighters.
 - On the nudging of the Obama administration, the Syrian Kurdish militia sought to cover its links with the Turkish guerrillas, changed its name to Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), and started to enlist larger numbers of non-Kurdish fighters.
 - By 2016, the Americans were guessing that some 40% of SDF fighters belonged to non-Kurd ethnicities.
 - The US also worked to keep the peace on the Turkish border, carrying out patrols both on its own, and jointly with the Turkish army.

How US influences Kurdish forces?

- From the US perspective, the Kurds also served as a military counterpoint against the Iranians and Russians,



6. TURKEY'S CHALLENGES IN CREATING A SAFE ZONE

Why in news?

Turkey launched Operation 'Springs of Peace', a military excursion into northeastern Syria to establish a 'safe zone'.

What are the objectives of Springs of Peace operation?

- Turkey launched Operation 'Springs of Peace' with the objective of preventing the Syrian Democratic Forces (Quwwāt Sūriyā al-Dīmuqrāṭīya or SDF) from controlling areas along the Turkish-Syrian border.
- This is part of Turkey's longstanding goal to have a military presence in Syria to neutralise the alleged "terror corridor" run by the SDF.
- Ankara has been opposed to the formation of an autonomous Kurdish region (Rojava) in north eastern Syria because of the insurgency led by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê or PKK) in southeast Turkey.
- There are two major objectives that Turkey seeks to achieve through the establishment of a safe zone in northern Syria, they are
 1. Breaking the nexus between the SDF and the PKK which Turkey feels undermines security in its southeast.
 2. Establishing a Turkish-controlled zone inside Syria to repatriate the

Syrian refugees languishing in Turkey.

Why Turkey is concerned about Kurdish population?

- Turkey has since 1984 faced Kurdish insurgency led by the PKK, which was declared a terrorist organization by the government the same year.
- Several past efforts at ending the insurgency, including the most recent one in July 2015, have failed to achieve peace due to lack of political accommodation by Turkey.
- The failure of peace talks with the PKK saw the revival of the Kurdish insurgency in the following years.
- Ankara fears that an autonomous Kurdish region in northern Syria could become a safe haven for the PKK militants and leaders to spearhead the insurgency in southeast Turkey.
- It believes that Syria's Democratic Union Party (Partiya Yekîtiya Demokrat or PYD), founded in 2003, is a sister organisation of the PKK and has been aiding and supporting the PKK to continue its activities inside Turkey.
- The PKK was listed as a Foreign Terrorist Organisation (FTO) by the US Department of State in 1997 and by the United Kingdom (UK) and the European Union (EU) in 2000 and 2002, respectively.
- Ankara insists that the PYD and its armed wing, the People's Protection Unit (Yekîneyên Parastina Gel or YPG),



and by extension the SDF which is dominated by the PYD-YPG, too should be considered as terrorist groups.

What is turkey's plan on safe zone?

- Turkey currently hosts about 3.6 million Syrian refugees and has spent nearly US\$ 4 billion on their housing and welfare.
- According to Erdoğan(President of Turkey), the safe zone will be 480 kilometres long and 30 kilometres deep inside Syria.
- Turkey is determined to actively initiate formation of a safe zone in Syria along the eastern line of the Euphrates River.
- Turkey's plan for a safe zone in Syria is not new,Erdoğan has on several occasions in the past talked about the need for a safe zone inside Syria.
- Between 2014 and 2018, Turkey had undertaken a number of limited military operations in northern Syria to execute its safe zone plan.
- Through the Turkish-controlled safe zone, Ankara also wants to eliminate the SDF.
- Turkey sees the creation of a large safe zone in northern Syria as an easy way out of the problem it faces due to the presence of a large Syrian refugee population within its borders.
- Some reports suggest that Turkey has already started the process of repatriating them to areas in northern

Syria which are currently under its control.

- According to Ankara, new townships can be developed in the proposed safe zone through international efforts which will help Turkey as well as the EU countries to repatriate Syrian refugees and migrants to their home country.

What are the challenges before Turkey?

- Ankara's plan, however, runs contrary to the interests of other important actors in the Syrian theatre. Turkey's North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) ally, the US, is not in favour of a large safe zone.
- Until recently, US depended on the SDF to defeat the Islamic State (IS).
- It was the most effective local force against the IS terrorists and now, with the US support, controls the de facto autonomous Kurdish region in northeast Syria.
- Therefore, the US is not inclined to accept the Turkish plan that might undermine the SDF and the autonomous Kurdish region, The key difference is on the expanse of the safe zone.
- The US in consultation with its Syrian Kurdish partners wants it to be as narrow as eight kilometres, turkey, on the other hand, wants a 30-kilometre-deep territory that will eventually expand up to Deir-ez-Zor, creating a large Turkish-controlled area in northern Syria.



- The issue became a major point of friction between Washington and Ankara earlier this year as the latter threatened unilateral military action against the SDF.
- Turkey has been opposing the US support to the SDF even after the defeat of IS.
- Russia and Iran, which together with Turkey spearhead the Astana peace process on Syria, too have been opposed to the Turkish proposal.
- Both countries, though sympathetic to Turkey's security concerns, believe that Turkey's safe zone plan undermines Syria's sovereignty and seeks to return a large number of Syrian refugees who fled the country.
- The Assad regime and the Syrian Kurds too are opposed to Turkey's safe zone plan.
- The regime is opposed to the Turkish military presence and does not want refugees back as they are considered traitors.

7. THE EXECUTION OF IS LEADERSHIP

Why in news?

US Administration has announced leader of the Islamic State Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi died during an overnight raid led by US military forces.

Who was Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi?

- The leader of the Islamic State was often described as the most wanted individual in the world.
- The United States designated him a terrorist some eight years ago, and declared a bounty of \$10 million (more than Rs 70 crore) on his head.
- Baghdadi, who was believed to have been born in Iraq perhaps in 1971, proclaimed himself Caliph of the Islamic State in 2013.
- He made his first known public appearance the following year, delivering a Ramadan sermon at the Great Mosque of al-Nuri in Mosul in northern Iraq, at which the Islamic State declared itself to be a worldwide Caliphate with al-Baghdadi at its head.
- The best known among the ISIS leader's few publicly available pictures are from a video of this sermon at the al-Nuri mosque.

How did Baghdadi become the world's most feared terrorist?

- In early 2014, al-Baghdadi's fighters had taken control over western Iraq, and over the next year and a half, the Islamic State ran a sweeping campaign of terror and brutality across a vast swathe of Iraq and Syria, terrifying the world with grisly videos of beheadings and shaking up governments everywhere.
- By the end of 2015, it had control over an estimated 8-12 million people over



which it imposed an unforgiving version of Sharia law, attracting jihadists from across the world, including a few from India.

- The terrorist organisation and empire that Baghdadi headed was estimated at the time to have been the size of Great Britain, with an annual budget of over a billion dollars and an army of more than 30,000 jihadists.
- The ISIS started to weaken from 2016 onward as the international coalition, backed by regional allies including, most importantly, Syrian Kurdish peshmerga fighters, gained ground in Syria and Iraq.
- As the formal structure of ISIS crumbled, thousands of its fighters went underground, even though local groups continued to carry out isolated terrorist incidents across the world in the name of ISIS and al-Baghdadi.
- Among the biggest of these attacks were carried out in Paris in November 2015, and in Sri Lanka in 2019.

What does Baghdadi's killing by the US now mean?

- It must be remembered that there have been multiple alerts about his death earlier.
- In June 2017, Russia claimed he had been killed in an airstrike near Raqqa, Syria; two weeks later, the mostly reliable Syrian Observatory of Human Rights reported "confirmed information" that al-Baghdadi was dead.

- The 2019 video proved, however, that he was neither dead nor crippled.
- Baghdadi's location in the last video was not known, He had released an audio message in 2018, but his location was not clear then, either.
- Multiple US agencies were hunting him, and some analysts believed he was hiding in the sparsely populated desert along the Iraq-Syria border, using no electronic devices that would give him away.
- The reports on Sunday said US Special Forces had tracked him down in northwestern Syria.

8. CONCERNS OF XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA

Why in news?

South Africa recently witnessed violence against foreigners living in the country.

What are the instances of attacks on foreigners?

- The violence that broke out in late August in Pretoria was not the first against foreign migrant workers and business-owners in post-apartheid South Africa.
- A decade ago, in May 2008, nearly 70 people were killed in the violent protests that took place in Gauteng, Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape provinces.
- In April 2015, about seven people were killed and thousands displaced



in the violence that affected several provinces.

- Since March 2018, a series of attacks have also taken place on foreign truck drivers mainly on the highway connecting Durban with Johannesburg.
- So far, over 200 people are believed to have been killed in these attacks.
- The targeted foreigners were mostly migrant workers from other parts of Africa mainly from Nigeria, Ghana, Zambia and Zimbabwe who came to South Africa in search of better opportunities.

What are the reasons behind migration towards South Africa?

- South Africa is regarded as the most unequal nation in the world, a quarter of its population lives in extreme poverty.
- The unemployment rate is close to 40 per cent, there is little change in the material condition of the black population even 25 years after the end of apartheid.
- This has led some to believe that the monopoly of the white elite over jobs and businesses needs to be broken.
- Black immigrants who are targets of xenophobic violence do not control the wealth of South Africa.
- South Africa is the continent's second largest economy after Nigeria; it attracts a large number of people from different parts of Africa.

- Some are engaged in the business sector but a large majority provides cheap labour like many South Africans to support their families.
- They live in poor neighborhoods where they are often targeted by the locals who view them as competitors for jobs and housing.
- It is generally agreed that the violence, which appeared anti-foreigner, has much deeper roots.

What are the consequences of the attacks?

- The violence, which appeared to be xenophobic, has challenged the very notion of pan-Africanism.
- Hundreds of migrant workers mainly from Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Mozambique had to take refuge in government shelters.
- Attacks on Nigerian workers even prompted the Nigerian Government to airlift its nationals from South Africa.
- The violence in South Africa has been condemned across Africa, the strongest protest came from Nigeria and Ghana.
- Zambia's Football Association too called off its friendly match with South Africa in protest. Botswana issued a cautionary notice to its citizens travelling to South Africa.
- There have also been reports of attacks on South African-owned businesses in Nigeria and Zambia.
- The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, has



also urged the South African authorities to act swiftly to protect the victims of xenophobic violence and bring to book the attackers.

What measures are needed to address the issues?

- As part of the damage control exercise, South African President Ramaphosa is sending special envoys to explain the government's position.
 - They are visiting several African countries including Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia, with the objective of repairing the country's image.
 - A team is also expected to visit the African Union to assure the continental body of South Africa's commitment to the ideals of Pan-Africanism and African unity.
 - The recent spate of violence in South Africa appears to be rooted in the country's failure to fully transform itself socially and economically – in the post-apartheid era.
 - The government has been unable to address the issue of rising unemployment and widening socio-economic inequality in the country.
 - Similarly, poor maintenance of law and order is leading to disillusionment among the population.
 - If the government fails to address these issues in a timely and effective manner, the violence is likely to recur from time to time.
- However, organisations like the Human Rights Watch (HRW) are of the view that simply condemning violence is not enough.
 - In their view, these incidents are often spurred by lack of effective policing to protect foreign nationals and their properties.
 - Thus to deter the attackers, it is essential for the police to thoroughly investigate incidents and take action against those responsible.
 - Over the coming century, cooperation between China and India can play a crucial role in reviving multilateralism and building a more united Asia.
 - India should be cautious in understanding this change in terms of international relations.