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# Current Affairs

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# A word about OOA's package on Current Affairs

This compilation follows a definite strategy. Primarily it satisfies the requirements of the laid down CSS syllabus on the subject, which says:

*"Candidates will be expected to display such general knowledge of History, Geography and Politics as is necessary to interpret current affairs\_\_ the syllabus covers "major, social and political issues of the world as reflected and discussed in periodicals and newspapers."*

Based upon this fundamental requirement the package serves multiple objectives for the benefit of the CSS candidates:

## Objective One

Introduction of national and international affairs

The package faithfully reflect CSS syllabus which is reproduced below:

- \*Pakistan's relations with its neighbours.
- \*Pakistan's relations with Middle East, Far Eastern and African countries
- \*Pakistan's relations with big powers
- \*International economic issues and Pakistan
- \*Pakistan's role in regional and international organizations
- \*Nuclear politics in South Asia
- \*Structure of Pakistan's economy, economic planning and development strategies
- \*Central issues and problems in the educational system
- \*Issues in Pakistan's politics
- \*Super-powers and issues of world order
- \*Major contemporary crises

## Objective Two

Simultaneous preparation of Essay paper

Prepare the given material intimately and you are prepared for the essay paper as well since at least one to two, out of 6 to 8 topics, set in the essay paper often relate to current affairs.



### Objective Three

To expose you to model essay writing

This material comes from the pens of celebrated writers who are experts in their respective fields. You learn the art and technique of producing essays of high quality.

### Objective Four

To learn the art of critical assessment

Expert analysis of the current events gives you the insight, background, implications, perspective and futuristic possibilities of the course of world events which develops your potential for objective criticism, pragmatic evaluation and creative assessment which is one of the main qualities expected of a CSS Officer.

### Objective Five

To improve your written expression and vocabulary

Read these wonderful writings to improve your expression. Make a note of unfamiliar words to build up your vocabulary. Learn the proper use of words. Use idiomatic and simple narration that makes your writings interesting and readable.

### Objective Six

Value of current affairs for other papers and Viva Voce

You may be surprised to see current affairs questions being set in quite a few other papers such as International Relations, Sociology, Geography, Economics, History etc. Thorough preparation of this subject will help you a great deal in Viva Voce as well.

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### Important Note:

In view of the tremendous importance of this subject, therefore, the most updated material on the home and world affairs has been compiled which if prepared well will certainly serve variety of your examination requirements.



## Contents

- Part-I: Pakistan's Home Affairs: *Updates*
- Part-II: Pakistan's Economic Problems
- Part-III: Education Problems
- Part-IV: Indo-Pak Relations
- Part-V: Pakistan's International Relations
- Part-VI: Current International Relations



# Our Economic Problems



# Agriculture: a bail-out for the economy

*By Darshan Maheshwari News: 3 Nov 08*

At the time of independence, agriculture's share in Pakistan's GDP was 52 per cent and today its share has declined to less than 20 per cent. Its growth rate has become less than 2.5 per cent. Agriculture, which was the backbone of the economy has slowly become a less-focused area. The crops, in which we were self-sufficient, have dwindled and are difficult to be found in the country. We have now become unable to meet even the food demands from our arable lands.

Many countries of the world like India and Australia have made the agriculture economy the center of their attention. These countries have been very successfully meeting the domestic demands and even exporting the agricultural productions. Pakistan's sustainable growth and development requires due attention and focus towards the agriculture sector. It is the solid backbone for Pakistan's economy. There are some major initiatives that are required to be taken by the present setup to systemize and grow the agricultural sector.

According to UN figures, around 60 per cent of the Pakistan's population is engaged in the agriculture sector and majority of this labor force is using the old techniques of plowing and harvesting the crops. There is a need to equip this workforce with modern agro-technologies to grow crops with greater productivity.

The government also has to take steps to make the availability of water possible. The Previous government had started the National Program for Improvement of Watercourses (NPIW) to pave the watercourses all over Pakistan. The government needs to enhance this program and extend it to the main canals of the country. This will reduce the water wastage and speed up water flow. For the benefits of farmers, there is a severe need for financial aid toward the agriculture sector. This program should focus on easy loan schemes for the farmers. The support price for the food crops should be set in advance so that farmers can cultivate more



of these crops. There is also a need of further subsidies on the DAP fertilizers to enhance productivity.

Private sector plays a vital role for the growth of any economy. In the agriculture economy, Pakistan should boost the private investment from both internal and external sources for bulk productivity. In Pakistan, local farmers cannot do mass/bulk productions of wheat, cotton and rice. This can be made possible by the foreign investments. Countries like the UAE and its investment groups are keenly interested in the agriculture sector of Pakistan. The government should provide incentives and give land to these groups on lease for the mass production of food and cash crops. This will ultimately stabilize the economy both at micro and macro-levels.

There is a lot of potential in the arable lands of Pakistan, enough to take the whole economy out of crises. There is only a need of a proper vision and concentrated efforts to give the plans and strategies a practical shape. There is no doubt that the growth and development in the agriculture sector will prove itself as a "bail out strategy" for the ailing economy of Pakistan, both in long and short term.

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# Empowerment of the poor: through small loans

*By Madiha Mujahid*

Today the world faces the major challenge of poverty alleviation. At present, 1.2 billion people around the globe still live on less than \$1 a day and nearly 850 million people go hungry every night. Therefore, poverty reduction should be at the heart of all development efforts. The General Assembly of the United Nations has recognised the highly positive impact of microfinance on poverty reduction.

The World Bank defines microfinance as "small loans that help poor people who wish to start or expand their small businesses, but are unable to get mainstream banks to lend to them." Microfinance is often considered as one of the most effective and flexible strategies in the fight against global poverty, because it empowers people by making it possible for them to earn sustainable livelihoods, through the undertaking of income-generating schemes and the promotion of self-employment. It can also be implemented at a massive scale necessary to respond to the urgent needs of those living on less than \$1 a day, the world's poorest people. Therefore, many governments in the developing world encourage the setting up of microfinance institutions (MFIs).

In Pakistan, the official poverty line in 1998-99 was defined at Rs7,800 (\$129.60) per capita. According to this definition, about 48 million Pakistanis (33 percent of the country's total population) live below the poverty line. Microfinance assists in reducing poverty by endowing the poor with opportunities for self-employment and providing them with a credit facility to start a small business. The self-employment of those people is especially stressed who have the requisite skills but no capital to set up a business.

However, microfinance is more than just a means to make small loans available to deserving people – it is also a process through which to liberate these people politically, economically, culturally and socially. Microfinance not only improves the economic condition of the poor, by helping them make their ends meet, but also has positive impacts on their social life, by enabling them to have a better standard of living with greater access to education and health facilities. It also has significant effects on capacity building, increased awareness about issues and women empowerment.



By supporting women's economic participation, microfinance grants these women valuable financial independence. It empowers women both socially and economically, thereby promoting gender-equity and improving household welfare. This is imperative because gender equality and women's empowerment are human rights that lie at the heart of development and the achievement of the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

In Pakistan, the vast majority of the population is employed in the informal sector of the economy. Consequently, these people do not have access to formal sources of financing, such as mainstream banks and financial institutions. Thus, the poverty-stricken people typically acquire loans from informal sources. According to the NHDR/PIDE Survey 2001, the four traditional sources of microfinance in Pakistan are friends, relatives, shopkeepers and landowners.

Microfinance in Pakistan is a relatively new concept as compared with other countries in South Asia. NGOs and Rural Support Programmes (RSPs) have been the major players in the sector since the early 1980s. Recognising microfinance as an important poverty alleviation tool, the federal government has also adopted a microfinance policy that mainstreams the concept of sustainable microfinance, recognises the private sector's role in poverty reduction and encourages its entry into banking with the poor.

Pakistan has one of the largest prospective markets for financial services within the microfinance sector, with a clientele base of almost 6.6 million; a number that will rise in the future due to the country's high rate of population growth. This can be used as a yardstick to gauge the importance of aiding the rural and urban underprivileged people to have unproblematic access to a range of easy and affordable financial products, such as saving schemes, micro-credit, micro-insurance, remittances, etc. However, in Pakistan, at present microfinance mostly remains a single commodity market restricted to micro-credit. These small loans usually range from Rs10,000 to Rs25,000, and are mostly taken for use in agricultural and trade activities.

Currently a variety of institutions ranging from NGOs to private- and government-sponsored RSPs are delivering microfinance services to the poor. Commercial banks – such as the First Women's Bank, Bank Islami, Bank of Khyber, etc – are also providing lines of credit for the microfinance sector. A number of new MFIs have sprung up in Pakistan in recent years. Khushhali Bank Limited was established in August 2000 as the country's first licensed MFI, with initial funding from Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the paid-up capital subscribed by 16 commercial banks.

Khushhali Bank came into conception as part of the Government of Pakistan's Poverty Reduction Strategy and its Microfinance Sector Development Programme (MSDP), which was developed with the facilitation of ADB. It functions under the guardianship of the State Bank of Pakistan (SBP) are to retail microfinance services on a widespread level and to act as a catalyst for stabilising the country's newly-formed microfinance sector.

Talking to The News on Sunday, Khushhali Bank President Ghalib Nishtar stated: "Within the overall mandate of financial inclusion, Khushhali Bank is expanding service access to low-income households across Pakistan, with special focus on excluded areas and segments of the market. Gender and microfinance are unequivocally important and our experience as well as evidence elsewhere demonstrates greater dividends for institutions that pursue this as a strategy in terms of impact and sustainability. Our endeavour is to facilitate financial service access to women micro-entrepreneurs."

This has been demonstrated by the success stories that have transpired as a result of the efforts undertaken by these MFIs. Raffia Ismail, a 27-year-old woman with three children and a husband, lives a content life in Baldia Town, Karachi. Though her life may be good today, the same could not have been said about Raffia until a few years ago, when circumstances demanded of her to come to the forefront and become the main breadwinner of the family.

Before hearing about Khushhali Bank and availing the opportunity of obtaining a loan, Raffia used to stitch clothes day and night in order to make both ends meet. Unfortunately, she was still unable to generate sufficient income to even afford the basic amenities of life. She knew that she was capable of doing much more and that she had the potential to significantly increase her earnings.

The only obstacle in Raffia's way was that she had no earnings / savings to invest in another sewing machine and materials that would have enabled her to start her own embroidery shop and centre, where she could teach the art of embroidery to other women for a small fee. This was made possible after she got the money required as the initial funding. Today her vision has translated into reality and she now runs a centre where she teaches about 25 women how to stitch and do embroidery. The progress Raffia has made is commendable; she is a perfect example of an empowered woman, who has made something of herself and who has, contrary to common belief, proved that women can do anything and everything.

Another important addition is the First Microfinance Bank, a banking and loan institution of the Aga Khan Agency for Microfinance. It is the embodiment of the concept of micro loans as a means to spur development in the Third World. These



loans are quite diminutive, but provide access to capital that was previously not possible due to economic, cultural or historical reasons.

These are just a few examples of the major MFIs operating in the country. Additionally, there is an extensive network of both public and private sector organisations, mostly NGOs, that exist principally to facilitate the disadvantaged and deprived by making it possible for them to obtain small loans to set themselves up in business; hence become self-supporting and economically-productive members of the society. The easy and widespread availability of microfinance is also one of the most beneficial and important factors in the study of small-scale industries in Pakistan; because most entrepreneurs require financing to start up a new business or keep a present business going.

It is not a smooth sailing though, because there are those too who are too poor to even avail themselves of institutional microfinance services. These are the people who lack even the most basic steady sources of income and are, thus, in no position to make the mandatory repayments. Additionally, a large proportion of the people who need such small loans reside in the rural or other far-flung and inaccessible areas. Hence, it is the non-governmental sector that primarily steps in to help these underprivileged people who are passed over by the formal MFIs. (News: 15 Mar 09).

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# Our energy crisis

The energy deficit has profound implications for domestic, commercial and industrial consumers and for economy particularly with reference to its short, medium and long-term growth

By M. Sharif      New: 22 Jan 07

The national economy is having a serious energy deficit. All domestic and imported sources of energy put together presently produce less than 1000-2000 MW energy than is required at present. This energy deficit is likely to increase to 3000 MW by next year, to 5300 MW by 2010 and to 10000 MW by 2020. In terms of MTOE (million tons of oil equivalent), the energy needs of the country will nearly increase by 50 per cent from the current level of 54 MTOE to 80 MTOE by 2010.

The energy deficit has profound implications for domestic, commercial and industrial consumers and for economy particularly with reference to its short, medium and long-term growth. One is tempted to ask: why such a huge deficit with wider implications has been allowed to occur particularly when the present government has remained deeply committed over the past more than seven years and has something to claim to its credit?

In fact, deficit and high cost of energy are already affecting the national economy quite adversely. What options the government and the private sector have to tie over the crisis that unless addressed in right earnest would have quite serious implications for the economy in future?

The gains made thus far would evaporate. In fact, sliding down of some macro-economic indicators is being observed with concern by independent analysts to a large extent and to some extent by high govt officials. The solutions being suggested are far fetched and would take quite sometime to materialise. Where to go till then or should we look for interim solutions?



## Power potential and needs

National energy needs are presently met through a mix of oil, gas, hydro, coal and nuclear resources. They respectively contribute 84 per cent (oil and gas), 10 per cent (hydro), 4.8 per cent (coal) and 1.2 per cent (nuclear).

The country has a huge potential of generating power through oil (the country produces 20 per cent of its oil needs and imports 350,000 barrels per day at an enormous oil import bill of around \$6-7 billion), hydro, coal, gas, wind, solar and nuclear resources. They are much more than the country's needs at present or in the foreseeable future and yet the country faces a power crisis after every short span of around a decade.

This clearly implies that there has been a serious lapse on the part of the previous and present governments in visualising the power needs of the economy. Consequently, the people and the industry are to face problems arising out of load shedding whenever there is a shortage.

The country has a total installed capacity of 19500 MW. Taking into consideration line losses and spinning reserves, the firm capacity is reduced to 10000 MW against a total need of around 12000 MW. To overcome the shortage, there is practically no alternative except to face load shedding by consumers of all sorts. This is what is happening at present.

The country has a total hydro-potential of 40000 MW against which it generates 6500 MW. It has the second largest coal reserve of 185 billion tones in the world that can generate more than 50000 MW but produces hardly much power at present.

Notwithstanding the fact that in the past coal could not be accorded due importance as a source of power generation, it is a big source of power generation in case modern technology were used. This of course requires huge investment that can be met by foreign private investors only. It is of interest to note that at present coal based power plants

of 1.5 million MW are in various stages of installation around the world. India, US and Britain respectively meet 77, 52 and 58 per cent of their power needs through coal-fired power plants. China is installing huge coal-fired power plants to meet its energy needs that are increasing at an exponential rate each year.

Natural gas is the third source of energy. Power generation based on gas turbines is one of the cleanest and the quickest modes. The country has limited gas reserves and its domestic consumption and other commercial uses have left little scope to use it in a big way for power generation.

The fourth source of power generation is nuclear. Pakistan has around 30 thousand metric tons of uranium 308 that can be enriched to use as fuel for power generation. A 400 MW <sup>Chashma-I</sup> nuclear power is being generated and another facility, Chashma II of 500 MW with the help of China is under construction after a lapse of 25 years.

However, Pakistan is an unrecognised nuclear weapon state and there are international embargoes on the transfer of nuclear technology. It obviously puts a limit on the full exploitation of nuclear energy for power generation on a larger scale.

Solar and wind energy along the coastal areas of Sindh and Balochistan have a lot of potential to generate thousands MWs of electric power but acquisition of technology at an enormous cost makes this a far fetched source.

Irrespective of the sources of power generation the country has and rising energy needs, the existing composition of resources that are meeting needs will remain dominant and it will be many years before Pakistan will be in a position to use wind and solar energy.

### Power management

Power management, that is, planning to generate power domestically or acquiring it from abroad, actual generation, transmission and selling it

to domestic, commercial and industrial consumers has historically been not an enviable task done by the power management entities as experience spread over past more than five decades very explicitly establishes.

KESC (now privatised) and WAPDA are the two major commercial organisations dealing with it. The former is experiencing hard realities of a depleted entity during the post-privatisation period. Its management will have to do a real miraculous job to prove that things can really change for the benefit of the consumers after the privatisation of an entity.

WAPDA is shouldering the responsibility of power management across the country after its establishment in 50s. Once an organisation of national pride, in the first week of January, WAPDA management publicly stated that the organisation faces a financial deficit of Rs84 billion this year because of line losses that amount to around 24 per cent, at a cost of Rs2.5 billion for one per cent line loss, status quo in the tariff rates since November 2003, subsidy of Rs0.65 per unit provided by the government and billions of rupees that public sector organisations, FATA and government departments owe to the organisation.

With such huge financial losses that ultimately the federal government bears, reforms in the power sector are imminent and the sector needs to be reformed on the lines of the banking sector at the earliest.

### Government's strategy

The government plans to generate 7880 MW electricity by 2010. Out of it, 4860 MW is to be generated by firing natural gas based on around 60 per cent capacity expansion. But, it is linked with gas import option from Iran and Turkmenistan.

The government's strategy also includes maximum utilisation of hydro-resources to generate cheap electricity and to cater for decreasing water availability per head in the country that according 500 in 50s to



the WB has already decreased to an alarmingly low level. It also wants to activate Thar coal project with the help of the Chinese government that has a huge potential to address energy crisis.

The government is serious about building big dams such as Kalabagh, Daimer, Basha, and Akori dams at an enormous cost of around \$20 billion to be borrowed from external resources by 2016. Like-wise, the option of generating electricity from gas depends on successfully negotiating the project between Iran, India and Pakistan. It seems to be somewhat doubtful because of the political tension that exists between the US and Iran. The Turkmenistan project faces similar threats.

Apart from regional security and political factors that are likely to impede progress on the gas pipeline projects, the cost of the two projects estimated to be around \$14 billion and the cost of big dams estimated to be around \$20 billion, might turn up to be a prohibitive factor for quick implementation.

## Conclusion

The high cost of the import bill of oil, construction of big dams, uncertain regional security environment coupled with lack of national consensus to build Kalabagh dam are likely to impede in quick resolving of the energy crisis.

Moreover, this energy deficit will lead to inflation and subsidies of billions of rupees to WAPDA to bear losses also lay heavily on the national exchequer.

The government should take all diplomatic and political measures to make regional political environment Pakistan-friendly and domestic environment government-friendly. They are the pre-requisites for resolving the energy crisis that, unless resolved promptly, would cast a long shadow on the short and medium-term objectives of economic growth and development.

**Current  
International  
Relations**

# The Indo US Nuclear Deal

Indo-US nuclear deal was based on certain assumptions on the Indian side, which were spelt out by the Prime Minister in his statements in Parliament on July 29, 2005, February 27, 2006 and March 7, 2006. The key premises were that this deal would give "full" access to civilian nuclear technology, lift all existing sanctions on dual use technology imposed on India for not signing the NPT, and not limit India's strategic nuclear program. In turn, India had agreed to separate its civilian nuclear facilities from its military ones and place the former under IAEA safeguards. The other provisions in the agreement were that India would maintain voluntarily its moratorium on testing nuclear weapons and work with the US for a Fissile Material Cut off Treaty. The element that was not explicit in the agreement but obviously very much a part of the overall understanding reached between Bush and Manmohan Singh was that if India valued this nuclear deal, it would fall in line with the US's administration's positions on various issues including contentious ones such as Iran.

The CPI(M) had made clear at that time that an attempt to bind India to the US on foreign policy would not be acceptable and had also cautioned the Government on a further shifting of the goal posts while the agreement gets converted to concrete laws and measures. An earlier phase of this shifting of goalposts occurred during the testimony of senior White House officials before Congressional committees in September and November 2005. Whereas the Prime Minister had stressed the separation process would be a purely Indian decision, both Nicholas Burns and Robert Joseph repeatedly stressed that the separation plan had to be "credible", "transparent" etc., implying that the U.S. would have to sign off on it. Secondly, they said India could not expect to sign the same kind of safeguards agreement that the U.S. and other "official" nuclear weapons states had done with the IAEA. Unlike the N-5, India would have to accept safeguards in perpetuity. This flew in the face of the Manmohan Singh government's assurance that what India was accepting through the deal was exactly the same rights and obligations as the N-5, "nothing more, nothing less".



In the final run-up to the proposed enactment of an amendment to U.S. law authorising nuclear sales to India, further attempts are being made to shift the goalposts. The two versions of the Bill as drafted by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House of Representatives Committee on International Relations that are to be reconciled with each other prior to being passed, contain provisions which are not only a clear departure from the understanding contained in the Manmohan Singh-Dush agreement of July 18, 2005 and the Separation Plan tabled in Parliament, but also seek to permanently lock India's foreign policy to US requirements and subject its scientific research and development capabilities to intrusive inspections by the IAEA and even American inspectors.

It is clear that India's vote on the Iran issue in IAEA has been conditioned by the terms of the deal. Senator Lugar in his opening remarks in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approvingly noted "We have already seen strategic benefits from our improving relationship with India. India's votes at the IAEA on the Iran issue last September and this past February demonstrate that New Delhi is able and willing to adjust its traditional foreign policies and play a constructive role on international issues." It is also clear from the provisions of the two Bills that it is not a one-time concession that India is being asked to make in order to get US Laws modified after which it would be free to act, as it would please. While a number of provisions are in the nature of non-binding "sense of the house" clauses, the annual certification and congressional oversight contained in the Draft Bills mean that India risks losing its continued cooperation with the US on civilian nuclear matters if it "displeases" the US administration or the US Congress. If India imports reactors from US and reaches agreement on supply of fuel for its reactors, it would be vulnerable to any cessation of civilian cooperation. The deal therefore will act to compromise India's independent foreign policy. And since the proposed laws state very clearly that if the U.S. suspends supplies to India for any reason it must then push for the Nuclear Suppliers group (NSG) to also similarly restrict trade with India, it is not as if India would have the freedom easily to turn to other vendors in the event of an American-triggered disruption of supplies.

# Why the US needs to subdue Iran?

By M. Abul Fazl

IRAN may already have been chosen to pay for the principal contradiction at the heart of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1969. The treaty has two aspects. Its non-nuclear signatories had agreed not to acquire nuclear weapons, thus recognising the monopoly of the then existing nuclear powers over them. The latter undertook, in turn, to move towards nuclear disarmament until all their nuclear weapons were eliminated.

But, somewhere on the way, the nature of the treaty changed. It now began to be treated as a contract to perpetuate the exclusive right of the five nuclear-weapon states of 1969 to possess nuclear weapons, and the perpetual exclusion of the rest of the world from having them -- something akin to the medieval custom whereby only the nobility had the right to possess arms.

Pakistan, which had not signed the treaty, tried to mitigate the situation by proposing that the nuclear powers undertake not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon states.

Only China agreed to give such an undertaking. Others confused the issue until the proposal was lost in the chancelleries of the states concerned. During this period, the United States threatened to use atomic weapons against North Vietnam and desisted only when China publicly offered to give an atomic bomb to Hanoi to enable it defend itself.

Israel, a non-signatory of the non-proliferation treaty, has, on a number of occasions, hinted that it could use nuclear weapons against Iran and, in order to make the threat credible, its prime minister

acknowledged recently in public that it possessed such weapons. There was no hint of disapproval of Israel's conduct from any nuclear power.

Iran may or may not be actually seeking the capability to make nuclear weapons. But the US sees it as a country standing in the way of the American project to establish a neo-colonial order in the Arab East because:

- (1) The very fact that a middle-sized Asian country, not subject to US pressure or control, and, on the contrary, defiant of America, sets a "bad example" for others.
- (2) The US feels that it can hand over Iraq to its Shia majority only after breaking the back of Iran so that there was no encouragement to the Iraqis to attempt a similar defiance or to try to regain control over their natural resources.
- (3) Only after Iran is crushed would it be possible to cartelise all the oil of the Persian Gulf under the US aegis.

So Iran has to be attacked and subdued, although the charge against it would not be the obstruction in the implementation of the American design in the Arab East but that of attempting to build nuclear weapons.

The real problem is, of course, deeper. The capacity and speed of the advanced industrialised countries in using raw materials and fuel is now outpacing their availability in the Third World. This causes friction among the advanced countries but it is of a secondary nature. America's attempt to control the Persian Gulf-Caspian Sea oil, needed by Europe and Japan more than it does, causes differences among them but not conflicts.

But the contradiction between the advanced countries and the Third World is of a primary nature, since the prosperity of the former is built upon a relationship of unequal exchange with the latter. Under it.



the Third World yields goods containing more socially necessary labour hours compared to western goods which embody fewer such hours. These backward countries would agree to accept such a relationship with the First World only under compulsion. The advanced countries therefore have to "disarm" them in terms of effective military technology in order to perpetuate the unequal relationship.

Historically, there have been far heavier casualties in the intra-European wars than in the colonial ones right up to the Second World War. It was only due to the employment of the technique of "people's war" by the national liberation movements after 1945 that the colonial wars became costlier for the West in terms of lives. Moreover, the workers of the advanced countries are apparently not prepared now to die for their countries' imperial interests, as they fail to grasp the causal links between their higher standards of living and the need to suppress the Third World in order to maintain the unequal exchange with it.

The West seeks to overcome this handicap by skirting the "people's war" and bringing its technological advantage to bear directly on the battlefield. This essentially means replacing the contact between the soldiers of the two sides with a contact primarily between their weapons, which, in turn, requires denying modern weapons to the Third World.

At the same time, the industrialised countries create "rapid deployment forces", which may intervene in the Third World countries to crush any attempt to challenge the interests of the former. Nato has such a force, as do the EU and the US. While intervening in the Third World, they rely primarily on air action to minimise their casualties. It is a sort of air-borne coup d'etat mounted by foreign troops with the objective of either overthrowing a nationalist regime or saving a comprador one before local popular forces can be mobilised for political action.

The problem with disarming the Third World is that the most potent weapons against the western attack -- the anti-aircraft rocket and the atomic bomb -- are pretty old technology now. They can be acquired by any backward country if it devotes sufficient attention and energy to it. The West has placed impediments to the transfer of such technology and material to the Third World. But no knowledge can really be guarded beyond a certain period. Hittites did their best not to let the technology of refining iron ore spread. But it did.

Therefore, force is now the only means to prevent the acquisition of nuclear technology by the backward countries. Iran probably does not want to make nuclear weapons. But it is already possible for it to acquire the capability to do so. This is not acceptable to the nuclear powers. Russia offered to enrich uranium for it in order to keep the technology out of its hands. The US stated that Australia could enrich it for Iran. It was then suggested that nuclear technology should be out of the reach of the Third World and that Australia could have the monopoly of enriching the uranium for all of the Third World.

So Australia's possession of the nuclear technology does not pose a threat to the US or to anyone else. Iran's possession would. The reason is that goods are exchanged between the developed countries at their value. So there is no exploitation and their contradictions are, consequently, of a tertiary nature, while the trade between a backward and an advanced country, characterised by unequal exchange and exploitation, renders their contradiction primary and antagonistic.

So Iran is to be "cut down to size" for being one of the few genuinely independent Third World countries and also because it exposes the inanity, the absurdity of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, as interpreted and enforced by the nuclear powers at present.

Zbigniew Brzezinski only recently told the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the US policy towards Iran was inevitably leading to an attack on that country and, as he said, a serious charge

for justifying such an action the Bush government might "manufacture" a pretext such as an "Iranian provocation."

Meanwhile, President Bush undertakes, as his father had done before his own attack on Iraq, a diplomatic initiative for "resolving the problems" of Hamas, Hezbollah and Iraq within a purely Arab context, keeping Iran out.

A second part of this "pan-Arab" arrangement is an informal alignment of Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia with the US in its confrontation, maybe even war, with Iran. Some of the rulers of the Arab East, living in the shadow of the Israeli atomic bombs, declare that an Iranian nuclear bomb is unacceptable. They raise the spectre of Shiaism, not so much against Iran but to discredit Hezbollah whose adoption of the technique of "people's war" challenges the thesis of the Arab rulers that since Israel was backed by America and since it was not possible to fight America, it was not possible to fight Israel.

Anyway, Bush junior's diplomatic initiative will not solve West Asia's problems any more than it did for Bush senior. After Iran has been smashed, these Arab rulers will still be supplicating America "to do something about our problems." As Moloch, the blood-drinking Phoenician deity, would have said, "there are all sorts of interesting possibilities."

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# Palestine issue in perspective

TAYYAB SIDDIQUI

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Today on 5th June Israel completes 40 years of its brutal occupation of Palestinian lands that it captured during 6-day war in 1967. Egypt lost Sinai, Syria its strategic Golan Heights and Jordan the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

During last 40 years, the UN and the international community has been involved to varying degrees, at different times in efforts to seek vacation of the Israeli occupation and restitution of Palestinian rights, but Israel has successfully defied all their peace initiatives and continued its repressive occupation. No other conflict carries such a powerful symbolic and emotional charge among Arabs and Muslims in general. No other issue has brought such devastation and claimed so many human lives, and endangered regional peace and stability as the Palestinian issue and yet peace eludes the Middle East. The Israeli repression and prosecution of Palestinians in the occupied territories is a microcosm of the international politics and interstate relations, based on double standards and precedence of national interests over fundamental values of justice and peace.

The present day conflict owes its origin to British machinations in the Middle East, when in terms of Balfour Declaration of 1917, it maneuvered to establish Israel in the Palestine before its mandate expired. The UN General Assembly decided in 1947 on the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states, with Jerusalem to be an international city. The plan was rejected by Arabs. British withdrew in 1948 and Jews declared the state of Israel on May 15, 1948. Fighting erupted between Arabs and Jews and after 8 months of war, an armistice line was agreed, establishing the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as distinct units. Until 1967, these territories were ruled by Jordan.

The June 67 war, brought an unprecedented devastation and humiliation on Arabs losing territories to Israel. Efforts to resolve the conflict and bring peace to the region began with passage of UNSC resolution 242. It underlined the "inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by war", and asked Israel to withdraw "armed forces from territories occupied in recent conflict". The principle of land for peace formed the basis of Arab-Israeli negotiations that Israel should withdraw to pre-67 borders, in return for recognition of Israeli border and its right to security.

During last 40 years a number of peace proposals and plans have been subject to negotiations, but all have failed as Israel, with tacit and open support of the US and Europe has refused to withdraw, even while agreeing to peace agreements such as Camp David (1978) and Oslo Accords (1993). The essence of all these peace plans has been a settlement negotiated between the parties that will result in the emergence of an independent democratic and viable Palestinian state living side by side in peace and security with Israel and its other neighbours. The peace initiatives envisage the resolution of the conflict and end the occupation that began in 1967 based on the foundations of the principle of land for peace, UNSC resolutions and agreements previously reached by the parties. The principles of peace also required "an agreed just, fair and realistic solution to the refugee issue and a negotiated resolution on the

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status of Jerusalem that takes into account the political and religious concerns of both sides and protects the religion of Jews, Muslim and Christians.

Negotiations have since continued at regional and international level, under the aegis of UN and the US at different intervals. However Israel has contrived to pay lip service to the negotiated settlement, but meanwhile continued to change the demographic character of occupied territories through settlements for émigré Jews, expropriation of Palestinian lands, deportation, forcible encroachments and dispossession, in total violation of international laws and Geneva conventions. Israel has, over the years, fully exploited Arab weakness and vulnerabilities and the sympathy and support of Europeans and the US to re-enforce and expand the 'Land of Israel', as promised in Bible.

On the other hand, Palestinians and their representative organisations PLO has been subjected to a relentless pressure both from its Arab friends and others, resulting in serious attrition in their negotiating position and yet yielding nothing. The Oslo Accords signed between Israel and PLO with the mediation of President Jimmy Carter in September 93, brought neither the withdrawal of Israel from occupied territories nor it advanced the goal of a Palestinian state. Israel's strategy has been to prolong negotiations or torpedo them on some excuse to delay any meaningful outcome. These tactics have understandably led to serious frustration among Palestinian youth leading them to violent resistance against Israeli occupation, as manifested in Intifada in 1997 and Sept 2000. These uprising resulted in the death of more than 4000 Palestinian and 1100 Israelis, raising the cost of Israeli occupation prohibitive. However Israel exploited these uprisings to scuttle the implementation of Oslo Accords and also unleashed a terrible wave of state terrorism, to wreak vengeance on hapless Palestinians and nip the dream of a Palestinian state. The brazen policy of massive use of brute force, targeted killings, large scale imprisonment, expropriation of private lands and deportations have resulted in the emasculation of Palestinians, but have failed to break their will to have their own homeland and see the Israelis vacate their territory.

The most unfortunate aspect of the long history of pain and sufferings that Palestinians have endured during last 40 years is that under pressure from the US and Europe, most Arab states have failed to extend any support to Palestinians and remained silent spectators to the on going repression, which in its intensity and severity has no parallel and amounted to genocide and crime against humanity.

In August 2005, Israel announced its withdrawal from Gaza, which it was to vacate by April 1999, in terms of Oslo Accords, and projected as an evidence of Israel's desire to live in peace with Palestinians and honour its obligations under different agreements. However, as the last 2 years have proved, it was a ruse and a camouflage to hoodwink international public opinion. Israel has re-entered Gaza and made military incursions. IDF have gone on a killing spree claiming 39 Palestinian lives. Return to Gaza has been justified on the grounds that Hamas, the party that won the general elections in January 2006 is a terrorist organisation and cannot be a negotiating partner, for any durable peace until it recognises the state of Israel, without a corresponding commitment by Israel. Hamas has rejected Israeli demands which have the support of the US and EU. Hamas leaders Khalid Mashal, and Prime Minister Ismail Hania have appealed to the Muslim countries for their financial support, as all aid has been cut off to the Hamas

administration. The Muslim states have miserably failed to rise to the occasion. Pakistan pledged a measly sum of 3 million dollars.

A recent World Bank report on the living conditions in Gaza paints a bleak picture of the Palestinian economy. It states that 47 percent of the population now lives below the poverty line and a quarter of the workforce remains unemployed. More than 60,000 residents – 16 percent of the population – can not even afford the basic necessities for subsistence. The Israeli closures and checkpoints have resulted in massive reduction of the number of Palestinians working in Israel from 120,000 in September 2000 beginning of the Intifada II to less than 1,000 now. Currently, the GDP is 23 percent down on 1999 figures. The draconian restrictions on movements and closures have already led to a massive fall in the living standard in Gaza, where per capita income of a Palestinian averages \$ 700 as against \$ 16,000 of an Israeli citizen.

The moment of truth is here for Muslim countries. How long will they maintain their shameful silence in the face of Israeli genocide? Palestinians must be encouraged to revive their political movement, given adequate financial support and urged to close their ranks to resist perpetuation of Israeli occupation. The Muslim countries in particular the Arabs should also build up international pressure and seek condemnation of Israeli policies, and get involved in the peace process. Middle East today is a powder keg. If it explodes, it will also claim their crowns and kingdoms.

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# Obama and the Muslim world

Compiled by:

Prof. Col ( r ) M. Zahur-ul-Haq

President Barack Obama's Cairo landmark address on 4 Jun 09, to the Muslims around the world was unique in a number of ways. It departed considerably from the world vision of his predecessor George W. Bush. Secondly, unlike the Bush administration, Obama extended a hand of friendship towards the Muslim masses as well as their leaders. Thirdly, he recognized the importance and respect that the Muslims and their religion deserve. Fourthly, Obama, to the frown of the Israeli lobby and warmonger Senators and Representatives in Washington, took pains to address the plight of the Palestinians by saying that the devastated Palestinian families, the continuing humanitarian crisis in Gaza the continuing lack of opportunity in the West Bank does not serve Israel's security. Progress in the daily lives of the Palestinian people must be part of a road to peace, and Israel must take concrete steps to enable such progress. The situation for the Palestinian people is intolerable. America will not turn our backs on the legitimate Palestinian aspiration for dignity, opportunity, and a state of their own".

## Main points of the speech

Following are the main points of Obama's speech:

1. The agonizing cries of Palestinians reverberate wherever a right-minded person lives and wherever a Muslim heart beats. No less painful are the acts of Palestinian militants against the people of Israel.
2. "Violent extremism" by which he meant the raging fires of insurgency in Afghanistan and parts of Pakistan, has caused dark shadows around the world.

3. Obama's wish for a nuclear-free world looked like a utopian dream. Nevertheless, his ideal is worth working for to banish the spectre of doom that keeps hovering around.
4. Lauding the virtues of democracy while in Egypt, which is ruled by an implacable dictator, reflected his courage as well as commitment to the cause.
5. His views on religious freedom and women's rights would have irked the fanatical elements. Those Western countries, which see a lurking danger in every little girl wearing a dupatta or scarf and disregard the compulsions of culture and tradition to which she belongs must have been put off by his open denunciation of the violation of the principle of freedom of choice in dress provided it does not offend the accepted norms of decency.
6. On women' rights he said that a woman who is denied education is denied equality. Countries where women are well educated are far more prosperous. Our daughters can contribute to the society as much as our so sons. It is a matter of human rights of the womenfolk.
7. On the question of 'economic development and opportunity', he talked of exchange programs, increase in the number of scholarships to Muslims and transfer of technology to Muslim majority countries.

### Birth of the problem

It all started on 14th May 1948 when the UN implemented the 1947 Partition Plan and established the state of Israel. With backing of the West, Israel continued usurping the Palestinian land, and balked at UN resolutions that gave the Palestinians the right to have an independent state: In July 2004 ie after 37 years of 1967 war, International Court of Justice in its judgment had declared the occupation of Palestinian lands by Israel as illegal. The question remains whether any country has the right to invade and occupy the other country?

During last 40 years, a number of initiatives for peace have been taken, in the context of Security Council Resolution 242 but none has succeeded. Palestinian problem continues to defy any solution, primarily

due to intransigence of Israel, blindly supported and encouraged by US. The Palestinian tragedy has been further compounded with the treachery of Arabs, duplicity and silence of International Community. President Obama is expected to act fast so that he does not hand over the baton to the next president after four years who would again hold out fresh promises to resolve the issue. Anyhow, Muslims throughout the world hope that he would take urgent measures to ensure justice to the Muslim countries that have suffered death and destruction for the last 60 years. Palestinians and Kashmiris have been waiting for six decades to see that United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions are implemented but despite promises made by successive US administrations, the issues and disputes remain unresolved. Palestinians and Kashmiris do not want promises but implementation of the UNSC resolution.

### The Holocaust

For Israel, Mr Obama talked about the holocaust in which millions of Jews were killed by the Nazi Germany. He felt perturbed that many in the Middle East and elsewhere deny the Holocaust. To be certain, Palestinians have also suffered terribly because of the Holocaust. Although Palestinians in no way had contributed to the Holocaust, their country has been gifted to Jews. The Holocaust was not the first attempt by Europeans to eliminate the Jews. The Jews have been the victim of pogroms, either spontaneous or premeditated, since ancient time. Nearly every European country, at one time or the other, has killed Jews, destroyed their homes, businesses and synagogues, thus forcing them to exile. In the US they found a safe haven and religious freedom backed by the US constitution. Consequently, the number of Jews living in Israel and the US is nearly the same, 5.6 million in Israel and 5.3 million in the US. It might have been better for world peace and religious harmony if the US had donated one of its 52 states to the Jews instead of making the Palestinians strangers in their own land.

### Islam's contribution to civilization

Obama made an honest confession by admitting civilization's debt to Islam. It was Islam at places like Al-Azhar University that carried the light of learning through so many centuries paving the way for Europe's



Renaissance and enlightenment. The innovations in Muslim communities developed the order of Algebra, our magnetic compass and tools of navigation, our mastery of pen and printing, our understanding of how disease spreads and how it is controlled. Islamic culture has given us majestic arches and soaring spires, timeless and cherished music, elegant calligraphy and places of peaceful contemplation. And throughout history Islam has demonstrated, through words the possibilities of religious tolerance and racial equality.

The question is what is the rationale of Obama's sympathy for Palestinians? Does he have any kind of relationship with the Muslim world? There are people who point to the initial 'H' of his middle name Hussein and conclude that either the US president has a sneaking sympathy for the Muslims or is more against them than other presidents so as to satisfy white Christian America that he is one of them.

The sceptics are of the opinion that the US needs a symbol to showcase its decency with a view to restoring America's image. They argue that the US economy is in deep recession therefore the US cannot afford to continue war in Iraq and for that matter even in Afghanistan. Anyhow, if President Obama is sincere he should not be influenced by the neocons, corporate capital and Israeli and Indian lobbies, and should work according to his conscience, because to be a respectable world leader it is not enough to be a president of a super power; President Obama should therefore display his political acumen and determination because he has the potential to change the course of history.

### Obama's credentials

Let us delve into the interesting roots of 'Hussein', part of Barack Obama's name, to understand this. My source of information is Barack Obama's biography entitled *Dreams from My Father* (1995). Like Alex Haley's *Roots* (1976) this book is also a quest for identity, for origins, roots. Both writers have been through the traumatic experience of being black men in America which means having been subjected to prejudice, stereotyping and deprivation. But Obama was not the progeny of slaves brought to the United States in an age of unabashed colonialist

exploitation. His father was born in Kenya on the shores of Lake Victoria in a place called Alego.

Obama's father was called Hussein Onyango Obama and he was a farmer of the Luo tribe. Hussein was a Muslim though by no means a strict one. He does not seem to have cared that some of his sons dropped the Muslim faith while others retained it at least as far as their names were concerned. (When Barack Obama travelled to Kenya he met two uncles with Muslim names: Yusuf and Sayid.) Anyway, this young student from Kenya met a white American girl called Ann from Wichita, Kansas — from a modest but ordinary Protestant family — and married her.

Later he got a doctorate from Harvard and went back to Kenya where he became a powerful civil servant until he fell out of favour and died. The mother remarried an Indonesian and Obama spent his childhood in Indonesia where he attended Quran classes as well as those for Christians. And then, when the mother and son returned from Indonesia when the marriage did not work out, we are told in true dramatic fashion that it was Obama's mother who had decided to divorce her Kenyan husband because she would not go back with him. But the point of the quest is about race and family not religion. Obama works for the Catholic Church in Chicago as well as other Christian and secular groups but never for religious reasons. Always his focus is to serve the black man in a white man's world.

### Objective assessment of the speech

The above discourse enlightens us that Obama, by and large appeared to be well meaning and sincere in striking a balance between the respected causes of Palestinians and the Jews. One thing seems to be quite likely that Israel will not be able to get away easily with its naked aggression as it did again and again in South Lebanon and in Gaza. It will not get the unflinching support of the Obama administration as it got from the Bush administration.

It was, however, ironical that President Obama chose Cairo to give a lesson on the virtues of democracy. President Hosni Mubarak was not amused because he would soon be completing 30 years of his

uninterrupted dictatorship. The speech was silent on Kashmir. An opportunity to win hearts and minds in Pakistan - the world's second largest Muslim nation - was missed by this omission. Calling for a peaceful settlement of a dispute that has locked South Asia in a cycle of conflict and mistrust and fed into the longstanding Muslim perception that US policy is not in favour of equitable solutions to Muslim issues, would have cost him little. Mention of the issue would have been consistent with Obama's own assertions before his election that a Kashmir solution was essential for regional peace. And it would have raised his moral stature among Pakistanis and Kashmiris at a time of renewed turmoil in the Valley. The centrepiece of his speech was the Palestinian-Israeli dispute, the issue that galvanizes Muslims everywhere and that has long come to symbolize their sense of historical grievance and injustice. Decades of uneven-handed policies that placed the security of Israel above any concern for justice for the Palestinian people and international law, alienated Muslims from the west. It is here that President Obama departed decisively from the past in signalling his determination to promote a settlement in as even-handed a manner as can be expected from an American President.

### Follow up actions to settle worth of the speech

Whether Obama's speech will turn a new page in a turbulent relationship will depend on what concrete policy actions will follow. It will also depend on how Muslim leaders take up the political and intellectual challenge and engage the US to chart a new and hopeful course.

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# Roots of conflict in the Middle East

By Haider Ghaznavi

Religion, nationalism and liberalism have all played key roles in determining the course of events in the Middle East over the past century. It is easy to dismiss the surge in religious extremism and anti-establishment guerilla warfare prevalent in the region today as the handiwork of a small misguided, fanatic group. The truth, however, is that the growth of such ideologies - and of those who subscribe to them - has been a steady and systematic one, having risen from the ashes of nations laid to waste by corrupt and authoritarian regimes coupled with neo-colonial plunder and hegemonic western foreign policies. Small wonder, in an atmosphere of disillusionment and hopelessness, people find solace in ideas that come across as radical and revolutionary.

In trying to deal effectively with this threat, it is important to deconstruct the stages that helped transform radical ideas into mass movements. To believe that the followers of these movements are tiny minorities is wishful thinking. Rather, they have mass support in the Arab world along with sympathy of an even larger number in the Muslim world. The ideas that have now given birth to full blown militant movements actually have their roots in the colonial Middle East and the period immediately after that.

After gaining independence from colonial powers, governments of most newly-independent Middle Eastern countries sought to unite their people under the banner of Arab nationalism which generally took the form of socialist-style autocratic governments. At the same time, these governments were suppressing left-wing intellectuals who sought to introduce in these countries western secular liberal democracy and/or, sometimes, communism. A third ideology emerging from the ruins of colonialism was that of Islamism which, like communism, was seen a threat to Arab nationalism. Arab nationalist

leaders resorted to various political tactics to eliminate both the liberal as well as Islamism.

However, with the decline of Arab nationalism in the wake of a changing social and political landscape, various Islamist political movements were catapulted to the fore. These movements radically altered the dynamics of Middle Eastern politics and society and brought about significant changes, which had political ramifications in almost all parts of the world. The nationalists were educated and trained in either European-style schools within the Arab world and brought nationalistic ideas into the social sphere of everyday life.

Slowly, however, with their complete intolerance of dissent and enforced tight controls over the press, they evolved into authoritarian regimes. Moreover, they also had to deal with other ideologies, such as communism and Islamism which had occupied the space vacated by colonial rulers after granting independence. Initially, these ideologies had little appeal among the masses and didn't pose much of a threat to the regimes, but gradually matured into powerful forces. The Arab nationalist rulers of this period were replacing religion by the nation state, using it as a rallying cry to unite their people.

Communism and Marxism were popular as an anti-colonial ideology at the time and many Marxist intellectuals saw the Soviet Union as a living example of anti-colonial ideology. Since Islamism was neither radical nor militant in the immediate post-colonial period, many Arab nationalist rulers chose Islamism as a counterweight over the Marxist leaning left and pitted them against each other in order to prevent them from uniting against the nationalist ideology. The liberal left never mobilized or evolved into a mass movement and many of them often used Islam as a rallying point. Marxism was often dressed into Islamic principles.

Slowly, the left began to use the Quran as the main motto and they realized that it would appeal to the masses more effectively than the Marxist principles which these intellectuals preached. In the aftermath of post-colonialism, Islamists saw an opportunity to reshape society. They felt that society had been corrupted by the imp

Muslim colonialists and sought to extricate the non-Islamic principles which were now prevalent and preached by the Arab nationalists.

These Islamic movements were born out of the teachings of Islamic thinkers, the most prominent of whom in the past century were Sayyid Qutb of Egypt, Maulana Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi of Pakistan and Khomeini of Iran.

The teachings of these three thinkers had a profound impact on the political landscape of the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent and this in turn had after effects in other parts of the world as well. They saw in Islam, not only a way of life but a political solution to their wretched circumstances. In order to materialize this vision, they all felt it was absolutely necessary to establish an Islamic state which would herald a rebirth of Muslim power and glory. They condemned secular Arab nationalism, their immediate enemy then. While Qutb and Maududi exercised influence over Sunni Muslims, Khomeini operated in the Shia Islamic framework. These three ideologists sought to overpower the then-dominant nationalists.

They chose very different methods to bring about change in society. Qutb called for a complete overhaul of society by declaring that the state of society at that time was no different than the period of jahiliyya or ignorance which prevailed in pre-Islamic Arabia. Maulana Maududi, on the other hand, called for slow, step by step, reforms. He even formed a political party, the Jamaat-e-Islami, which ran for national elections in Pakistan.

He, thus, wanted to work within the given political framework in Pakistan as opposed to radically altering it. Khomeini initially preached slow reforms in Iranian society when he first started writing in Qom. Later, when his audience became bigger, the authorities exiled him to Najaf in Iraq. While in exile, Khomeini continued to write and his writings became more radical, calling for a complete revolution and the overthrow of the regime of Muhammad Reza Pahlavi, the Shah of Iran.

While these ideologists were fighting nationalism, they also had to confront the Marxist left which was battling for a space in the public sphere. Sayyid Qutb was a leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, the first Islamist movement



of the 20th century and a model for later Islamist movements. Like such movements which would develop later on, this organization preached Islamization of society. These beliefs clashed with those of left Arab intellectuals who were also struggling for reforms, albeit of a different kind, in society.

During the Shah's reign in Iran, there were many left-leaning intellectuals who were educated along modern lines and were westernized in their practice. The most influential of these was Ali Shariati (1933-1978) who had studied in Paris. He took ideas from leftist intellectuals and revolutionaries such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Che Guevara, and Frantz Fanon and further developed them so that they would be directly applicable to the society of that period. Shariati harshly criticized the Shia practices of flagellation and quietism as a form of mourning for the injustice meted out to the family of Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law.

He attacked the Shia clergy for not implementing Shia doctrine which he claimed was necessary to protect the people from state oppression. His preaching called for the taking up of arms against the Shah and his teaching appealed to students and the masses and influenced other Marxist Iranian movements such as the People's Mujahedeen. Khomeini noticed the mass appeal of Shariati's writing and took advantage of it by weaving it into Islamic ideology in order to boost his appeal among the people. While in exile in Najaf, Khomeini had written a book, *Government of the Jurist*, which had propelled a Shia intellectual revolution which was different from anything that had taken place among Sunni Muslims.

While Maududi and Qutb faced hurdles such as attacks by clerics, neither of them were trained clerics and had criticized the clergy in their works. Khomeini faced no such obstacles in Iran, he being an established and known Shia cleric. Since most Muslim countries had gained independence by the 1960s, the regimes that had taken over the government had to choose between the two power blocs prevalent at that time, i.e. the West and Communism.

While countries such as Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Algeria, South Africa, and Indonesia were allied with the Soviets, others such as Saudi Arabia and non-Arab Muslim countries such as Turkey and Pakistan were strong

with the West. The nationalist Arab countries strongly repressed religious movements and the clergy and preached that socialism was only a modified form of Islam. Thus, children in Egypt, Iraq and Syria were taught in school that Islam and socialism were interchangeable. In the 1960s and 1970s, Saudi Arabia was profiting substantially from its oil revenues and needed to import labour to work in its fast expanding economy. This labour came from all parts of the world, especially the non-oil producing Arab countries as well as Pakistan, India and Bangladesh.

These immigrants, who were mostly Muslim, were taught the Salafi doctrine of Islam, prevalent in Saudi Arabia, so that they could preach these in their home countries on return. In 1961, Gamal Abdel Nasser brought about important reforms in Al Azhar; the thousand year old institution of Islamic learning was nationalized and placed under strict state control. Al Azhar was a very old and renowned institution of Islamic learning and people from all over the world came to study and learn about Islam as well as receive clerical training. This development was a great cause of concern to the Saudis who saw, in it, a potential threat to their monarchical rule as religion had hitherto been solely their territory.

Now the Egyptian government could use it to propound their version of Arab nationalism, which was at loggerheads with traditional Islamic beliefs preached by the Saudis. The Saudis responded by founding their own Muslim World League, the following year. The Saudi government heavily invested its oil revenues in the League and propagated their ideology by means which included, but weren't limited to, the training of economic migrants who had come from different parts of the Muslim world, building over 1500 hundred Salafi mosques abroad and printing millions of books and audio tapes which preached Islam in its traditional form.

Furthermore, they along with the CIA and Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) financed and armed thousands of Mujahideen fighters in Afghanistan who fought against the Soviet invaders in the 1980s. The major crisis to hit the Arab nationalist governments of the Middle East, one which would weaken their position and legitimacy forever, was their defeat at the hands of Israelis in the six day Arab-Israeli war in 1967. This defeat not only humiliated them in front of their people, it also gave their opponents Arab countries, which were allied with the West, much to exploit. In the

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words of renowned historian and Middle East expert Gilles Kepel  
nationalism sought to bring together heterogeneous social  
dissolving them into a sublimated Arab unity.

But over time, the nationalists split into two fiercely opposed  
progressives, led by Nasser's Egypt, Baathist Syria, and Iraq.  
conservatives, led by the monarchies of Jordan and the Arabian

In this Arab cold war, the antagonists agreed about only one  
confrontation with Israel - and even this consensus was dealt a  
crippling blow by the Arabs' defeat in the Six-day War of June 1967.  
This was a terribly humiliating defeat for the governments of the  
Arab countries. Nothing so far had dealt a more serious blow to them.  
Their credibility was seriously compromised by this defeat and  
the ulema further fanned the flames of revolt against them by stating  
that the defeat was a punishment from God because of the impious nature  
of the government's policies and methodology which they employed in their  
country.

Furthermore, "the defeat seriously undermined the ideological  
nationalism and created a vacuum to be filled a few years later  
by Islamist philosophy, which until then had been confined to small  
groups like the Muslim Brothers, prisoners, and convicts sentenced to hard labour

One of the major events which would have consequences for the Middle East  
and the world in general was the defeat of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan  
at the hands of CIA, ISI and Saudi funded mujahideen fighters.  
These fighters were trained and financed to fight a proxy war of Saudi  
Arabia, Pakistan and America against the Soviet Union. When the Soviet  
Union immediately fell after their defeat in Afghanistan, these mujahideen  
believed that they had indeed brought this superpower to its knees.  
They were confident and powerful enough that they could defeat any other  
superpower which seemed aggressive or hostile to Muslims. This had  
been the case for the left and many of them would abandon their Marxist ideology  
after the Soviet defeat. The Afghan war was a turning point in history.  
After this, these mujahideen fighters would go and fight wars in other parts of  
the world, ironically against the very governments of Saudi Arabia and the  
United States themselves.



Religion, nationalism and liberalism have all played key roles in shaping the Middle Eastern political and social landscape in the past century. While all of them had a profound impact in the way society and politics functioned in this part of the world, certain religious forces were propelled to the fore due to the humiliating failure of nationalist governments to live up to their promises and failing to provide for their people. Moreover, as religious forces gained support from the masses as an alternative to Arab nationalism, liberalism lost its appeal as well. While many left-leaning intellectuals penned down their Marxist beliefs with an Islamic touch, others joined the religious camps, many of which, have evolved into militant and terrorist organizations fighting and operating in almost all parts of the world.

Unambiguously, these organizations are a potent force today and a result of historical and political developments of the past century. It is naive to believe that they can be combated by sheer force. Non-starters like America's "war on terrorism" is akin to fighting a hostile creature by only cutting its tentacles which immediately grow back again. To kill the creature, you have to target his food supplies - disillusionment, hopelessness, injustice, corruption and foreign exploitation.

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# The Middle East Peace Process

By: Prof, Col (R) M. Zahur-ul-Haq

## Main Hurdles of the Middle East Peace Process

The Middle East peace process appeared to have been put back on rails September 1999 when Israel released 199 Palestine prisoners from its jails and soon after withdrew its troops from another seven percent of West Bank territory. All this was in pursuance of the Sharm-el-Shaikh Accord signed between the two sides on 5 Sep 99. Thus the eight months deadlock which came in the wake of Israel's failure to implement the Wye Accord had been broken. This was mainly due to Israel's newly elected Prime Minister Ehud Barak, who had replaced his hardliner predecessor Benjamin Netanyahu. Barak showed determination to end the state of no-war-no-peace prevailing in the region. Sharm-el-Shaikh Accord laid the framework for implementation of Wye River Accord. Israel was supposed to pull out of 13 percent of the West Bank territory in January 2000. This is practically the entire area inhabited by Palestinians the remaining 60 percent being largely vacant or comprising Jewish settlements.

## The Question of East Jerusalem (Al-Quds)

Unfortunately, Barak too has chosen to shun attitude of conciliation. The main hurdles that have stood between the two sides are: The question of East Jerusalem (Al-Quds) claimed by Palestinians to become their capital, the return of about 3 million refugees to return to their homes in Israel territory, and restoration of land for peace to be declared as the sovereign State of Palestine. Israel is not sincere in implementing Wye Accord. The US, that was supposed to put pressure on Israel for

desired role.

The next round of talks was arranged again at Camp David between the two sides in the wake of hectic diplomatic efforts supported personally by the US President. Camp David II negotiations between Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian National Authority, Chairman Yasser Arafat, continued for 15 days i.e. from 11 to 25 July 2000, under the active participation of Mr Clinton. But they failed to break the deadlock mainly due to the intransigence of Mr Barak and anti-Arab stance of Mr Clinton. The Palestinian opposition parties i.e. the right-wing Al-Hamas, the Marxist popular Front and the Democratic Front for Liberation of Palestine has called for the resumption of armed struggle (*Intifadah*) held in abeyance since the Oslo Peace Process. Yasser Arafat, in frustration, declared that come what may, an independent Palestinian state with capital Al-Quds will be announced on 13 Sep 2000. This statement has been met with Clinton's warning that US will review its relations with PNA in case the intended independence is declared.

One of the factors that accounts for the failure of talks is the control of East Jerusalem. US is in favour of Israeli claim on the city. It wishes to engineer a settlement that will suit its own interests as well as that of the Zionist designs in the region. Israel is US's confirmed outpost in the Middle East. On 14 May 1948, Washington recognized Israel within minutes of its unilateral declaration of independence. The successive US governments gave generous economic and military assistance to it. Currently Clinton administration gives \$ 53 billion in economic and military aid to tiny Israel which maintains a nuclear arsenal. Neither the US nor UN tells Israel to sign the CTBT and NPT. US has also concluded a strategic alliance with Israel. Moreover a powerful Zionist lobby exists in the US that dominates the media and wields phenomenal political power. How could it let any US administration support the Arab cause against Israeli interests. Israel's policy is to give minimum to Arabs and extract maximum security from them.

When the Palestinians and Israel fell out on the issue of Eastern Jerusalem the US proposed a compromise formula to bridge the gap between their positions. According to it the Arab Muslim quarters lying on the outer ring of the holy city would be brought under the control of Palestinian authority



but Israel will exercise overall sovereignty over the undivided Jerusalem. This was a wholehearted support to Israeli position because Israel had already agreed to the transfer of Arab villages Abu Dis and Azizya that lie in the neighbourhood of the old city and so that these dusty villages could serve as capital of the new state of Palestine.

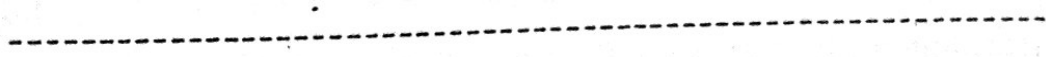
While Barak is not prepared to give any concession on the question of Jerusalem, Arafat has recognized full Israeli sovereignty over the western Jerusalem in return for a similar concession over the whole East Jerusalem and not its insignificant outskirts. Such a claim is in conformity of the Security Council resolutions calling for the restoration of the position of the holy city as it existed before 5 Jun 67. The Greek and Roman churches have also declared that East Jerusalem should be transferred to Palestinian authority.

Barak insists on annexing the strip of the land along the Jordanian border so that the proposed Palestinian state becomes a virtual enclave within Israel. Backed by the US, he is determined to annex at least 10 % of the occupied Palestinian territory, although under the Security Council Resolution 242, it is bound to restore the whole of it to Arabs, for acquisition of territory by conquest is illegal. The resolution had clearly ruled that Jewish settlements in occupied West Bank and Gaza were illegal. However, most of these settlements had developed with the active help of the US.

### Return of Refugees

Then there is the question of the return of about four million Palestinians driven out from their native land by Zionist terrorist gangs and the invading Israel army during the wars of 148 and 1967. The UN Resolution 194 calls for their repatriation to their mother land. Barak agreed to allow only a limited number of them, one hundred thousand, whose relatives are living there. The rest of them should be compensated by some international agency or they could be settled anywhere except their home country. This is a blatant violation of human rights but Arafat for some reason appears to have yielded on this issue and also the question of change in borders of the proposed Palestinian state, and the future of Jewish settlements.

The question to be asked is why these issues have so far remained so difficult to defy resolution. Obviously, it is so because of Israel's blatant violation of the international law and rights. It is the 'power play of 'might is right.' Israelis have it all, the Palestinians have none. The US, the most powerful nation of today, accepts this handicap of the Palestinians and wishes them to suffer for it. Clinton administration seems to have accepted Israel's military occupation as a legal fact against Security Council resolution 194 which demands Israel to withdraw from occupied territories. The International Law grants Palestinian refugees the right to return home. Barak's contention is that their return will upset the ethnic balance and change the demography of the country. Palestinians who are about 20 % now, their population will become double that of the Israelis. However, that is no justification for violation of UN resolutions and that of the principles of International law. In Thailand, Singapur and other countries of South East Asia Chinese population outnumbers the local citizens. The fact is that Peace can come to the Middle East today provided the above stated resolutions and laws are implemented honestly, faithfully and sincerely.



# Geneva Accord:

## Palestine's realistic peace proposal

Eric S. Margolis

Dawn: 10 Dec 03

The most realistic and likely workable solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict was presented last week in Geneva. Moderate Arab and Israeli politicians hammered out the Geneva accord, a symbolic plan with no official status, but important moral standing, for a peace that would finally create a Palestinian state and end the bitter, six decade-old dispute between Arabs and Jews.

- ① The plan called for an end to all violence and a demilitarized Palestinian state.
- ② Israel would withdraw to its pre-1967 war borders, except for a few territorial adjustments. Three-quarters of the 400,000 Jewish settlers on the West Bank and Gaza would remain, under Israeli protection. Most dramatically,
- ④ 3.6 million Palestinian refugees would have to give up their right of return to Israel. Jerusalem would be shared; its holiest sites put under international protection. ⑤

This deal, if adopted, would be a bitter pill for Palestinians. They would relinquish all claim to their ancestral lands seized by Israel. This historic injustice would be enshrined. Palestinian refugees could only find a home in a tiny, economically feeble state on the West Bank and Gaza. Some 300,000 Jewish settlers, who have expropriated the best land and 74 per cent of the water resources of the occupied territories, would remain, though their presence violates international law. Militant Palestinian groups, Islamic Jihad and Hamas, vowed to wreck the accords. Other Arab militants and Islamic groups blasted the deal as a betrayal. Though unappetizing and unjust, this is the best deal Palestinians could realistically hope to get. Israel cannot be militarily defeated: its has a huge nuclear, chemical and biological arsenal and one of the world's best military forces. Equally important, Israel has unlimited support of the United States. For Israel, the agreement would mean plans for Greater Israel are finished, and Jerusalem would be shared. The fate of the Israeli-occupied Syrian Golan Heights, would be decided later.



The Geneva accord was backed by PLO leader Yasser Arafat, Nelson Mandela, Pope John Paul II, former president Jimmy Carter, concentration camp survivor Simon Veil, and a host of other respected figures. Actor Richard Dryfuss put it right when he said this peace plan was too important to be left to governments.

Nobel Prize winner Carter rightly charged in Geneva that George Bush's wrongheaded Mideast policies were igniting global anti-Americanism and inciting terrorism. Israel's leader, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, immediately denounced the accord as 'subversive' and rejected it out of hand. Sharon and his fellow rightists are determined to hold on to the occupied territories and Golan, and to never share Jerusalem. Israel's extreme far right has its eye on Iraq's oil: it is talking about a war with Syria that will open an Israeli corridor through that nation to Iraq's northern oil fields, from where oil will flow down a pipeline to Israel's port of Haifa.

US reaction to the Geneva accord was pathetic. A few platitudes, then a scurry for cover when Israel warned the State Department not to interfere. The US response to Israel's building of a massive, East German-style wall to separate Israel proper from Palestinian population enclaves was similarly shameful.

Even though the wall makes an illegal expropriation of Palestinian lands, and undermines efforts to bring peace, hardly a beep was heard from the White House. There was no President George Bush emulating his idol, Ronald Reagan, by telling Israel, 'Mr Sharon, tear down this wall!' The US is in an election year, and George Bush has made a major effort to court the Jewish vote, which, thanks to the Iraq war, has now swung solidly behind the Republicans. Congress, as its recent vote to sanction Syria, is far more responsive to PM Sharon's desires than Israel's own parliament, the Knesset. No pressure will be brought on Israel. Bush's talk of a 'roadmap' for Mideast peace is just that, talk.

One of the sadder aspects of this depressing situation is that many Jewish supporters of peace in Israel and the US have been drowned out by advocates of expansion and confrontation. President Bill Clinton's administration was filled with allies of Israel's centre-left political spectrum. By contrast, in the Bush administration, almost every key position dealing with the Mideast is filled with ardent neo-conservative advocates of Gen. Sharon's expansionist Likud Party.

President George Bush's policies are almost identical to those of PM Sharon. The view here in European diplomatic circles is that Sharon and his Likud Party

now command US Mideast policy, and are bent on turning the US against Europe, which is seen on Israel's right and among its US supporters as pro-Arab. Pakistan is next on the list to be 'reformed.'

Recently, senior members of Israel's defence and security establishment took the unprecedented step of publicly accusing Sharon of sabotaging peace efforts and leading Israel into unending strife. They are absolutely correct. So are demographers who report that today, in the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean, Jews and Arabs are nearing equality in numbers. Given the high Arab birth rate, some Likudniks urge Israel either conduct ethnic cleansing or impose apartheid whereby Arabs have no real voting power, and are confined to reservations.

To retain the occupied territories, and remain a democracy, Israel will have to accept a secular state with equal rights for Jews and Arabs, something it will not do. So, short of a miracle, the conflict will go on.

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# How to Unify the Muslim Ummah ? Redefining the Ummah

Javed Jabbar ~~Journalist~~

As the world goes deeper into new violence and volatility and Muslim societies struggle to find new ways out of a pervasive dis-empowerment, definitions of terms and interpretations of words become more than academic, semantic exercises. How these are understood and perceived directly shape attitudes, and in most cases, motivate actions. When particular words and terms are portrayed in a specific way and when this portrayal is popularized through textbooks in schools and colleges, through the mass media, through mosques and through public discourse and discussions, even incorrect, distorted and misleading representations become accepted as the actual meaning of certain phrases.

Some words are better conveyed when seen in context. For example, with reference to "conservatism" and "moderation", it may be accurate to say: The conservatives in Islam have custody of the mosques while the moderates have custody of their own drawing rooms. It is only when this situation is reversed that we will move closer to true Islam.

Definitions of terms like "fundamentalism", "terrorism" and "jihad" are important. Several significant clarifications about these terms have already been made in the columns of this newspaper, and elsewhere by other writers. The clarifications have helped correct distortions historically perpetuated through the false "Orientalism" of the West, and more recently, post-9/11 through the mass media.

In this brief comment, it is intended to reflect on only three terms: "Muslim ummah", "enlightened moderation" and "secularism". Human beings exist on two basic planes: the spiritual and the physical. Seen as people who share the irreducible articles of faith in Islam, the term "Muslim ummah" correctly describes the spiritual affinity that all Muslims feel. However, when the same term is applied to the physical



dimension of visible reality, the commonality of the Kaaba as well as the mosque, for all Muslims, from Mauritania to Malaysia is disrupted by the differences and variety on the physical plane.

While being Muslim, and accepting the Holy Quraan as the word of Allah and respecting the finality of the Prophet (peace be upon him), the Muslim ummah is, in real terms, completely heterogeneous and divided on the basis of geography, ethnicity, cultural practices, languages, political systems, political viewpoints and economic systems. Before the Muslim ummah can project itself in credible terms externally to the non-Muslim world, the Muslim world itself needs to recognize all the implications of enormous diversity.

On September 3, Dr Mahathir Muhammad at the Hamdard Conference on the Muslim Ummah in Karachi referred to the fundamental cause of the present poor state of the Muslim Ummah as being due to divisive sectarianism. Yet even when the more destructive differences between Muslim sects are reduced or eliminated, heterogeneity and variety will always be the features of diversity in the Muslim ummah.

Thus, the term "Muslim ummah" implies a comprehensive similarity and unity which, in actual fact, does not exist - and is unlikely to, in the foreseeable future. To stress the heterogeneity of the Muslim ummah is to be realistic, not to be nihilistic. We should acknowledge diversity and use it to our advantage. We should not attempt to ignore intrinsic differences and pretend that a similarity exists where there is no similarity.

Acceptance of diversity can energize the power of versatility. Denial of diversity can stultify and suppress capacity. The fraternity and unity of the Muslim ummah should be seen as desirable but distant stars - even as we keep our feet firmly on the ground and reach for the skies above.

The term "enlightened moderation" is an interesting formulation. It is useful in focussing public attention on the need to resist the continued attempts by extremism to hijack Islam. However, in this context the word "moderation" is redundant. Enlightenment is the only condition for which there should be no moderation. Moderation is also an inadequate

term. As a description of the virtues of balance and reasonableness, moderation is appropriate. But it is not comprehensively descriptive of the ideal condition we should aspire for.

In many respects, moderation is a virtue. Yet in some crucial respects, it can be another word for weakness, for vulnerability to coercion. The partial limitations of the concept of "moderation" are best evident when we remember that resistance to extremism and violence cannot be, and must never be: "moderate". On yet another level, the limitations become obvious if we switch the sequence to read: "moderate enlightenment."

Before enlightenment, there are several stages to accomplish. From raw data and facts, to processed information to refined knowledge to mellow wisdom. Each of these stages requires meticulous attention to details; intellectual discipline; open-mindedness to new information and knowledge and to fresh experience; above all, the presence of a passion to pursue new learning.

Ultimately, enlightenment comes from the fusion of mind and spirit to produce insight and humility. As enlightenment without limitation is the most preferable route to ethical actions and to practising the essence of Islam, the term "immoderate enlightenment" may be a more appropriate formulation.

One of the most important definitions needs to deal with the nature of any state in which Muslims are in a majority, with the kind of political system that they should adopt. This aspect concerns the formulation that sets up an Islamic state as the antithesis of a secular state. Islam and secularism are defined in major discourse, for example in Pakistan, and specially in the Urdu press, as being completely separate and diametrically opposite to each other. The word "secularism" is translated in Urdu media as "atheism" or "Godlessness" which are entirely incorrect representations.

Secularism means that religion and state function separately. It does not mean a denial of the sanctity of religion as is misinterpreted in religious-political, and in Urdu media discourse. Secularism means that all religions are to be respected by the State. On September 11, 1947,

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Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah presented his secular vision for Pakistan in which Muslims would always be the vast majority but where non-Muslims would be equal citizens, a Pakistan that would not be a theocratic state.

A state can be secular and at the same time be guided by the principles of Islam, as well as actually practise them. Whereas a state may claim to be Islamic and yet be quite un-Islamic in principle and in practice. Any state that prefixes its name with a reference to religion creates instant and insurmountable hurdles for itself because of the presence of differing schools of thought within a single religion, competitive clerics and futile attempts to recreate a past by applying interpretations made several hundred years ago in conditions vastly different from the 21st century.

Whereas a secular state can take the most positive facets of a religion without being shackled by the chains of dogma, of ritualistic thinking and ritualistic practices. No state, secular or theocratic, western or eastern, is perfect. Evolution and change are perpetual. The Misaq-i-Madina or the "constitution of Madina" in the era of the Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him) can be seen as a definition of how a Muslim-dominated state could also be a secular state. In references to the rights of the Jews of Yathrib/Madina, authoritative interpretations point out that this charter placed a minority like Jews as being part of the ummah.

Allama Mohammad Iqbal in his lectures titled: "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" said: "All that is secular is deeply sacred at the roots of its being". The Holy Quraan defines the inclusive, secular character of Islam by which the beliefs, actions and practical deeds of all believers are given an equal and equitable status.

Verse 62 of Surah 2 - Al Baqarah states: "Those who believe (in the Quraan), and those who follow the Jewish (scriptures), and the Christians and the Sabians - any who believe in God and the Last Day and work righteousness, shall have their reward with their Lord; of them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve." (from the translation by Abdullah Yusuf Ali). The antithetical formulation of an Islamic state and



a secular state is conceptually flawed. It distorts the direction of the debate which shapes the political development of Muslim nations. At present there are at least seven different kinds of states in the Muslim ummah:

a) Hereditary monarchies without elections (Saudi Arabia); b) One-party dominated democracies (Egypt); c) Multi-party democracies with military domination (Pakistan); d) Authoritarian systems or partial democracies (Central Asian republics); e) Multi-party democracies with civilian supremacy (Malaysia, Bangladesh, Indonesia); f) Multi-party democracies with religious councils wielding veto powers (Iran); g) Secular democracies (Turkey).

Such a wide diversity of political systems wholly or partially explains the inability of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to go beyond lip service to act purposefully in applying collective force for the resolution of the crises facing the ummah. Before attempting to restructure the OIC, Muslim states should initiate internal restructuring to make their political systems more participative, to bring their governance closer to the original democratic core of Islam.

Turkey is possibly the only dominantly Muslim country that has categorically adopted secularism as its basic political system. Yet in some respects, Turkey has gone to excessive and unreasonable lengths in the name of secularism such as by its own ban on hijabs. Even now, the military retains an ultimate veto power that is not in keeping with pure secularism. There are some African countries, and some North African/Arab countries (Algeria) that may also come close to some aspects of Turkey. Of all the 50 plus members of the ummah, only two or three states show the capacity to combine their predominantly Muslim identity with truly Islamic values such as democracy, pluralism, respect for minorities, regularity of elections, peaceful transfer of power on a non-hereditary basis.

Two of these states are Turkey and Malaysia, with some reservations - for example, the suppression of Muslim Kurds in Turkey, the use of a draconian Internal Security Act in Malaysia. Both countries are either overtly secular or quasi-secular. Is their relatively fast development and

their progressive modernity due to their being secular or quasi-secular? Or, in other words, because both are more truly Islamic in practice than "religious" or theocratic states?

To answer this question, there is a need for ijtehaad on this subject through candid, tolerant debate in the Muslim ummah to reflect on the synergy between Islam and secularism: to galvanize a new level of participation and dynamism in the effort to shape a new kind of state and political system for the Muslim ummah.

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# Future of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC)

By Prof. Col ( r ) M. Zahur-ul-Haq

OIC held 10<sup>th</sup> summit conference, one of the biggest ever since its inauguration in 1969, at Putragaya (Malaysia) on 16 and 17 October 2003 was attended by representatives of 57 Muslim countries. It considered four main issues namely: Fight against Terrorism, Kashmir Problem, Iraq/Middle East and Israel.

**Terrorism:** The conference pledged to continue its fight against terrorism including state terrorism. However, it warned that it should not associate terrorism with a particular religion or culture. It called for signing a convention to distinguish between right of self-determination and terrorism. The conference appreciated Pakistan's approach to the conflict by practicing enlightened moderation of the religion of Islam.

**Kashmir:** The conference reaffirmed its support to the people of Jammu and Kashmir for their right to self-determination by virtue of the UN resolution. It urged India to hold negotiations with Pakistan to settle the dispute in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiris.

**Iraq/Middle East:** It dropped plans to call for specific dates for the withdrawal of US forces from Iraq as per the wishes of country's interim Governing Council. However, it demanded UN's central role in handling Iraq's affairs.

**Israel:** It issued strong condemnation of Israel due to its belligerent policies being followed in the Middle East.

These resolution may have the backing of one fifth of the humanity but without effective means for their implementation they are not the worth the paper they are written upon. India has blatantly turned down its recommendation, Israel and its western allies have started media war against



resolutions while US has turned deaf ear to the OIC's remarks about the nature of terrorism being advocated by it.

However, for their implementation, Pakistan's proposal on the formation of a Commission for restructuring the 57 member organization is a ray of hope. It will submit its recommendations within one year to make it vibrant, effective and a force to reckon with.

Factors that hinder the Organization from becoming a unified, dynamic and purposeful body are so malignant in nature that it would rather be impossible to get rid of them.

### Factors holding up growth of OIC

This is because of these factors that OIC meetings, in the past, have ended up without producing concrete results bringing into sharp relief the inherent structural flaws in the body. This is where its inability to address political issues becomes even more marked. The major factors holding up the growth of the organisation are basically four and any attempt at reforming the organisation should be aware of them:

Firstly, it is unfortunate that there is no real democratic system in vogue in majority of the Islamic countries. Wherever democracy exists as in Pakistan and Turkey this is basically controlled version of democracy perpetuated to ward off the criticism from the West and give a democratic fa\_ade to otherwise authoritarian governments. While in the rest of the Islamic world even this democratic fa\_ade is not available as the countries are ruled by the despotic kings, authoritarian rulers and Sheikhs without any let or hindrance whose main desire is to strengthen their grip on power through thick and thin. They are least bothered about violation of human rights and lack of rule of law in their respective countries.

Secondly, by virtue of the flawed and lop-sided political systems the Islamic societies are polarised into two classes i.e. haves and have-nots. The ruling classes that have their firm grip on power also enjoy the possession of the country's respective resources and means of production, while the have-nots, the people at the other end of political and economic divide, continue to suffer with no better education and health care facilities available along with paucity of job opportunities. The rifts within the Islamic polities have become so marked as to bring the moral fabric of these societies to a collapsing point. Since there is a dismal lack of democratic norms and culture in the so-called

Muslim Ummah, no representative institutions have been built up with whims and moods of rulers becoming law bearing tremendous implications.

Thirdly, where there are democratic institutions existent, they are packed up with yes men who are impatient to enjoy the perks and graces in the power structure. The maintenance of the status quo is the main distinction of such societies bolstered by the economic inequality and faulty structures. In societies so formed along polarisations, no dissent is tolerated as the media freedom is considered akin to arousing people to sedition. That is why Muslim Community, more or less, has been a failure in building up media institutions and policy research institutes tasked to critically evaluate the internal and external politics with view to offering their in-puts to overcome the crises. The resultant political suffocation has killed the power of innovation, imagination and creativity resulting in brain drain in the Islamic world. Thus Muslims have to depend upon the Western channels for getting in touch with the world around which extracts the full price for their dependence by twisting facts becoming mouthpieces of their governments.

Fourthly, in the face of severe media war the inability of Muslims to get their viewpoint across to West explains their being pushed to wall. Especially in the post-September world the need for getting down to people has grown manifold for the Muslims necessitating their progress in this critical area. The other side of the picture is bright as it contains some pluses which should serve as a spur for OIC to care out its role in the post-September world. Firstly Muslims countries are strategically very important as their placement and location allow them a very meaningful role in the world political order. They are the possessors of natural energy resources.

#### Strengths of OIC countries

This factor also warrants them a position from where they can gradually come to point to dictate terms of engagement to West. The West ill affords to shun them in dire straits because of their geographical and strategic importance. Another factor going in their favour is that they possess huge human resource in raw form. Now this human resource can be developed in any form according to needs of their respective societies. Temperamentally Muslims have a history of being hard working and committed to their cause. But that can be achieved only when they come out this inertia and purposelessness.

This is where the role of OIC becomes very important in infusing that spirit of confidence and self-reliance among the Muslims that was once their hallmark. If OIC reforms itself and locates its role in this complex world, there is no

reason why it can not provide necessary leadership to the Muslim Ummah by focusing on internal reformation characterised by efforts to improve the standard of life in the Islamic world. The post-September scenario should also be seen as a wake-up call for the slumbering OIC. The imperialist forces are already on the march. They have occupied two Islamic countries and are cooking up excuses to target others like Syria and Iran. The so-called war on terror has replaced the concept of freedoms struggle with terrorism with worst implications for Kashmir and Palestinian freedom movements. Even effort is afoot equating Islam with a religion of terrorism.

In view of these grim realities the OIC Summit held in Putrajaya is of great importance. It is good for Muslim Ummah that Dr. Mahatir Muhammad has taken over as a new Secretary General of OIC. It is hoped that he would inject dynamism in the dead body of OIC and make it a representative institution that is responsive to the challenges facing the Ummah. The opportunity has come for Islamic world to set their house in order. Let us see whether there is a change in its attitude or it is rooted in defeatism without showing any signs of change.





# Concept of minimum nuclear deterrence

By Gen Ghulam Umar (ret'd)



INDIA and Pakistan exploded nuclear devices in May 1998. Both declared that their nuclear capability was only for the purpose of deterrence. Both went on to say that they had no intention of going for future explosions. These were statements made at the highest political level.

Even after the launching of missiles, the Indian prime minister said that India had achieved the minimum nuclear deterrence with the successful launch of a medium-range ballistic missile (Agni II). He further said, "The entire process of achieving a minimum deterrence has been completed. Now India is fully secure."

Pakistan foreign office spokesman, after Ghauri II and Shaheen II had been launched, announced that the series of the S.S.M. flight tests involving solid and liquid fuel rocket motors technologies concluded the process for now. These developments provided a South Asian balance of power and India and Pakistan became balancers. In fact, it provided for a balance of power system in Asia. This was the appropriate time for India and Pakistan to negotiate arms control with a view to finding a comprehensive strategic nuclear restraint regime. Unfortunately the opportunity was lost.

India, in the meanwhile, continued to make progress in acquiring a comprehensive system of multidimensional delivery. Its development of missiles continued unabated. It included a 250 kilometer-range surface-to-surface missile, Pirthvi, which has been organized in a regiment and delivered to the Indian army. India also test-fired and developed a 2500 kilometer intermediate range ballistic missile. After removing some technical snags, Agni will also be inducted into the weapon system. India is also working to develop intercontinental ballistic missile. All these missiles are capable of carrying nuclear war-heads. This upset the balance of power by making already established viable deterrence meaningless. In order to restore the balance of power Pakistan was compelled to develop its own delivery system resulting in the test-firing of Ghauri. Thus once again a viable and visible deterrence had been created.

From here onward there were two possibilities. We could freeze the development of weapon systems where it stood before the Indian and Pakistani explosions, maintaining the balance of power achieved through viable and visible deterrence. A series of confidence-building measures would have allowed initiation of a dialogue to control the induction of new weapon systems and force multipliers in new fields (AWACS and missiles included). There was a possibility of succeeding in generating a mutual restraint regime. It may have even been possible to reactivate Pakistan's proposal for a five-power conference with the representatives of the US, Russia, China, India and Pakistan to arrive at an agreement for keeping South Asia free of nuclear weapons. Unfortunately India rejected the proposal.

In spite of worldwide public opinion in support of the elimination of nuclear weapons, it is almost clear that the nuclear-weapons powers are not likely to give up nuclear weapons in the foreseeable future. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has reaffirmed the centrality of nuclear weapons for the present international security paradigm. The changes in military

affairs have made military interventions increasingly likely by powerful nations. In this context, nuclear weapons and missiles provide certain nuclear deterrent insurance to countries like Pakistan.

India and Pakistan have a long common border with the disputed territory of Kashmir being a part of it. In case of a nuclear attack, the warning time is almost non-existent. This creates a degree of strategic instability. There is, therefore, a need for taking necessary steps to arrive at an understanding on mutual nuclear restraint. Accidental and unauthorized start of a nuclear conflict must be completely eradicated.

Both India and Pakistan had vowed to abide by the requirement of minimum deterrence. It is logical, therefore, to conclude that minimum deterrence should consist of a modest arsenal which can survive and retaliate. Is it possible to quantify minimum deterrence? With the announcement of its nuclear doctrine one wonders as to what exactly is the Indian concept of minimum deterrence. It appears that India has a very comprehensive plan to develop nuclear power entailing delivery by aircraft, missiles and even by atomic sub-marines.

Should a reasonable deterrence be maintained in all areas, be it strategic or other weapons and missile programmes? In the light of the statements made by Indian leaders about limited war, it certainly seems to be the requirement. It will also be a requirement that the deterrence continues to remain credible. The changes in regional and international security situation may dictate changes in the concept of deterrence.

But you cannot wish away a reality. Pakistan's nuclear tests of May 28, 1998 were needed to counter Indian military superiority. The present state of tension between the two countries and the regular firing across the line of control in Kashmir spells the danger of low intensity conflicts turning into a limited war and then to a conventional war.

No one in Pakistan should think of building up a large arsenal, engaging in nuclear arms race of the type seen among the six nuclear states. The high density of forward deployment of tactical weapons and consequent delegation of powers to use the weapons to field commanders are today recognized as extremely risky.

Since these are not weapons of war their command and control should vest with the highest political executives of the land and the role of the armed forces should be restricted to implementing the orders of the political authority. By not introducing atomic capability at tactical level it will ensure nonproliferation at lower level. While it is accepted that there is no need of any arms race in the subcontinent it may be hoped that in future the retirement of deterrence will no more be there. That however can only be possible if we resolve our problems, particularly that of Kashmir.

The emergence of the two nations as nuclear weapon states has transformed their entire security outlook. Irrespective of the past historical experiences and lack of mutual trust, the two countries are now compelled to review their overall security policies in the light of their nuclear status. These policies have to be extremely rational and risk-free. While it will take some time to get rid of the burden of history and chronic mistrust, the recognition of mutual deterrence should help to lay the foundation for positive confidence-building efforts and productive cooperation to resolve major political problems which had been straining relations between the two neighbours.

It will not be realistic to expect change in the situation. But an understanding of the reality and predictability of each other's security policies may help considerably in promoting appropriate conditions for confidence building. This, in turn, would need much greater

interaction between the security establishments and the intellectuals dealing with strategic issues of the two countries.

While this has to be part of a larger political process of confidence building, the nuclear security issue demands great rationality and provides the core around which ever increasing confidence-building could be attempted. It is also an issue in which each country has to evoke credible response from the other country in its own interest and towards that end has to make efforts to demonstrate its own credibility.

New Delhi has proposed a bilateral agreement between India and Pakistan on the no first use of nuclear capability (weapons). This has not found favour with Pakistan because it looks at its national security in an environment of threat in totality emanating from nuclear, missiles and conventional forces. Pakistan's point is that its proposal of non-use of force and peaceful settlement of disputes will automatically subsume the Indian proposal. Besides the, UN charter and the Simla agreement are ipso-facto no war pacts. Both the countries should avoid a propagandist approach to issues of substance.

The holding of five-power conference as suggested earlier deserves serious consideration. If this line is pursued it may eventually open up the possibilities of eliminating weapons of mass destruction including chemical and biological weapons. Over the longer term, India and Pakistan will need to redefine their own security requirements so that the need for nuclear capability decreases. Such an outcome requires continued Indo-Pakistan dialogue. Outside powers in their efforts to prevent proliferation in South Asia must display sensitivity to regional political realities. There is no doubt that improving relations between the two countries holds the promise of decreasing nuclear tensions.

Even after becoming nuclear powers, it would be in the best interest of India and Pakistan to seek security without nuclear weapons. How long these two neighbours have to live with the bomb? As of now they are not likely to abandon their deterrence policy. The doctrine of nuclear deterrence deters debate about itself.

There is no doubt that the ultimate aim must be complete elimination of weapons of mass destruction. India and Pakistan may individually and jointly cooperate with other countries to create a world free of nuclear weapons. They may propose the adoption of a nuclear weapons elimination treaty binding all countries to renounce, reject and destroy their existing nuclear weapons and stockpile of fissile materials in verifiable and time-bound phased programme. The future manufacture of all nuclear weapons and nuclear warheads should be banned.

The strategic conflict in South Asia continues. Both Pakistan and India need to attend to their domestic challenges and to the surer foundation on which real power rests. The acquisition of weapons of mass destruction cannot be and should not be a matter of pride, under any circumstances.



# Pakistan's Road to a Minimum Nuclear Deterrent

Farah Zhara

Pakistan's nuclear weapons program has a symbiotic relationship with Indian nuclear weapons policy. Pakistan has always claimed that it developed its nuclear weapon capability in response to security threats from India. More specifically, Islamabad traces the genesis of its program to India's first nuclear test in 1974. Between 1974 and 1998, when India resumed nuclear testing, Pakistan's two-fold strategy was to develop a credible nuclear deterrent against India and to fight international pressure against its own program.

Smarting from years of punitive sanctions, particularly those imposed by the United States, in 1995 Pakistan assured the world that it was pursuing a policy of non-weaponized nuclear deterrence—the same doctrine India had maintained since its 1974 test. However, India's nuclear tests of May 11 and 13, 1998, forced Pakistan's option of a "minimum nuclear deterrent" into the open. Pakistan said it was left with no choice but to respond to the Indian tests so as to restore the "regional strategic balance," doing so with its own series of nuclear tests on May 28 and 30.

In the year since India and Pakistan challenged the nuclear *status quo*, the symbiotic relationship between the two countries' nuclear weapons programs more or less continued, but it has now become enmeshed with the determination of both states to develop a minimum nuclear deterrent in a security environment severely shaken by their latest conflict over Kashmir. With the release of India's draft nuclear doctrine on August 17 (see [redacted]), the concept of nuclear deterrence in South Asia has been stripped of its minimalist pretences. India's apparent intention to pursue an ambitious and open-ended nuclear weapons program under the pretext of a "minimum" nuclear deterrent, may now force Pakistan's hand.

Islamabad's assumption that India would not define its doctrine so soon had allowed it to continue its internal debates, issuing only ambiguous and non-committal statements about its intentions. But Pakistan's imperative to create its own minimum deterrent, and establish the command and control system to manage it, will compel Islamabad to answer some fundamental questions. Should it pursue a first-strike or second-strike capability? Whose finger will be on the nuclear button? Can the country afford to engage India in an arms race—either nuclear or conventional?

Pakistan again finds itself in a highly fluid situation whereby its own nuclear weapons policies keep evolving on an *ad hoc*, reactive basis in response to Indian actions. India and Pakistan's symbiotic nuclear relationship, which has now escalated to the dangerous level of weaponization, will continue to shape the region's security environment and to influence the international arms' control agenda. Several factors, especially the continuing instability along

the so-called "line of control" (LOC), is a vivid reminder that South Asia remains the most dangerous nuclear flash point in the world.

### The Move Toward Conflict

After the May 1998 tests, Pakistani Foreign Minister Shamshad Ahmed assured the world that "In South Asia, nuclear deterrence may...usher in a new era of durable peace between Pakistan and India." However, several geographical, military and operational factors suggest that there is indeed a risk of a South Asian conflict escalating to the nuclear level. First, because India and Pakistan are neighboring countries, their capitals, major population centers and military-industrial infrastructures can be reached by the other side's missile forces in only four or five minutes, allowing little time to assess an attack warning and make a decision to launch a retaliatory strike. Secondly their history of direct military confrontation over Kashmir and constant artillery shelling across the LOC feeds apprehension that the situation at any time might spin out of control, accidentally if not by design. Thirdly, neither country has reliable sophisticated early warning or command, control and communications (C3) systems in place.

In the aftermath of the latest conflict over Kashmir that erupted this spring, it was reported that the crises brought the two countries "much closer to full-scale war than was publicly acknowledged...and raised very real fears that one or both countries would resort to using variants of the nuclear devices tested last year." Only two days after the release of the Indian draft nuclear doctrine, the Pakistani foreign minister downplayed the idea of a durable peace in South Asia during a press briefing and asked instead, "If India operationalizes its nuclear weapons, Pakistan will be obliged to follow suit and...what would be the consequences?"

The recent conflict in the Kargil region of Kashmir has also given rise to fears that a new arms race may be in the offing in South Asia, leading to further development of nuclear weapon capabilities and a major re-equipping of conventional forces that could include enhanced weapons systems. Indian strategists' perception of the Indian military's lack of preparedness for the conflict may prompt New Delhi to invest in new, high-tech weapons systems such as laser-guided missiles, military satellites to monitor the LOC and early warning systems. Similarly, Pakistani military expenditures may also rise sharply, though its financial constraints would continue to curb such spending. But Kashmir is only one component of the nuclear dynamics in South Asia that set into motion India's and Pakistan's decisions to go nuclear. There have been a series of disturbing trends in arms control in the region which, while not embroiled in a mad arms race, certainly seems to be following a path beyond the control of either government. Pakistan, being the weaker party, remains closer to the brink.

It had been predicted that Indo-Pakistani border unrest would continue to be the dominant form of conflict in the period 1998-2005. India and Pakistan would continue to rely on their nuclear weapons programs to prevent provocations from mutating into full-blown challenges directed at one another. This was supplemented by the fact that for the period 1993 to 1997, India ranked as the third largest importer of conventional arms among developing nations with purchases of \$5.3 billion, and Pakistan the eighth with \$2.5

billion. After the release of India's draft doctrine, Pakistani strategists are urging government to go for a "one-rung escalation ladder knitted in tightly with a highly cohesive state-of-the-art tactical conventional military." Pakistan had previously made argument that because the asymmetry between India's and Pakistan's conventional capabilities was increasing, the role of nuclear weapons in Pakistan's security was likely to enhance proportionally. Indian Army Chief V. P. Malik said, "Having crossed the nuclear threshold does not mean that a conventional war is out...nuclear deterrence only restricts an all-out war...As a military strategist, I will say that if militancy grows too big, both...are tempted to use conventional weapons."

Already, military expenditures for both India and Pakistan are exorbitantly high, with the burden much heavier for Pakistan, which has one-fifth of India's gross domestic product (GDP). India devotes 3.6 percent of its national income toward military spending, while Pakistan allocates nearly 7 percent. In per capita terms, India spends \$10; Pakistan spends \$26. India's 1998-99 defense budget was approximately \$10 billion, an increase of about 15 percent over the previous year and representing more than 15 percent of total central government expenditures. Pakistan's defense expenditure for the same period stood at \$3.5 billion (showing no real increase), representing 23 percent of total central government spending.

#### Minimum Deterrence Into the Morgue

India's draft nuclear doctrine formally deposited the concept of minimum deterrence into the morgue. Though Pakistan made the right noises complaining to the international community that the draft will undermine the "strategic restraint regime" under discussion, Pakistani military officials say "there is nothing new in the draft that we were not already aware of." Pakistan's own imperative continues to revolve around bringing attention to the damage India is doing to non-proliferation and arms control, and going ahead with whatever it can achieve in the field itself, declaring only what is necessary and keeping the rest veiled.

Even before the fatal blow delivered by the draft, minimum deterrence in South Asia was prey to a serious malady. Strategists had defined it as "the possession of sufficient nuclear weapons to inflict grievous harm on the enemy in retaliation and no more." However, the concept of "no more" did not fit into the picture comfortably with the inclusion of China in India's security calculus. Therefore, even before the Indian draft came out, Pakistan was faced with a host of unanswered questions: For how long would Pakistan be able to match India's nuclear weapon capabilities? Can Pakistan afford to sit back and relax now that it has declared its nuclear weapon capability? Can it define for itself where it will stop refinement of nuclear weapons and missiles? Does it have a doctrine whereby it can spell out (even to itself) its requirement in concrete terms?

If Pakistan sticks to what it calls the "basic tenets" of its nuclear policy, then the message in India's draft doctrine has not carried through to Islamabad. The three tenets of Pakistan's proclaimed nuclear policy are: 1) nuclear threats warrant nuclear responses; 2) its nuclear force will act as a force multiplier to balance the asymmetry in conventional forces; and 3) there should be a regional solution to non-proliferation issues. India's new



doctrine ~~seems~~ to make clear that it is not a country-specific doctrine and that Indian nuclear policy will not be tied down to any South Asian arms control fetters. Pakistan's official reaction pretends to be oblivious to this message in the draft.

What then will be the basic components of Pakistan's minimum deterrent? It will likely involve bomb design work, miniaturization and fitting warheads onto ballistic missiles. It will also mean the production of fissile material at a hectic pace before Pakistan accedes to any fissile material cutoff agreement, such as that now being negotiated at the Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva. However, the focus of Pakistan's attention will be on delivery systems.

Given Pakistan's considerable inferiority in aircraft—about 50 front-line aircraft opposed to India's approximately 250-300—it will need to rely on missiles of greater range and accuracy for striking targets deep inside India. Presently, Pakistan does have enough aircraft to conduct a nuclear mission successfully; its 34 F-16 A/B and 15 Mirage IIIEP aircraft could form the nucleus of an atomic strike force, with a dozen squadrons of Chinese and French-made aircraft providing fighter cover. Indian air superiority would keep Pakistan under the constant fear of a pre-emptive surgical strike against its strategic assets, including its aircraft, which would limit the number of Pakistan's delivery vehicles for nuclear retaliation.

Land-based missiles would be the backbone of Pakistan's nuclear force, with an emphasis on the development of solid-fuelled mobile missiles until a second-strike capability can be ensured. Pakistan requires better missile guidance, navigation and targeting systems. Additional attention may be given later to air- and submarine-launched missiles (its new *Agosta*-class submarines are nuclear capable). Nevertheless, India will retain a decisive edge in both air and naval capabilities with its larger stock of fighter aircraft and investments in a "blue water" navy.

#### Nuclear 'First Use'

India's declarations on "no first use" and "no use against non-nuclear-weapon states" has been matched by Pakistan's offer of talks on a comprehensive non-aggression pact. Pending such an agreement, Pakistan does not rule out pre-emption. It is generally assumed that a nuclear first strike is a principal part of Pakistan's nuclear doctrine. After the release of India's draft doctrine, Pakistan condemned India's offer of a no-first-use pledge as a "farce." During his August 19 press conference, Pakistani Foreign Minister Ahmed said, "India itself places no credibility in 'no first use.' If it did, it should have accepted China's assurance of 'no first use'...that would have obviated the need for India's nuclear weapons acquisition, much less for operational deployment of nuclear weapons."

According to Brigadier Syed Mujtaba, defense attache at the Pakistani Embassy in Washington, "Pakistan cannot afford to downsize its troops because it has to also keep a conventional force against India." If Pakistan is not planning to resort to a nuclear war with India at the first serious provocation, it may well have to reinforce its conventional capabilities. However, in the current post-conflict environment, Pakistan may encounter some reluctance on the part of some arms exporters to provide strategic assets such as attack

aircraft, as exemplified by France's decision to delay its *Mirage* deal with Islamabad.

In formulating its minimum deterrent doctrine, not only must Pakistan determine whether to develop a first-strike force or pursue a retaliatory capability, it must also decide how far it will allow itself to be challenged before it unleashes a nuclear first strike. Two factors suggest Islamabad will maintain its first-strike posture. First, the asymmetry between Indian and Pakistani conventional forces makes a first-strike capability an equalizer for Islamabad. That is why Pakistan has repeatedly rejected India's proposal for an agreement on no-first-use. Second, the development of a first-strike capability is less cumbersome for Pakistan. Investment in retaliatory forces requires intense planning and enormous resources, which Pakistan cannot afford.

Furthermore, it is likely that Pakistan's nuclear doctrine will necessitate the targeting of major population centers rather than strategic and military facilities. The underlying reason is that Pakistan will not have the quality and quantity of nuclear weapons to attack "hard" targets such as command and control facilities, and instead will simply opt for inflicting "grievous harm" against population centers, knowing that such an attack will certainly result in a catastrophic retaliatory response. However, one factor that might restrain Pakistan from targeting major cities in India is the large number of Muslims living in urban areas.

#### Decision-Making in Pakistan

With Pakistan's army playing the central role in strategic planning, the overall supervision and coordination is vested in the Strategic Planning Directorate (SPD), previously Combat Development Directorate (CDD), of the General Headquarters (GHQ). It is generally believed that the Defense Committee of the Cabinet (DCC), chaired by the prime minister, would take the ultimate decision for use of nuclear weapons in case of war. However, reports that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was not fully apprized of the Kargil operation by the military, created new uncertainties as to who would take that decision during a crisis. Indeed, some U.S. analysts "see the civilian finger on the nuclear trigger as only one among two or even three others." If these uncertainties continue, they might render "hot line" consultations between the prime ministers of the two countries irrelevant in a highly volatile situation. The existing evidence suggests that while the chances of a deliberate, planned nuclear attack may be low, the risk of an accidental or unauthorized nuclear strike cannot be ruled out.

In Pakistan the role of the armed forces is in transition. The resignation of Army Chief Jehangir Karamat in October 1998 marked a turning point in civilian-military relations, at least symbolically, if not in substantive terms. Although Prime Minister Sharif, with his two-thirds majority in the lower house of parliament, seems to be asserting greater control over the military, the army's Kargil operation put Sharif's authority to a severe test. As the international community pressured Islamabad to withdraw the Pakistani-backed Islamic forces, the Pakistani army, proud of its "successes" at Kargil, was not amenable to such a dictate. Sharif's last-minute dash to Washington on July 4 to meet President Clinton finally overcame the army's reluctance to withdraw the fighters. Notwithstanding this temporary setback to Pakistan's army, a "hybrid" between civilian and military rule may continue to define the decision-making arrangements in Pakistan with regard to nuclear weapons procurement as well.

as nuclear weapons policy and doctrine, including command and control.

Further complicating the command and control of the incipient nuclear forces in South Asia is India's draft nuclear doctrine that emphasizes the "survivability" of India's nuclear deterrent force, which will necessitate the dispersal of nuclear weapons. Such a deployment, however, will make the command and control system more decentralized and accident prone as commanders at the operational level must operate, under the tremendous pressures and uncertainties of battle, to prevent a decapitating attack against their nuclear forces. This invites a greater risk of inaccurate decisions and thus an unwanted launch.

The already questionable state of Pakistan's "negative control" of its nuclear weapons (its ability to prevent an unwanted launch) is further seriously weakened by Pakistan's (and India's) lack of adequate early warning technology. In August 1998, when the United States fired cruise missiles at Osama Bin Laden's training camp in Afghanistan, the missiles overflew Pakistan but went undetected by the military. The United States had dispatched a senior military officer to Islamabad so that he could confirm the missiles were American and targeted on Afghanistan and not Indian missiles targeted against Pakistan.

In the near term, some of the uncertainties surrounding India's and Pakistan's emerging deterrent forces could be addressed by transparency measures and other confidence-building initiatives (declarations of force size, deployment strategy, launch authority and employment doctrine, for example), but prospects for this remain dim. Assistance in this regard from countries like the United States cannot be accepted readily as it would involve disclosure of what might be sensitive information—the same reason that bilateral efforts with India have remained inadequate. Both India and Pakistan proclaim the necessity for transparency and the exchange of information, yet remain wedded to the deliberate ambiguity and exaggerated claims of their nuclear weapons programs that served them so well before their demonstrations of nuclear prowess.

#### Implications for Arms Control

Following their May 1998 nuclear tests, both India and Pakistan declared unilateral testing moratoriums and hinted that they might adhere, in some manner, to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), with Pakistan saying its accession would depend on Indian actions. However, on July 11, 1998, Sharif announced a major reversal of government policy when he delinked Pakistan's nuclear policy from India's, saying Islamabad's decision to sign the CTBT would be made independently of Indian actions. In September 1998, both Sharif and Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee announced during the opening session of the 53rd UN General Assembly that their governments were prepared to sign the CTBT within the next year. Sharif made clear Pakistan's adherence would take place "only in conditions free from coercion or pressure," an apparent reference to the sanctions imposed on Pakistan, particularly those by the United States, following the May nuclear tests. Sharif's move toward delinkage seemed to continue through the prime ministers' summit meeting in Lahore, Pakistan, in February 1999, only the second visit by an Indian prime minister to Pakistan and an important step in establishing a stable nuclear balance in South Asia.



However, Pakistan's delinkage proved to be an ephemeral phenomenon. India's April 11, 1998 test of its 2,500-kilometer-range *Agni-2* missile, which Indian Defense Minister George Fernandes described as capable of carrying a "special weapons payload," initiated a new round of tit-for-tat missile tests. On April 14, Pakistan tested its *Ghauri-2* missile, which Islamabad claims has a range of 2,300 kilometers (with a reduced payload), saying the test was necessary to maintain the strategic balance. The following day Pakistan also tested its short-range *Shaheen-1* missile, believed capable of delivering a 1,000-kilogram payload to a range of 750 kilometers. The Pakistani missiles were sitting on their launching pads ready to be fired, but Islamabad had been waiting for India to conduct its missile tests first. Anticipating India's test of the *Agni-2*, which reportedly had been delayed for both technical and political reasons, Pakistan delayed its own tests so New Delhi would bear the brunt of international opprobrium for initiating a new round of tests. But when the Vajpayee government collapsed only days later on April 17, Pakistani leaders became more nervous and started dropping hints about re-linkage.

Pakistan's interest in moving independently toward joining the CTBT was further diminished in May when the U.S. Congress, in response to the fighting in Kashmir, slowed the process of easing the economic sanctions that had been imposed on Islamabad following its 1998 tests. After Senator Sam Brownback (R-KS) withdrew his amendment on easing sanctions, Pakistan's Foreign Office termed the move "an unfortunate development which creates roadblocks in the implementation of the signing agenda of the CTBT."

Pakistan's—and India's—delay in moving toward accession to the CTBT has also been served by the delay in bringing the treaty into force. Only 21 of the 44 states whose ratification is necessary to bring the test ban into force have ratified the accord, and three of those 44 states—India, Pakistan and North Korea—have not yet signed the treaty. Moreover, the United States, the principal proponent of the CTBT, has not ratified the treaty, and the battle continues between the Clinton administration and Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Jesse Helms (R-NC) on a range of foreign policy issues, with the test ban remaining hostage.

As long as President Clinton's efforts to secure the Senate's advice and consent to ratification of the CTBT remain stalled, India and Pakistan will not be in a hurry to make good on their commitments to accede to the test ban regime. Additionally, Pakistan would like to wait until a new Indian government is formed after the September-October 1999 national elections. Islamabad has also made clear that if India were to resume nuclear testing, Pakistan would review its position on the CTBT, and in case it had "adhered to" the treaty, it would invoke the supreme interest clause as provided by Article IX of the treaty.

The perceived disparity between the fissile material stockpiles of India and Pakistan will also contribute to Pakistan's tendency toward linkage. India and Pakistan have produced sufficient quantities of plutonium and enriched uranium to manufacture anywhere between 70 to 200 and 20 to 50 nuclear devices, respectively. The United States has pointed out to Pakistan that freezing existing stockpiles could work toward Islamabad's advantage. Pakistan, however, continues to invoke the concepts of "sufficiency" and "unequal stockpiles" to ward off U.S. pressure for a moratorium on the production of fissile material for weapons purposes before

substantive negotiations on a cutoff regime begin in the CD. This rationale by Pakistan will allow it—as well as India—to maintain or accelerate production of fissile material before the finalization of the treaty. Both India and Pakistan may also resort to procedural tactics to lengthen the negotiating process of the treaty at the CD, an ideal environment for linkages among national security agendas.

The minimal progress made so far by India and Pakistan in establishing a nuclear restraint regime in South Asia will also serve to reinforce the symbiotic relationship between India's and Pakistan's nuclear weapons programs. When the Kargil crisis erupted in May, bilateral discussions were at a very preliminary stage, already complicated by India's linkage of its nuclear weapons program to China's and the ongoing process by Indian policy-makers to develop and articulate a nuclear doctrine.

In October 1998 talks at the foreign minister level, Pakistan proposed a framework for what was called a strategic restraint regime. The framework included:

- a non-aggression pact;
- the prevention of a nuclear weapons and ballistic missile race;
- risk reduction mechanisms;
- avoidance of nuclear conflict;
- formalizing moratoria on nuclear testing;
- non-induction of anti-ballistic missile systems and submarine-launched ballistic missiles; and
- nuclear doctrines of minimum deterrent capability.

Pakistan also proposed mutual and balanced reduction of forces in the conventional field. India matched these proposals by offering a framework consisting of:

- no-first-use pledges;
- agreement on preventing nuclear war, including through accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons;
- extension of agreements prohibiting attack against nuclear installations;
- advance notification of ballistic missile tests; and
- verification of data exchange.

As presented, India's draft nuclear doctrine does not allow for the implementation of the strategic restraint regime as it was envisaged. Although the draft does not negate all of the understandings hammered out during the February 1999 Lahore summit (such as the development of confidence-building measures and advance notification of missile tests), the post-Kargil political and military environment will prevent any further development of a

strategic restraint regime in the near future.

This latest conflict in Kashmir has only served to widen the chasm between India and Pakistan. Encouraged by diplomatic support on its position on Kargil, India has demanded that the LOC be declared inviolable and that Pakistan stops its assistance to the resistance movement in Kashmir. These conditions are not acceptable to Pakistan. In any case, India's caretaker government will not enter into substantive negotiations with Pakistan over Kashmir or non-proliferation issues until a new government is formed. This could well push the restart of the strategic restraint initiative into 2000. Moreover, India balks at any U.S. involvement in what it considers a bilateral matter between India and Pakistan. The international community now feels that Kashmir is the nuclear flash point and that it has to be addressed one way or the other.

### The Road Ahead

Pakistan's nuclear weapons policy, despite any claims to the contrary, will remain inextricably linked to India's. New Delhi will continue to say that its concerns are not Pakistan-specific and that India's broader security concerns, particularly regarding China, would have to be addressed for any arms control or strategic restraint regime to be viable. Pakistan, on the other hand, will keep insisting that its program is India-specific, continuing the conditioning of its weapons programs and policies on Indian actions.

Even if Pakistan were to maintain its current levels of nuclear and missile development, it is not clear that it can sustain this posture in light of the economic problems it is facing. However, in the coming years, if India accelerates its nuclear weapon and missile buildup, Pakistan will willy-nilly be a participant in an arms race. An arms race with India—whether nuclear or conventional—would be expensive and unaffordable for Pakistan. Indeed, the gap between Indian and Pakistani nuclear weapon development programs and deployments may only widen. A strategic restraint regime, though in Pakistan's interest, will be difficult to establish in South Asia's current security environment.

Pakistan now cannot escape from the inevitable responsibility of doing its "homework" on nuclear doctrine development and establishing an effective and reliable command and control system. The exercise of internal discussions and debates will have to be brought to a conclusion. However, Pakistan may not be obliged to share with India, or the rest of the world, its conclusions on its strategic thinking until a higher degree of transparency *vis-à-vis* India becomes a reality.

In the meantime, the emerging trends of extremism in Indian and Pakistani politics need to be watched closely. The ascendancy of extremist forces will only heighten tensions in South Asia and make the nuclear situation even more volatile. As a self-declared nuclear-weapon state, Pakistan will also have to continually reassure the international community that its capability is not a prelude to an "Islamic bomb," a worry shared by many Western countries and Israel should Islamic fundamentalists gain ascendancy in Pakistan.

In these circumstances, the best course of action for the United States is to keep on



# **Indo-Pakistan Relations**

# Kashmir Dispute

## A Background Study

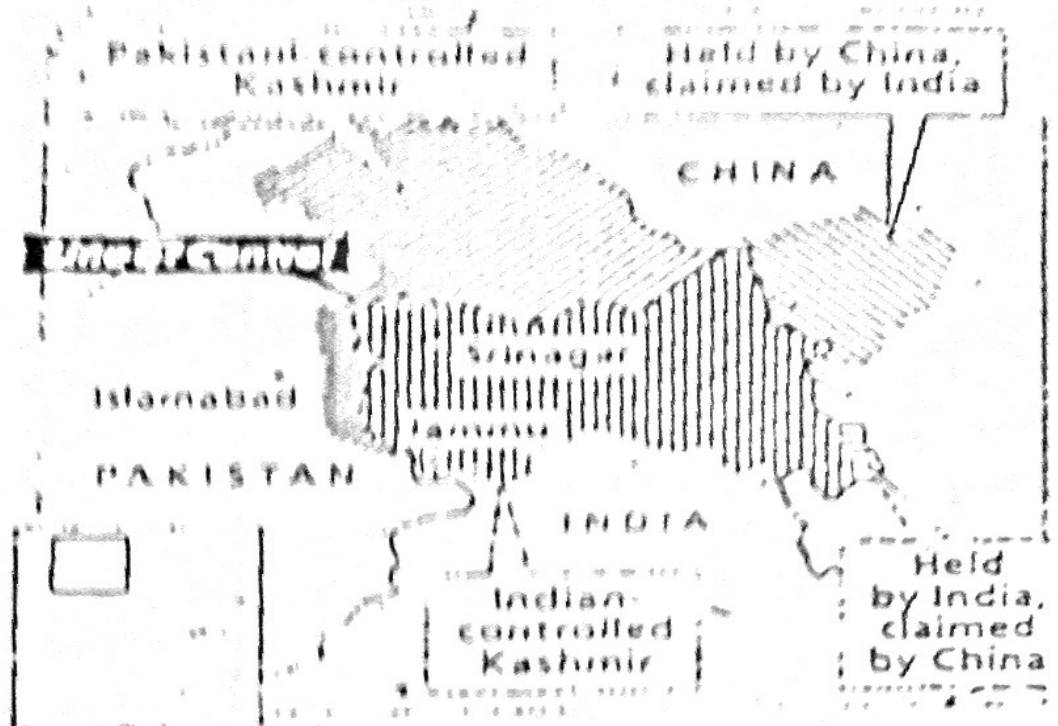
By: Prof. Col (r) M. Zahur-ul-Haq

Kashmir is a region of South West Central Asia. From sixteenth century it has been ruled by Mughals, Afghans, British, Sikhs & Hindu Dogras. Since 1947, it has been a disputed territory between India, Pakistan and China. One third of the Kashmir valley is known as Azad Kashmir with Muzzaffar Abad as its capital. Two third of the valley is held by India with Srinagar as summer capital and Jammu as winter capital. Himalayas and Karakoram are its main mountain ranges. The principal rivers that flow through the region are Indus, Chenab and Jhelum. Fruit growing and cattle grazing are main occupations of the population.

### Historical background of Kashmir dispute

Both India and Pakistan were founded on the basis of Indian Independence Act of 1947. There were 600 princely states spread all over the sub-continent. They were left free to join India, Pakistan or maintain the status quo. However, independence could be maintained with regard to the geographic realities. Hindus in Hyderabad and Junagarh were in majority but they had Muslim rulers. They could not join Pakistan for lack of common border and wished to remain independent. India forcibly occupied them through police action. Kashmir had about 80% Muslims but its ruler was Hindu Dogra. It should have joined Pakistan but it could not because of the joint conspiracy of the Hindus and the British. To provide common borders to India with Kashmir the Muslim majority district of Gurdaspur was given to India by Mr. Redcliffe who had been appointed to demarcate boundary between India and Pakistan. This provided an opportunity to India to grab Kashmir. Its task was made easier by the Hindu Maharajah who wanted to avoid merger with Pakistan.

This development proved to be most unfortunate for the people of Kashmir. Earlier the British had sold the Kashmiris like slaves to Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu for a payment of seventy five thousand Nanakshahi rupees under the Treaty of Amritsar, 1846. At the dawn of independence, Maharajah Hari Singh, the great grandson of Maharajah Gulab Singh, was given the constitutional authority to merge his state with India or Pakistan or stay independent. This authority was grossly misused by him by brushing aside some very important factors. First, the population of Kashmir was predominantly Muslim that wished to join Pakistan. Second, all rivers flowed from Kashmir to Pakistan. Third all means of communication had a natural link with Pakistan. Fourth, the length of its border with Pakistan was much longer as compared to India. Fifth, even during British times the educational and postal services were extended to Kashmir from the Punjab that became part of Pakistan. Sixth, Kashmir's trade and commerce had natural traffic through Pakistan.



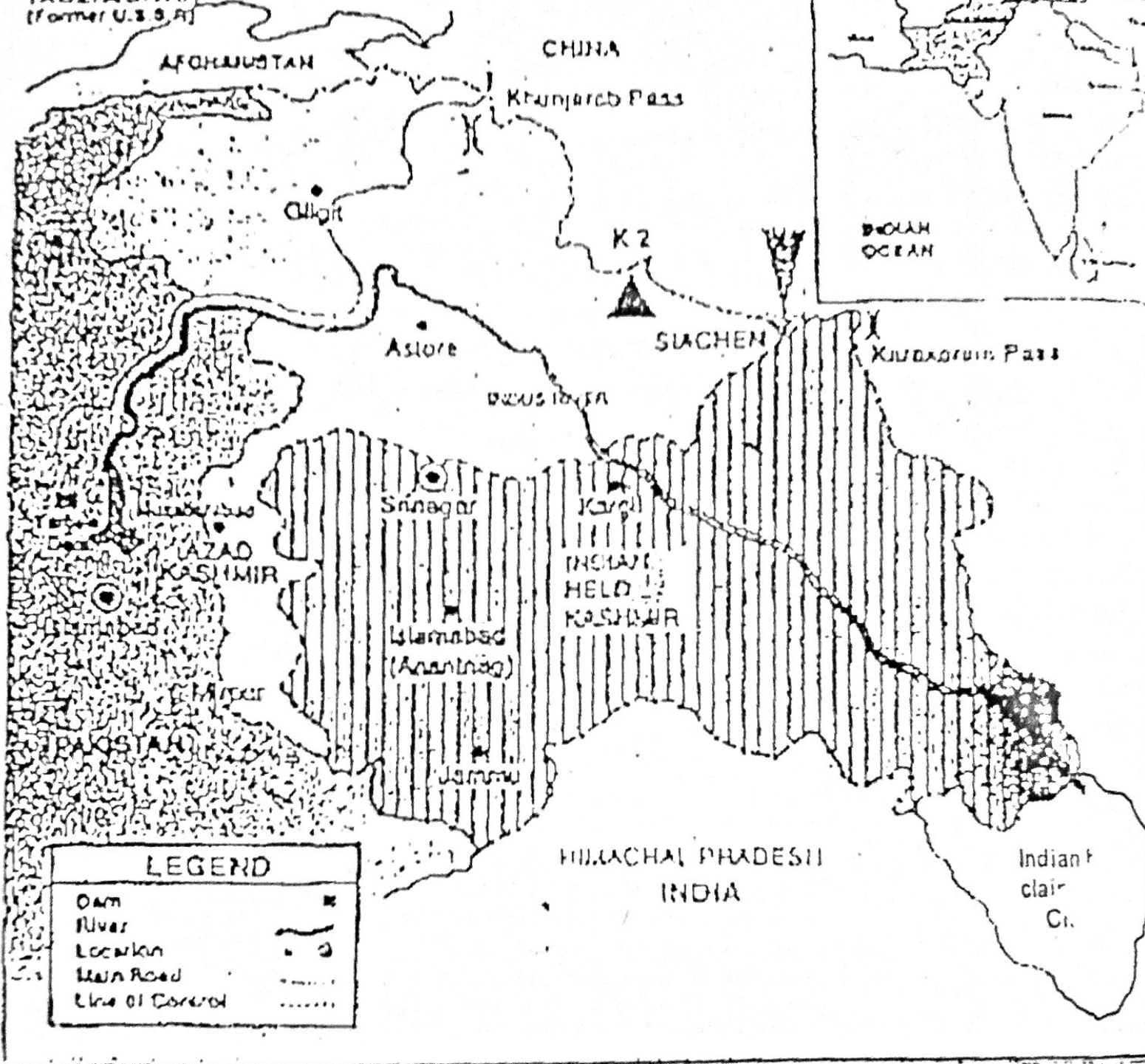
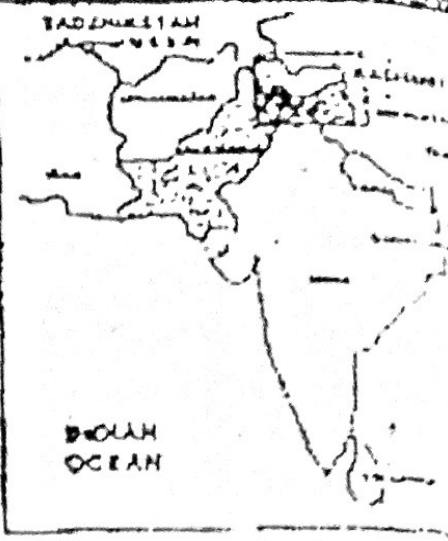
## Intractable Kashmir

- Aug. 1947** India gains independence from Britain. Subcontinent partitioned into India and Pakistan.
- Oct. 1947** Hari Singh, ruler of Kashmir, signs treaty of accession to India, but Pakistan refuses to recognize it. India promises plebiscite, which is never held. Pakistani tribesmen ransack Baramulla in Kashmir, triggering first Indo-Pakistan war. Indian troops stem invasion and remain in Kashmir.
- Jan. 1948** India refers Kashmir dispute to UN Security Council.
- Jan. 1949** UN-monitored ceasefire line imposed.
- Apr. 1965** Second Indo-Pakistan war, triggered by Pakistan's attempt to seize Kashmir, ends in Indian victory.
- Dec. 1971** India wins third war with Pakistan, helping East Pakistan break away to form Bangladesh. (Kashmir is not involved in this conflict.)
- June 1972** India and Pakistan sign Simla Agreement on resolving Kashmir dispute bilaterally.
- Dec. 1989** Armed insurgency erupts in Indian-controlled Kashmir.
- Jan. 1990** New Delhi imposes central rule on Jammu and Kashmir state.
- Sept. 1996** State elections held, ending central rule in Jammu and Kashmir.



# JAMMU & KASHMIR

TADZHIKISTAN  
(Former U.S.S.R.)



## Kashmir NOT an integral part of India

Maharajah Hari Singh was determined to avoid merger of Kashmir with Pakistan. Sensing revolting mood of the people, he disarmed the 3000 Muslim soldiers of state's 9000 army and increased the repression on the Muslim population. Tribal lashkars from Pakistan entered the valley to help the Kashmiris. This gave an immediate excuse to the Maharajah to offer accession to India. The government of India accepted the accession but could not ignore the ground reality of the situation. In response to the offer of accession, it issued a letter dated 27 Oct 47 which stated that issue of accession was temporary and shall be finally decided by reference to the people of the state. This was the first Indian admission that the Kashmir was not its integral part.

The second indication became available as a result of the Indo-Pakistan War of 1948 that broke out on the issue of Kashmir. India herself took the case of the Security Council of the UN. Had Kashmir been part of India it wouldn't have taken such a measure. Thirdly, in a commitment to the UN, India agreed to hold plebiscite in Kashmir to know the wishes of its people which further confirmed that it was not part of India. Fourthly, Sheikh Abdullah was installed in Kashmir as its first Prime Minister placing him at par with India's Prime Minister and not as another Chief Minister as in case of the rest of the Indian provinces. Fifthly, is the matter of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution in which Kashmir was given a special status to provide for the 'traditions' and 'susceptibilities' peculiar to the people of Kashmir. In the beginning Kashmir was to have a separate constitution of its own, separate flag and a separate national anthem. Sixthly, Srinagar radio was known as Radio Kashmir and not All India Radio, Srinagar.

India has waged three wars with Pakistan over Kashmir during the past many decades and even now an army consisting of 700,000 soldiers is stationed there. It is in constant state of readiness to meet the threat of the freedom fighters and local uprisings. India has experimented with different political systems and spent tons of money to keep Kashmiris in bondage but to no avail. If India has not been able to hold Kashmir constitutionally, politically and emotionally during the last so many decades how can it ever hope to make it the integral part of its political and social life. The facts of the problem are now being realized by the Indian intelligentsia. They ask how long we are going to pour our money and men into the valley which brings us nothing but insecurity, frustration and daily loss of lives and is a constant drain on our economy. The method of combat of the freedom fighters has

destroyed, to a great extent, India's will to fight, damaged its political reputation and exposed it to the world as an oppressor. The world powers have lately realized that Kashmir dispute must be solved. India wants other issues to be resolved first. The world is telling India that except Kashmir there are no other issues.

### **Internationalization of the dispute**

After the nuclear explosions first by India at Pokhran Rajasthan on 11<sup>th</sup> May 1998 and then by Pakistan at Chaghi, Balochistan on 28<sup>th</sup> May 1998 another dimension was added to the Kashmir dispute. With its nuclear blasts India wished to acquire nuclear power status with the declared intention to brow beat Pakistan and grab Kashmir. The result to its utter dismay was that the Kashmir issue became internationalized. Nuclear fallout knows no frontiers. The conflict can engulf the whole region in a nuclear holocaust. That is why world powers are demanding that the dispute must be resolved before it is too late.

India has based its Kashmir policy on two arguments. First is the legality of Maharajahs accession to India. The second is that after the Simla agreement Kashmir had become a bilateral issue in which no outsider can intervene. Both propositions now stand devalued. India has not been able to merge Kashmir with it despite all efforts. America at one time took up the Kashmir dispute mainly in response to the fears expressed by human rights organizations.

### **Kashmir is no more a bilateral issue**

India's anxiety to keep Kashmir issue bilateral has put it in a frustrating situation. It has gone through round after round at secretary level talks with Pakistan to prove only two points. One: India did not really believe Kashmir to be its internal matter. Two: It knows that what it was facing in Kashmir was not cross-border terrorism but a genuine domestic revolt. Three: India talks of two elections held in held Kashmir in 1996 and 98 and argues that now there is no need of plebiscite.. The fact is that those elections did not have any credibility. Moreover, plebiscite was to take place in Kashmir as a whole including Azad Kashmir.

To keep its position of bilateralism alive, India protested when Clinton, Mandela and Kofi Annan desired for the solution of Kashmir problem. The UN Secretary General sent a team of officials to visit the sub-continent. Pakistan welcomed them with open arms while India refused to let them go



into the valley. A guilty India avoids to face the truth. Pakistan stands on much stronger moral ground to sell its version of the solution of the Kashmir dispute which goes some what like this\_\_\_. What is going in Kashmir is a struggle for freedom. Since that struggle is largely confined to the Muslim majority areas west of river Chenab i.e the whole of Kashmir valley and western Jammu, let this part be separated through a plebiscite/referendum so as to complete the unfinished agenda of subcontinents partition.

### **Kashmir's accession with India was a fraud**

Alastair Lamb, a renowned scholar and an authority on affairs of the subcontinent, in his research work entitled "Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute 1947-48", has revealed that the Instrument of Accession, under which Kashmir is claimed to have acceded to India, was never signed but was a concoction of VP Menon, the Foreign Affairs Advisor to India's Prime Minister. The Maharajah had no moral right to accede to India because majority of his subjects was Muslim. On 27 Oct 47, the Maharajah had already lost Kashmir to a spontaneous revolt by his Muslim subjects. The revolt was triggered by a genocidal ethnic cleansing by his Dogra (Sikh and Hindu troops) against the Muslims. Tribesmen from Pakistan joined the Kashmiri Muslims and forced the Maharaja to flee from Srinagar to Jammu. He was, therefore, no longer the ruler of the state. The accession as such of Oct 47, was a fraud. It was actually dictated by Nehru and taken to Jammu by VP Menon on 27 Oct 1947. This was some five hours after the first Indian troops landed in Srinagar. Thus India did not go into Kashmir to protect its territory, as it was claimed in the UN, but to capture it.

Lamb further reveals that by 27 Nov 1947, VP Menon and Muhammad Ali, Secretary General of Pakistan had hammered out a draft agreement that included a paragraph: "Neither government would accept the accession of a state whose ruler was of a different religion to the majority of his subjects without resorting to plebiscite." That included Hyderabad and Junagadh. Two hours after Ali's plane left Delhi, India rejected the draft.

### **How to solve Kashmir Problem**

In view of India's past behaviour with respect to the solution of Kashmir problem no amount of bilateral talks are likely to bear fruit. There is no need of considering the alternative solutions of the problem when a solution agreed by India and Pakistan exists in the form of UN Resolution. The only requirement is to implement it. How? It could be done through third party

intervention just as USA helped Palestine and Israel to reach an agreement some time ago. In case of Kashmir if India does not cooperate then the threat of NATO force should be used by the UN just as it was done in case of Serbia's maltreatment of Kosovan Muslims who demanded independence from the oppressive rule of the Serbs.

The world has finally understood that there will never be peace in South Asia until the Kashmir problem is solved in accordance with UN Resolutions, which duly cater for the point of view of India, Pakistan and that of the people of the state.

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# Pakistan's Water Vision and Indian hydel-projects in Occupied Kashmir

Allauddin Masood ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Pakistan has enough hydel resources to meet her growing needs for electricity and irrigation over the next 15 years, if these are harnessed carefully and methodically. Though essential for the country's socio-economic progress, these resources have so far largely remained untapped. Pakistan has been able to utilise only some 12.5 per cent of the available hydel resources in the last 57 years by constructing reservoirs, barrages and dams.

Resultantly, water scarcity is the main hurdle to increasing the food production in Pakistan. Experts feel that if more water reservoirs are not built, the present shortage of 40 million acre feet (MAF) of water would increase to 100 MAF by the year 2013 and to 150 MAF by 2025. The storage capacity of the existing water reservoirs has, according to official sources, depleted by some 20 to 25 per cent due to silt and slush.

Presently, there are seven major dams and water reservoirs in Pakistan. These include Mangla, Tarbela, Warsak, Hub, Khanpur, Chashma and Simly. The total storage capacity of these reservoirs has become reduced to some 13 million-acre feet (MAF) from 16.637 MAF, as the accompanying table illustrates.

## Storage capacity and status of major dams in Pakistan

Pakistan uses about 50 per cent of the 140 MAF of its available run off water, i.e. water that falls on the country and is collected in rivers, lakes and streams, in a normal year. It draws about 70 MAF from the



underground springs and natural reservoirs. Of the 210 MAF (140 run off plus 70 MAF underground) of the available water, some MAF is used for irrigating 40 million acres of land through Pakistan's largest integrated irrigation system in the world, while some 40 reach the Indus Delta. According to a conservative estimate, over MAF water escapes to the sea every year, which can be controlled utilised for irrigation and generation of more economic and pollution free hydel energy.

Hydel power is comparatively more economic than thermal power and other sources of energy. If it is used on a wider scale, it could provide tariff relief to the consumers, involve Pakistani manpower in planning, designing and manufacturing of machinery besides accelerating the pace of economic development in the country in general and remote rural areas in particular. Currently, WAPDA generates about 30 per cent electricity from hydel power and 65 per cent from thermal power.

### Perspective plan/vision 2025

The country's 25-year perspective plan, known as the Water Resources and Hydropower Development Programme - Vision 2025, appears to be an attempt to save its existing irrigation potential and also meet its future requirements for irrigation and electricity production. The plan envisages construction of new dams, raising the height of the existing Mangla Dam, extension in the canal network and building of a number of small hydropower plants at various canals.

Pending consensus on the Kalabagh Dam Project, the government has decided to raise the height of Mangla Dam. There are also plans to construct four new dams at a total estimated cost of Rs146.84 billion to meet the growing water shortages in the country.

These projects for conservation of fresh water will be the first in the series of projects being undertaken in the country after the completion of the Tarbela Multi-purpose Project in 1974, at a cost of \$1.8 billion. Tarbela Dam was the world's largest earth-filled dam, with a height of 470 feet (143.256 Metres) above the ground level, when built in 1974.

## Ghazi Barotha Hydropower Project

Amongst the hydropower projects, Ghazi Barotha is the third major project in the country after Tarbela and Mangla. Completed in December 2003, the run-of-the-river Ghazi Barotha Hydrpower Project has been designed to re-regulate the daily discharge from Tarbela and divert the water into the power channel. With all the gates open, the barrage is designed to pass 18,700 cumecs (654,500 cusecs) of water. It has a normal pond level of 340 metres.

Ghazi Barotha Hydro Power Project has a generation capacity of 1450 MW, with an average annual energy output of 6600 million kwh. It has a 51.90 kilometre-long power channel, which has 135 mm thick reinforced concrete lining to convey 1600 cumecs (56,500 cusecs) of water from the barrage to the powerhouse complex.

## Raising Mangla Dam

The construction work on raising Mangla Dam's height to increase its reservoir capacity by 2.9 MAF has been awarded to a Chinese firm, which has already started the initial activities for the execution of the work. This project is intended to partially compensate for the loss in water storage capacity, while boosting the country's power generation capacity by 300 MW.

A new model city and four towns are to be built for the rehabilitation of those affected by this project. The government has so far transferred Rs3.20 billion to the government of Azad Kashmir for disbursement among those who will be affected. The estimated cost of the project is Rs62.55 billion.

## New dams

Pakistan is also working on the construction of four new dams under Phase I of the Vision 2025 programme. These include: Gomal Zam (NWFP), Mirani and Sabakzai (Balochistan) and Satpara (Northern Areas) at a total estimated cost of Rs84.29 billion. These dams, on completion, would irrigate 222,886 acres of land.

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The government of Pakistan has already allocated an amount of Rs56 billion in the current year's budget, for the construction of new water reservoirs and for raising the Mangla Dam height.

### Gomal Zam Dam

Amongst the four new dams already approved for construction, the Gomal Zam Dam Project is located at Khajuri Kack on Gomal River in South Waziristan Agency at a distance of about 60 km to the west of Tank district, and about 120 km from Dera Ismail Khan district. President Pervez Musharraf inaugurated work on the project on August 22nd and it is one of the fast-track priority projects of the country. Estimated to cost Rs12.829 billion, the 758 feet-long and 437 feet-high multi-purpose Gomal Zam Dam has been designed to cater to the needs for irrigation, power generation and flood control. The dam will have a gross water storage capacity of 1.13 MAF and a live storage capacity of 0.892MAF. The dam, 'on completion in June 2006,' will irrigate 163,086 acres of land in Tank and Kulachi tehsils of Dera Ismail Khan. It will have a power generation capacity of 17.4 MW.

### Mirani Dam

It is located on the Dasht River at a distance of about 48 km west of Turbat town in Makran Division. Mirani Dam will have a height of 127 feet and a live-storage capacity of 15,200 MAF. Estimated to cost over Rs5.811 billion, it will irrigate 33,200 acres of land.

### Sabakzai Dam

Located in Balochistan, Sabakzai Dam will irrigate 6,680 acres of land. With a live storage capacity of 21,646 acre feet, the dam is estimated to cost over Rs1.01 billion.

### Hingol Dam

After the completion of Mirani Dam, the government plans to start work on Hingol Dam. Estimated to cost Rs21 billion, the multi-purpose project will cater to the irrigation, drinking water and power generation needs of the region. With a gross storage capacity of 0.97 MAF, the dam will



generate 300 KW of electricity, irrigate some 9,250 acres of land and provide five million gallons a day (MGD) of water for use at the Hingol port and the regional industry.

### Satpara Dam

With a power generation capacity of 12.7 MW and a live storage capacity of 1,484 acre feet, Satpara Dam in the Northern Areas is expected to irrigate 15,536 acres of land. The cost of the project is estimated to be about Rs2.1 billion.

### Bhasha Dam

Bhasha Dam in the Northern Areas of Pakistan is another non-controversial dam, on which work can be started after the completion of the feasibility studies this year. WAPDA engineers and experts have been carrying out these studies since 2001, when they mobilised three drilling rigs on the site to collect the necessary data.

### Small dams

In addition to these dams, Pakistan is planning to build small hydel power stations at the low heads of canals, which are spread over 32,000 Kms. These mini-hydel power plants are likely to yield 1,000 to 1,500 MWs of power. To increase water availability at farm level, some 10,000 tube-wells

are also being installed throughout the country.

### Greater Thal Canal

Another major project, which is being executed under the Vision 2025 programme, is the Greater Thal Canal, which is designed to bring a green revolution in its command area stretching over 1.535 million acres in the eastern part of the Thal Doab within the boundaries of Khushab, Bhakkar, Jhang and Layyah districts.

President Pervez Musharraf inaugurated work on this canal on August 16, 2001. The main Greater Thal Canal will have a length of 35 KM. The length of its branch canals will be 342 km, while the

The alarming situation again emerged in 1984 when India announced plans to build the barrage on the Jhelum River at the mouth of Wullar Lake, the largest fresh water lake, near the town of Sopore in the disputed Kashmir Valley. This created uproar in the Pakistani camp and under compulsion India had to stop the constructional work on the project. Again in 1992, India announced her plans for another controversial water reservoir, the Baglihar Dam on the Chenab River- allotted to Pakistan by the 1960 treaty. The Chenab is fed with glacial melt-waters from the Himalayas and for centuries has provided crucial irrigational system for the region. While the accord gave India full rights to use water from the eastern rivers by building dams and barrages, it allowed limited irrigation use of water from the western river earmarked for Pakistan.

The Treaty barred India from interfering "with the water of these rivers except for domestic use and non-consumptive use, limited agriculture use and limited utilization for generation of hydro-electric power." The treaty also barred India from storing any water or constructing any storage works on the western rivers that would result in a reduced flow of water to Pakistan. The water dispute has been on the agenda of the composite dialogue, but no progress has been made. While talks have yet to yield results, Indian attempt to use water as a geo-strategic tool, is unfair and in contravention to the IWT-1960.

Ever since the inking of Indus Water Treaty-1960 over collective sharing of water, the Indian Government has devised a well-articulated strategy to deprive Pakistan of water and render it into a desert. The construction of Uri, Todi Dam, Kishan Ganga Dam, Salal dam, Wullar barrage, Tulbul Navigational barrage, Baglihar dam etc, on Pakistani rivers, are grand designs to conquer Pakistani water, because dams on these sites have the potential to make the well-placed link-canal system redundant in Pakistan. By doing so, India will be in a position to close down both of these rivers (i.e. Jhelum and Chenab). If it is allowed to happen, then it would make Pakistan barren by 2014. The Baglihar Dam along with other dams has diminished the flow of Chenab during the vital Rabi crop-sowing season (January and February) threatening Pakistan's agro-based economy.

According to Indus Water Treaty-1960, Pakistani position on the Chenab water issue has been that a minimum of 55,000 cusecs of water should flow into Pakistan at the Marala headworks near Sialkot in peak season; however, a flow of only 22,000 cusecs was recorded last year, adversely affecting the

crops. Pakistan demanded compensation for the water from India. The Indian did not pay any heed to objections raised by Pakistan relating to the compensation for the loss of 23,000 cusecs of water. India says that the dam has been built on "run-of-the-water" and as such the amount of water to Pakistan would not reduce. In this connection, Indian commissioner on water, G Aranganathan said it had invited Pakistan's water commissioner Mr. Jama't Ali Shah to visit the dam to see that the Chenab's flow was naturally low. The 470-feet high, 317-meter wide dam, with a storage capacity of 15 billion cusecs of water, has significantly reduced water flow to agriculture-dependent Pakistan. Some of the objections raised by Pakistan on the construction of Baglihar dam are: Firstly, it will have poverty and ecological effects in Pakistan. Secondly, it gave India a strategic leverage in times of tension or war with Pakistan. Thirdly, it would dry some 5.6 million acres of land. India should release Pakistan's share of river waters and if it is not done, Pakistan will left with no other choice than to take the issue to the court of arbitration or to neutral experts.

Throughout history, rivers have been our foremost source of fresh water for both agriculture and individual consumption. Water has caused people to rise up against people and country to rise up against country. Countries must avoid "unilateralism" in building water dams cum hydroelectric projects. Any major upstream alteration in a river system, or increase in use of shared groundwater, should be negotiated, not imposed as in case of Indian water overtures on its neighbors. The governments of India and Pakistan should look beyond national borders to basin-wide cooperation. India, the biggest country of the region, has to allay the concerns of its neighboring countries, i.e. Pakistan & Bangladesh as the lower riparian states and Nepal and Bhutan as the upper riparian states, while utilizing the hydro potential of its waters. Upholding the thesis of "collective use of Hydrology", India should release water from its own share to save the Indus delta so vital for keeping the regional ecological system robust. India has plans to build 65 dams to cater the growing needs of its burgeoning population. On the other hand, Pakistan has so far constructed only 63 dams altogether. The Chenab water blues can be judiciously addressed by sharing the water as a "collective resource" for our future generations.

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# Referendum only Kashmir solution

FROM HAMID-UR-REHMAN Nation: 21 Aug 06

SEOUL - Nobel peace prize winner and former South Korean President Kim Dae-Jung has said the United Nations resolution asking for referendum in Kashmir was the most democratic and reasonable solution to the Kashmir issue but this would be difficult to pursue at the world's top body. "When pursuing such a referendum, remember there are more Muslims and the other side would not accept such a plebiscite because they are the minority," the former president of South Korea Kim Dae-jung, 82, said during an interview with The Nation on Thursday at the Kim Dae-Jung Presidential Library and Museum.

The Nation has the honour of being the first Pakistani newspaper to interview the Nobel Laureate former President Kim Dae-Jung, who graciously consented to an hour-long session. At the outset of the interview he said, "It is quite hard to meet people these days because it is so hot and the condition of my health is not good either. "I have to dress up, like wearing a tie when I meet people. So it is quite difficult. But I decided to meet you, as it is the first time that I am meeting journalists from Pakistan and Nepal. Also, I wanted to see you and share my ideas with you." Upon being asked what would he suggest for the solution of the longstanding Kashmir issue on which there are UN resolutions calling for a plebiscite, the Nobel peace prize winner said, "If we look at the resolutions of the UN, to pursue referendum among the people is the most democratic and the most reasonable solution to the issue, but when pursuing this remember there are more Muslims and the other side would not accept such a referendum because they are the minority.

"And so, it is difficult to pursue such resolutions at the UN and this shows how difficult it is to overcome the issue of Kashmir," said the former president, who spoke in Korean language during the interview and an

interpreter facilitated the communication. Korea Press Foundation Chairman Chung Nam-kee was also present on the occasion. This (Kashmir) is a very difficult question that has been going on for 60 years and I believe that no one can actually come up with a clear-cut solution to this issue, he observed. The Nobel Laureate said that dialogue was the best possible option for resolving the Kashmir issue.

He said, "I know that there is use of force and terrorism sometimes between the two sides." "The problem is, if we see the situation, as if one side seizes power then the other side would be left with nothing, that is having one hundred per cent or nothing. This is how people see the situation and without a compromise from both the two sides this issue will not be resolved, he said. Kim Dae-Jung was awarded Nobel Peace Prize in the year 2000 for his struggle for democracy and human rights in South Korea and in East Asia in general, and for peace and reconciliation with North Korea in particular.

He said, "As the issue is there, the use of force between the two sides is all the more detrimental because both sides are nuclear powers and this will result in catastrophic results for the people of Pakistan and India." He emphasized that dialogue was the most important way to resolve the situation and both sides should have the wisdom to pursue their own national interests to the minimum level but at the same time they should try to respect the other side's opinion.

Speaking on the importance of dialogue during the interview he said, "Dialogue is not something that is pursued with the countries you like; even if you don't like the country and are opposed to it you have to pursue the dialogue for world peace and for national interest." "I know that both Islam and Hinduism cherish tolerance and peace and there should be dialogue in this perspective so that both sides can co-exist together in peace. "This is the way to overcome the very tragic situation of today," he concluded. About US-North Korea relations, he said the United States must pursue dialogue with the North Korea to resolve the current crisis and break the deadlock following the missile tests by Pyongyang and both the countries should lead the dialogue whether it is bilateral or within the framework of six-party talks.

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"The containment policy and putting pressure on a country can not bring change but a dialogue while encouraging reform brings about change," he said. "There is a strong need of dialogue with North Korea and the US must pursue dialogue with North Korea. If dialogue is pursued, this issue can be resolved," the former president said this in response to a question on how the stalemate after the North Korean missile tests could be resolved. He said that in resolving the crisis what was more important and more dangerous were not the missiles but the nuclear weapons.

Thus there should be give-and-take negotiations and a give-and-take deal between the two countries (US and North Korea) and these actions should be taken simultaneously, he emphasised. "This is because there are two main areas of concern to the United States and North Korea. North Korea is the one that has to give up its nuclear weapons and US is the one that has to provide security assurances and lift the economic sanctions," said the former president.

Kim said there was a simple solution to the crisis that the North Korea abandons its nuclear programme completely and maintain its moratorium on the missiles. And as a reward the United States should provide North Korea with security assurances and lift the sanctions. Kim suggested that North Korea and United States should be at the centre of this dialogue and lead the six-party talks, adding that today the most important thing was the dialogue, whether in the framework of six-party talks or outside the talks. The Nobel peace prize winner said that during the Korean War the US pursued dialogue with North Korea to come up with an armistice agreement in 1953 and for more than 50 years now there has been no war in the Korean peninsula. When the United States pursued dialogue even during the wartime, why can't it do so now?, he asked.

Kim Dae-Jung's election in 1997 as the republic's president marked South Korea's definitive entry among the world's democracies. President Kim Dae-Jung's vision for the Korean people led him to pursue a policy of engagement towards North Korea. He and North Korean leader Kim Jong-Il worked together on a joint declaration they signed on June 15, 2000 paving the way for a brighter future of all Koreans.



# Pakistan's Inter-state Relations

# Why to have a Friendly Afghanistan ?

By: Prof. Col (R) M. Zahur-ul-Haq

A question is often asked what policy options are available to Pakistan in its relationship with Afghanistan after the ouster of Soviet Union in 1989. People of Afghanistan won their independence with the active assistance of Pakistan. Unfortunately, the defeat of the enemy did not bring peace; rather a bloody civil war replaced the *jihad* against a colonial power, which let the Muslim cutthroat of the Muslim to nurse their respective prejudices. A holy war turned into an ugly internecine conflict— Pushtoon, Tajiks etc all locked up in a mortal struggle. The Taliban generally got an upper hand and managed to extend their authority to more than 90 % of the country. However, they could not completely eliminate their rivals known as Northern Alliance in this deadly power struggle. The consequences are horrifying, some of which are:

\* The economy of the country stands shattered. Men have turned into beggars because avenues of employment are not available. Women's plight is pathetic. Many of them have been widowed. Under the new so-called Islamic culture developed by Taliban, women are neither permitted to get education nor seek employment. The number of orphaned children is estimated to have gone up to 40 thousand, which is on the increase because the suicidal war continues unabated.

\*The UN and the OIC have repeatedly desired the establishment of a broad-based government representing all sections of the Afghan society. The ongoing senseless war is exposing people to endless miseries. Human rights are being violated on an unprecedented scale. Drug trafficking has become the main source of livelihood. Kalashnikov culture has spread widely. Afghan society has become isolated from the modern world. More than 30 lacks Afghan refugees have left their homeland to live in the neighboring countries, particularly Pakistan.

\* The unexpected entry of Osama Bin Laden, USA's most sought after so called terrorist, into Afghanistan and Taliban's wholehearted support to him has invited the wrath of the super power of today's world. It has suffered economic sanctions and made target of missile attacks.

Despite all the above problems that afflict today's Afghanistan, Pakistan stands by it, and is being blamed for it, in many quarters at home abroad. It is being suggested that instead of sharing the bad reputation that Afghanistan has earned over the last decade, Pakistan should review its equation with it. However, the geo-political factors, historical compulsions, economic considerations and ground realities have different message to convey. Let us have look at them.

Afghanistan was Pakistan's only open enemy at the time of its birth. The solitary negative vote against its formal membership of the United Nations was cast by the sitting Afghan representative. The reason was that Afghanistan had territorial claim on Pakistani areas in NWFP and Balochistan along its borders where Pushtoons were in majority. Moreover, it was under soviet influence and its temperament was communistic. Pakistan being anti-communist and an ally of USA was disliked by the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the Afghan government had always remained under the political influence of India that was always bent upon creating trouble on Pakistan's western borders. It was the only country, which openly fanned the fire of ethnic nationalism, by raising the stunt of Pushtoonistan, in concert with India, before Pakistan could firmly establish itself. The intention was to spread the virus of ethnic nationalism from Pushtoon to non-Pushtoon areas and drive a wedge between the Pakistani people.

Mercifully this malignant move lost its appeal in the Pushtoon parts of the country after capture of political power by Taliban in Afghanistan. The tactical advantage of a friendly Afghanistan for Pakistan cannot be over emphasized. It is so because it lacks strategic depth in military terms, and is sandwiched between hostile India and an independent Iran, which has its own politico-economic interests in South Asia, and cannot be taken for granted. In view of this the emergence of a friendly Afghanistan has been a God sent boon. To perceive it a danger is only shortsightedness.



The land which Asoka and Aurangzeb acquired by military action for the safety of their empire in South Asia and which the British could not annex for the same purpose has now linked its fortune closely with us. What an irony that some of our political analysts call it either the source of all our present day ills or look at it as a lurking peril in our neighborhood.

With the secession of our eastern wing and with India on the road to Hindutva with the avowed aim of erasing every relic of Indo-Muslim culture from the history books of modern India, if not from its expansive landscape, there is little sense in our looking eastward. India itself is not looking in our direction with friendly gestures, but towards the United States and European Union for its hi-tech trade and for political prestige as an emerging world power with a reserved seat in the Security Council. Our destiny beckons us to the north where our ancient ancestors came from and where our future generations may have to look for economic opportunities by exploiting the vast and virgin resources that await the hammer and the tools of a breed of educated, energetic and competent men and women. General Pervez Musharraf's recent state visit to Turkmenistan, with its rich reservoir of oil and gas just north of Afghanistan, is a trailblazer. The project of proposed gas pipeline from Turkmenistan to Pakistan cannot materialize without the cooperation of Afghanistan. Similarly all trade routes to Central Asian States have to pass through Afghanistan. It will serve as a bridge, a corridor for CAS to reach the Arabian Sea through the motorways of Pakistan and to the far off ports of the world through the harbor.

It will be seen that the advantages of a friendly Afghanistan far outweigh the superficial disadvantages that often influence some of our intellectuals. The only requirement is a solution to the Afghan problem. Already Pakistan's moderating influence has gradually changed the narrow outlook of the Taliban's. They have realized the importance of woman education, have successfully withdrawn arms from the people and have been able to control Drug trafficking to a great extent. The Osama is purely their internal matter, which they should be able to settle in due course.

So far as the civil war is concerned, the United Nations has been trying hard to help the Afghans from a compromise central Government in Kabul since the February 1989 withdrawal of the Soviets, who left behind their own man

Najibullah at the helm of affairs. The defection of Gen. Dostum upset that regime and Ahmad Shah Masood became the strongman in Kabul. Pakistan's efforts brought about a temporary settlement and Sibgatullah Mojaddadi, a Pushtoon by origin became President-although military power remained in the hands of Masood and his allies who were all non-Pushtoons.

After a year when Rabbani, a Tajik by origin, became President, both civil and military power was concentrated in non-Pushtoon hands. The Pushtoon commanders tried hard to recapture Kabul but they failed. A sudden change came with the rise of Taliban\_\_ the students who were trained in religious madrassas of Pakistan and Afghanistan in religious madrassas, with headquarters in Kandhar. With their new found military strength, the Taliban gradually captured Heart, Jalalabad, Ningrahar valley and finally Kabul. Rabbani and Masood had to retreat to their northern home to rebuild strength. Taliban's success was phenomenal as they pushed into the heart of Northern Alliances, which mainly consisted of Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazara shias. However, their first success in Mazar-e-Sharif proved short-lived. Ahmad Shah Masood, with his base in Pahjsheer valley tried to push into Kabul, which is surrounded, by hills all around but not with success.

Then came the sudden change when the Taliban regrouped and own over Pushtoon population even in the urban areas of the north. This led to their capture of Mazar-e-Sharif and Kunduz. This brought an end to the military power of Uzbek leaders like Gen.Dostum and Gen. Abdul Malik. The Taliban then took over Bamiyan, the shia stronghold, for the first time. The Taliban, have by now been able to control 90 % of Afghanistan. But Apart from Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and UAE no other government has accorded them recognition. Rabbani has remained the legal President of Afghanistan, though he is almost a fugitive. Ahmad Shah Masood still maintains iron grip on his stroghold in Panjshir with Tajik and Uzbek support. He still commands the Salan Pass, holds the international airport of Bagram and has a direct link with Tajikistan. Military and other assistance comes to Alliance from Russian Federation and Persian speaking countries like Tajikistan and Iran through this connection and also perhaps from India and other CAS countries. The countries of the region are apprehensive of Taliban for their designs to export their brand of Islam around the region.

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The UN, the OIC and the Six-plus-Two (The six surrounding countries plus Russia and America) have been trying for a broad based government to end the hostilities. The last Six-plus-Two meeting took place in Tashkent. Taliban decided to attend but not without reservation. They also secretly planned to make another military move. Uzbek President Islam Karimov expressed his genuine desire for peace settlement. A joint statement was made for cease fire but the very next day Taliban advanced towards Bagram, Charikar and even to the gates of Panjshir valley. It is said that Taliban took advantage of the absence of Ahmed Shah Masood from his home when he was busy in Tashkent. The main aim of Taliban has been to capture whole of Afghanistan by sheer military might. Much of the territory fell to Taliban by on his return from Tashkent Ahmed Shah Masood has recaptured the lost ground. Once again he is hitting out at Kabul and laying the blame on Pakistanis and Arabs for the support they have lent to Taliban.

With all their military strength and backing the Taliban have failed to score a decisive victory over Masood. On the other hand the formation of a compromise government has not materialized because the Afghans have themselves sought to decide the issue by force. This appears to be a remote possibility because the Taliban advance has been foiled more by the combined strength of the people of the valley than by any great military campaign or strategy. In view of this Taliban should drop plans of military conquest and resort to other means to establish peace in the country. The best is to listen to the sane advice of Pakistan, and the UN to form a truly representative government and concentrate on the reconstruction of the war torn country. The autonomy of the different region of the country should be restructured on the will of the people to permit the age-old tribal tradition to find full expression so that the role of the warlords comes to an end. They can combine as Afghans on equal footings to form a compromise government in Kabul. That appears to be the only way to keep the country from falling apart and continue to remain as one entity to play its strategic role in the region.

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# An Objective assessment of Obama's New Strategy

Compiled by : Prof. Col M. Zahur-ul-Haq

The new Afghanistan-Pakistan policy announced by President Obama raises hopes and fears. What gives hope that the US is taking a long-term view of the region and making a strong and robust commitment to assist Pakistan and Afghanistan build their institutional capacities. Economic assistance to Pakistan would triple to 1.5 billion dollars a year. In addition a substantial amount will be allocated for development in tribal areas in the form of opportunity zones.

US administration is also widening its political engagement in Pakistan. US officials and members of Congress are keeping contact with all the major political parties and are not banking on one individual. By seeking cooperation of neighbouring countries—China, Russia, India, Gulf States and even Iran—the US is moving away from unilateralism to a more inclusive multilateral approach. Involvement of Iran could be very useful as it is an important player in the region. While taking the regional approach the new strategy fails to include the Kashmir problem fearing that it would upset its key ally India. United States and the international community cannot continue to ignore the stark reality of the live problem of Kashmir that generates its own dynamic of militancy and has the potential of getting linked up with Al-Qaeda and Taliban if left unresolved.

America's assistance in training police and security forces should help in combating terrorism and dealing more effectively against criminal gangs and various mafias operating in the country. The increase by another 17,000 combat troops in Afghanistan would take the overall US strength in Afghanistan to over 60,000. Most of the additional forces are likely to be located in Afghanistan's southern provinces—Helmand and Kandhar—close to the Pakistani border. This will generate its own dynamic in our tribal belt and Balochistan.

President Obama perhaps deliberately made no mention of drone attacks, but the earlier leaks in the New York Times and other newspapers is a clear

indication that these would continue and may even increase. The new US policy aims at engaging with reconcilable elements among Taliban. This is a welcome development but its implementation may be difficult. Washington is insisting that it can engage with Taliban that do not belong to the hard core. This is only feasible if the military balance shifts in favour of US and NATO forces, which is not the case at least as of now. And it is doubtful if the increase in troop levels will alter the balance in a significant way, unless Pakistan army on this side of the border and Afghan security forces become more effective. US of course will have zero tolerance for Taliban leadership that wants to harbour Al Qaeda. It is not clear what would be Taliban's response to this conditionality.

The new strategy aims at building Pakistan's military capability, but it would be specific to counterinsurgency operations. This in concrete terms should mean more helicopters, vehicles, communication equipment, night vision devices and training of Pakistan military in counter-insurgency.

There are still major areas of friction, especially regarding the so-called strategic assets between Pakistan and the US that will have to be reconciled. The US has zero tolerance for militant groups that are led by former resistance leaders Haqqani and Hikmatyar whereas Pakistan Army and intelligence agencies are allegedly supportive of them for their own reasons.

**OCO:** Bushes's 'war on terror' is now Obama's 'Overseas Contingency Operation', or OCO. Bush's 'war on terror' wasn't going well. The strategy in Iraq had called for a troop surge and that troop surge did work. The strategy for Afghanistan-Pakistan, or Af-Pak, isn't much different, a troop surge followed by negotiating with the Taliban from a position of strength, elimination of Al Qaeda and then an exit strategy. In February, the new president brought in Bruce Riedel overhaul America's Af-Pak strategy. The Riedel review has now recommended:

- Successfully shutting down the Pakistani safe haven for extremists
- In 2009-2010 the Taliban's momentum must be reversed in Afghanistan
- The international community must work with Pakistan to disrupt the threats to security along Pakistan's western border

• This new strategy of focusing on our core goal -- to disrupt, dismantle, and eventually destroy extremists and their safe havens within both nations OCO seems to have two immediate targets: Af-Pak and Iran. And, the route to

these two targets passes through Russia (plus countries under Russian influence). The first prong is to establish alternative supply routes -- beyond Chamman and Khyber Pass -- in order to reduce Pakistan's leverage. And, the second prong is to reconcile with Russia, engage Iran and, at the same time, use Russia to force Iran rollback its nuclear ambitions.

In essence, Obama's new focus is Af-Pak (plus Iran). Within Af-Pak, the real theatre of war now seems to be moving southwards more towards the Spin Buldak-Kandahar-Quetta corridor. OCO itself stands on two legs; a military column and an economic limb (the classic 'carrot-and-stick' policy). Petraeus has been given his additional combat brigades and Pakistan is being charmed with an offer of \$1.5 billion a year in non-military aid (subject to Congressional approval).

America is in Af-Pak not to win a war but to neutralise all threats to the mainland US that may in the future originate from within Af-Pak. The Taliban are no direct threat to the mainland, Al Qaeda is. America is here to defeat Al Qaeda not the Taliban. .

## A new dawn for Af-Pak

The AF-Pak strategy is good news for the Afghan people and bad news for the Afghan leadership. For Pakistan the opposite is the case: good news for its leadership but bad for ordinary Pakistanis. When the US coined the term Af-Pak, it created the assumption that the problems faced in Afghanistan and Pakistan were the same. Therefore, the solutions would also be the same. That has not happened. The Obama administration has offered one set of solutions for Afghanistan and another for Pakistan.

From the general surveys it has transpired that seventy per cent of the Afghan insurgents had no terrorist designs on the US and were fighting to expel foreign troops from their soil. They were "misled" into thinking the US was there for the long haul, and needed to know that Washington's goals were to ensure Afghanistan was rid of Al Qaeda and then leave.

The US will now prioritize Afghanistan's development. In so doing, it wants to accommodate the Afghan reality of a fragmented unity. It will no longer concentrate on developing centralized state structures, at which the PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan), the Soviets, the Taliban and the Bush administration each failed. Its various provinces and different ethnic



races will elect their representatives as they deem fit, as long as they do not harbour terrorists in their midst and do not abuse "women and girls".

Only the totally mindless and rabid rebels would turn their backs to the negotiation table after this declaration. For Pakistan, it's all about militants and terrorists – who want to destroy civilization and hence they "must be eliminated". The PPP government will receive development aid and there will be no check on how it spends this aid, unlike in Afghanistan. This is something that the new policy should have considered because the chance that such funds will be squandered is always high.

Moreover, the US will not try to create of a separate state in northern Afghanistan which would likely make it fall under the Kremlin's influence. What ever be the cause, Afghanistan can expect a better tomorrow. As for Pakistan, how can it expect a better tomorrow under these circumstances? Does it have the clout to make Washington accept its peace deals? If it bombs its people for wanting Sharia, it bombs its's own objective which was to give the Muslims of South Asia a homeland so they could practice their religion according to their wishes.

Furthermore, the U.S may invite India to play a role in the whole issue, which may be a sensitive matter since it relates to the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. Washington's backing off from the Kashmir issue may well have been precisely to lure India for this purpose. One wonders, for instance, what took the Pakistan Army seven long years to conclude the Pak-Afghan border should be fenced?

To begin with, the Pakistani media needs to explain the predicament. The rebel broadcast their cause in Pashto and Balochi. Mainstream media outlets should do the same, explaining to the Pathans and the Balochis the consequence of their harbouring of Al Qaeda elements in their midst. Those who are fighting for an archaic version of religion need to be told how that far from having the system they want, they are at risk of losing the Muslim homeland called Pakistan. As for the Muslims of Pakistan they need to begin engaging in ijtehad.

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# Pakistan- Afghanistan policy

By Lt-Gen (r) Talat Masood

The US being a super power enjoys a unique status around the world and cannot be treated as any other country. For Pakistan US means even more, as no other country exercises as much influence, for good or for bad, over Pakistan's foreign and domestic policy as US does. Ever since Pakistan's inception it has been closely aligned with United States. First, during the Cold War as an ally in SEATO and CENTO, then during Soviet occupation as front line state in support of Afghan Jihad and since 2001 in the war on terror. The relationship has had its troughs and peaks and expectations run high but have suffered many disappointments. Pakistan presents a paradox as well for it is among the top countries where anti-Americanism is at its peak. It is also true that Pakistan is heavily dependent on the US for economic assistance, military hardware and as a countervailing power against India, notwithstanding Washington's close and expanding ties with New Delhi.

With the change in US administration the Afghan and Pakistan policy is under major review. Obama's administration and Pentagon realize that Afghanistan and Pakistan are closely interlinked and Afghanistan's stability is vital otherwise it would continue to have a destabilizing influence on its nuclear neighbor. President Obama in his recent interview with NBC News stated that Afghanistan has to be stabilized for ensuring the stability of Pakistan. This thinking indicates that Washington is fully conscious of the ramifications of a weak Pakistan. Moreover, it also confirms Pakistan's viewpoint that the primary source of the problem rests in Afghanistan and unless conditions improve there it may not be possible to stabilize the tribal belt and Pakistan itself. In a way the new administration is taking a broader and a longer view in which the solutions are to be found in a regional context. This aspect was reflected when President Obama referred to the need for the resolution of the Kashmir problem. India should have taken these remarks positively instead its nervous reaction to the proposal made US realize that best way of going about it would be quiet diplomacy and that too after the Indian national elections. The seasoned US diplomat Mr Richard Holbrooke who has been appointed as special envoy for Afghanistan and Pakistan was initially tasked to address the Kashmir issue also but had to be taken off in deference to Indian sensitivities.

Washington has come to the conclusion that extensive reliance on military force will not resolve Afghanistan's complex problems and political solution though not easy will have to be found. Washington is also lowering its sights in Afghanistan and the report prepared by Joint Chiefs of Staff recommends de-emphasizing longer term goals of promoting democracy. Forthcoming presidential elections in Afghanistan

will be a major event and it is not clear if Karzai would win, or even enjoy American support. In the event that another candidate emerges than what will be the prospects of his turning Afghanistan around.

United States' plan about Pakistan seems to be work in progress. Mr. Richard Holbrooke is expected to come out with a plan for Pakistan in the regional context. On the military side, General Petraus will be finalizing his strategic direction and the two plans will have to weld together.

The relationship between the US and Pakistan military high commands is now relatively well defined and mutual confidence is gradually growing. Relations of US administration with the civilian government too are good. But long term relations will depend on how the government internally consolidates its position and manages issues of governance, economy and militancy.

Obama's administration is looking for political investment in Pakistan so that there is greater space for politics to function. Washington has been fully supportive of the PPP led government and especially of President Zardari. In assisting Pakistan build its institutions it is aiming at a long term relationship. United States has a serious interest in Pakistan's security. The proposed assistance package which is likely to be revived as Kerry- Lugar bill aims at providing Pakistan 15 billion dollar assistance spread over 10 years to build and strengthen its civilian institutions. There appears to be bi-partisan support for it in Congress. But the success of the program will depend on how the program is implemented.

In the immediate term the security of supply lines to US and NATO forces, management of the border and securing it so that Taliban and Al-Qaeda do not kill or harm US forces would remain the main focus.

President Zardari had remarked that with the change in US administration in January 2009 the missile strikes by un-manned drone aircraft in Pakistan's tribal belt will come to an end. Was it mere wishful thinking or based on some assurance given to him by members of the new power structure is a matter of conjecture. That aside, it has revived a raging controversy within Pakistan and aggravated anti-American sentiment and placed the civilian government in an embarrassing situation. It is diverting attention from the war on terror and is an impediment in mobilizing public support for counterinsurgency. Missile strikes in FATA demonstrate lack of trust between US and Pakistan as CIA is not prepared to share either the intelligence or sophisticated equipment of drones with Pakistan military. There is another major implication of US strikes. Other countries using this as a precedent can also strike at Pakistan as was being threatened by India after the Mumbai attack.

From the US perspective, the missile strikes are an extension of the Bush doctrine of preemption, enunciated in 2002, according to which US can take unilateral action if its security is threatened. CIA operatives are of the view that top leadership of Al-Qaeda is hiding in sanctuaries created in the tribal belt and pose a great threat to US and NATO forces. They also claim that several high value targets have been hit and Al-Qaeda is on the defensive. In any case from America's perspective Pakistan has lost control over its territory in FATA and by implication its sovereignty over the area

and is incapable of coping with the problem. Loss of internal security and rise to loss of external sovereignty. Perhaps, Mr. Holbrooke in his plan could also find ways of reconciling these



# Pakistan-China Friendship

important accord on major economic projects

By Mehmood-Ul-Hassan Khan

20 Oct 08

Pakistan and China enjoy an all-weather friendship. It is trustworthy and above all, time-tested too. Their multi-dimensional cooperation is built on the basis of mutual understanding, mutual trust and mutual support. Geopolitically, socio-economically and most of all geo-strategically, China has proved its significance and loyalty with Pakistan. Once again, this has been reaffirmed in President Asif Ali Zardari's state visit to China in which more than eleven MoUs, agreements and protocols have been signed between the two countries.

## Significance of the visit

Our economy is passing through difficult times. We badly need at least \$5-6 billion in order to reduce our looming deficits. China's massive foreign currency holdings make it a prime candidate to inject much-needed cash in Pakistan's economy, where inflation running at 25 percent has wrecked the government's finances. China is a leading source of investment for Pakistan. Bilateral trade between the two countries topped US\$7 billion last year, with a goal of reaching US\$15 billion by 2011. The Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao vowed to do what it could to help Pakistan in averting financial crisis. The President is expected to seek between 500 million dollars and 1.5 billion dollars as soft loans to help avoid looming bankruptcy. The Financial Times reported that China agreed to provide 500 million dollars as a concession loan to help Pakistan meet its balance of payment needs in April. The President hopes to secure another concessional loan of \$500 million soon.

## Joint statement

Pakistan and China agreed to further strengthen the level of economic co-operation in all possible and diverse sectors. The two countries also agreed to make continuous efforts to strengthen good neighbourly relations and friendship, develop mutually beneficial co-operation and deepen strategic

partnership of co-operation which serves the fundamental interests of the two country's and contributes to peace and development in the region.

The two sides agreed that economic co-operation is an important part of strategic partnership and both sides enjoy great economic complementarity and should fully tap the potential, and should comprehensively deepen mutually beneficial co-operation in the economic field. Furthermore, both countries agreed to fast track the implementation of the five-year development programme on economic cooperation, to make full use of the free trade agreement in goods and investment and also to revitalise the Pakistan-China joint investment company.

The two sides agreed to enhance cooperation to further develop and boost Pakistan's mineral and energy sector as well as broaden financial and the banking sector cooperation. China and Pakistan agreed to further improve connectivity by developing new communication links including fibre optic links. The countries also agreed to explore the concept of integrated border management, overland trade and development of trans-border economic zones.

### Agreements

Both sides agreed to strengthen their strategic partnership in all sectors, develop multidimensional bilateral relations, deepen close economic co-operation, and foster people to people interaction in the days to come. Pakistan and China signed eleven agreements; MoUs and protocols to further strengthen bilateral cooperation in infrastructure, energy, telecommunication, agriculture, industry, minerals, trade, disaster relief and space technology fields.

- (a) Framework agreement to jointly establish a \$300 million National Electronics Complex in Pakistan (NECOP).
- (b) Agreement on economic and technical cooperation.
- (c) Amending protocol to free trade agreement.
- (d) Framework agreement on cooperation in the field of minerals.
- (e) Environmental protection.

- (f) Cooperation in the field of radio and television.
- (g) Paksat-IR satellite procurement contract.
- (h) Properties exchange between the ministry of foreign affairs of PRC and the ministry of foreign affairs of Pakistan.
- (i) Cooperation agreement between Beijing museum of natural history and the museum of natural history of Pakistan.
- (j) MoU on cooperation between the ministry of land resources of PRC and the ministry of petroleum and natural resources of Pakistan.
- (k) MoU on scientific collaboration in agricultural research and technical cooperation.
- (l) MoU on cooperation between Cricket Association of the PRC and the Pakistan Cricket Board.
- (m) MoU on project of X-Ray container/vehicle inspection system.

### Major participants

Heads and chief executives of major financial, industrial and investment institutions of China called on President Zardari at the State Guest House and they showed keen interest for further investment in diverse fields of Pakistan.

- (a) China International Capital Corporation (CICC)
- (b) Export and Import Bank of China (Exim Bank)
- (c) Sinoma Group (Tianjin Cement and CMBC) (cement industry and already had projects in Pakistan, will provide machinery and equipment to cater to the growing needs of cement in Pakistan)
- (d) MCC (Steel Construction Company) (steel and real estate sectors)
- (e) All China Federation of Industry and Commerce (ACFIC) (Business-to-business contacts)



(f) Industrial Commercial Bank of China (ICBC)

Governor China Development Bank (CDB) also assured its full assistance and support to the public and private sector for the socio-economic development of Pakistan, particularly the development of infrastructure. He said EXIM Bank already had an investment of over \$2 billion in Pakistan and was willing to work to strengthen trade and economic cooperation between the two countries.

### Investment opportunities

The two countries signed the framework agreement on expanding and deepening bilateral economic and trade cooperation in February 2006. Chinese companies and enterprises are welcome to invest and go in for business projects or activities in Pakistan. President Asif Ali Zardari offered special preferential treatment to the Chinese investors in Pakistan, urging them to invest in Pakistan and take advantage of the country's geo-strategic location. He stressed that Pakistan provides ample opportunities of investment in diverse fields including trade, industry, financial services, banking, energy, construction, real estate, tourism, etc.

Foreign Minister Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi assured Chinese investors of the enabling environment in Pakistan for broadening economic cooperation and for the repatriation of their profits. He acknowledged that the Chinese IT, which is a service provider, has greatly contributed to introduction and promotion of modern telecommunication in Pakistan. The Huawei Company has invested \$500 million in Pakistan and annually contributed \$23 million to the national exchequer in taxes. It has also provided job opportunities to 25,000 people. The company also contributed one billion rupees for University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore in terms of provision of equipments.

The minister assured liberal visa regime for Chinese investors and proper security protection in the country. President Asif Ali Zardari has agreed to chair a special task force for fast track implementation of Chinese projects in the country.

### Major completed projects

The projects completed with Chinese assistance include the Karakoram Highway, the Chashma-I nuclear power station, the machine tool factory, and many others. The projects now underway with Chinese assistance include the Chashma-II nuclear power, the second phase of the Gwadar port, the Saindak copper mines development, the Gomal Zam dam and several oil and gas exploration schemes. On the whole, China is involved in more than 250 on-going projects in Pakistan. In the defence field, they have jointly developed the JF-17, a fighter aircraft, while MiGs, tanks, artillery, frigates and other Chinese arms.

### Economic interaction diversified business activities

At present, over 60 Chinese companies have already permanent offices in Pakistan. Pakistan and China have signed a free trade agreement (FTA), the first phase of which was completed in July 2008, and an investment protocol will make the FTA more comprehensive.

The two countries are also to sign a protocol for the establishment of economic zones (SEZs) in Pakistan to house industrial units to produce goods for duty-free export to China. It is estimated that the first phase of SEZs is expected to attract \$2 billion to \$5 billion from Chinese investors setting up export-oriented industries.

The recently established Pak-China Joint Investment Company (PCJIC), with paid up capital of \$200 million will serve as a bridge between Pakistani and Chinese entrepreneurs and facilitate investors to set up joint ventures in various fields.

More than two dozen Chinese companies have shown their commitment to investing in the first SEZ, being built at Kala Shah Kako, near Lahore. One venture, between the Ruba Group of Pakistan and the Haier Group of China, has brought in an initial investment of \$35 million. Light industry, automotive parts, electric appliances, parts of bicycle, CNG machine tools are supposed to be one of the few potential sectors for mutual cooperation between the two countries.

### Volumes of bilateral trade

According to Chinese Custom data, bilateral volume of trade is expected to touch \$5 billion by the end of this year 2008. Pakistan and China pledged to take their bilateral trade to \$15 billion by 2011, in their effort bringing economic ties at par with their strong political and strategic partnership. Last year, trade between the two countries rose to \$4.25 billion from \$3.06 billion the previous year. Bilateral trade has shown 40 percent increase, rising to \$4.26 billion in 2005 from the previous year's \$3 billion. The balance of trade between the two countries is heavily tilted in favor of China, which requires to be turned into a win-win situation for both the countries. The two countries are finalizing a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) to push total trade to over US\$8 billion by 2008. (see table)

### Collective efforts

Decreasing ratios of private Chinese companies (145 in 2003, which has reduced to 60 in 2008)) is cause of some concern and should be taken seriously. There should be permanent and effective presence of FPCCI in China, which is presently needed. China has no banking representation in Pakistan, which ought to be increased immediately. Language is identified as one of the major factors that have discouraged potential investors of both the countries from doing business. Deteriorating law and order situation in the country is one of the key elements for declining FDI and FPI in the country, which needed to be restored.

### Concluding remarks

China is a true friend. It always offered financial assistance and geo-political support to come over our difficulties. It is time to further strengthen our geo-strategically important friendship with China and initiate some meaningful joint ventures in the fields of energy, power and LSM.



# Pak-US ties

## in historical perspective

AIR MARSHAL (RETD) AYAZ AHMED KHAN

Nation: 19 Feb 07

After World War II, containment of Soviet Union was on top of the US agenda. Geographically and strategically Pakistan fitted into the US scheme of encirclement, intelligence gathering, and preventing Communist expansion into West and South Asia. Pakistan had three choices: (I) to follow a non-aligned policy like India, (II): to align its self with the Socialist block led by the Soviet Union, and (III), to align itself with the West, led by the United states, in pursuit of its economic and security requirements. Indian military occupation of Kashmir, and hostile attitude, influenced Pakistan's decision to align itself with the West. Besides pro-India attitude of Moscow, including an anti-Pakistan statement by Marshal Stalin during his New Delhi visit effected Pakistan's policy. The historical error that the Pakistani Prime Minister rebuffed Marshal Stalin's invitation, and instead accepted a US invitation, must be corrected. Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan Pakistan's Ambassador in Tehran was informed by the Russian Ambassador that Kremlin was planning to invite Prime Minister Liaquat to Moscow.

Ghazanfar flew to Karachi to inform the Prime Minister. Pakistan did not have an ambassador in Moscow at the time. Liaquat Ali Khan immediately appointed Mr Siddiqui from East Pakistan as Pakistan's first ambassador to Moscow. The Pakistani Prime Minister did not receive Moscow's invitation for an official visit.

One reason for Liaquat Ali Khan's pro-West leaning was that Europe and America were democracies, while Soviet Union was a fascist-Communist dictatorship. Stalin's had carried out purges and mass slaughters of Muslims of Chechnya, Kazakistan, Caucus and in other Muslim Central Asian states. He had deported millions to Siberia. His

hands were red with the blood of Muslims and Cossacks. In 1942 half a million Kazak Muslim refugees reached north India via Kangan in Kashmir, and narrated horrible tales of mass slaughters of Muslim's by the Red Army.

Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan was received by President Harry Truman at the Washington airport and addressed a joint session of the US Congress. President Truman in his speech said, "Mr Prime Minister- there are two power blocks in the world. One led by the United States of America comprises democracies, while the one led by the Soviet Union comprises dictatorial communist-Socialist states, which throttle freedom". To which Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan said, "Mr President, there is a third block of Muslim states, and Pakistan is its part". No other Pakistani Prime Minister had such courage of conviction.

From the beginning Pakistan followed a pro-West policy with a desire to befriend the United States, in the hope that it will help to unshackle Indian military occupation of the Held State. Besides Pakistan was in need of advice and financial support to develop its infrastructure, industrialise and build and modernise its armed forces. The motive was to get West's support in its confrontation with India over Kashmir, especially in the United Nations Organisation. Pakistan's relations with the United States improved after Republican President Eisenhower came to power in 1952. Secretary of State Dulles, pushed Pakistan's case as a close ally, and supported Pakistan's requests for economic and military aid. Pakistan was asked to join the MEDO - Middle East Defence Organisation, later retitled CENTO-Central Treaty Organisation with headquarter at Ankara Turkey; and SEATO-South Asian Treaty Organisation. Pakistan readily became a tool of US strategy and policy. Thus the United States acquired stakes in Pakistan's well being and decided to strengthen Pakistan economically and militarily.

By 1957 the US had poured 500 million Dollars into Pakistan's coffers, and supplied state of the art military hardware. Pakistan Army got hundreds of Patton tanks, artillery, APC's, howitzers, while the Pakistan Air Force received over one hundred F-86-F Saber jets, one

President Nixon ordered the US Navy's fifth fleet with aircraft carriers into the Bay of Bengal, but made no move to stop Indian military aggression on East Pakistan. Nixon's gesture came too late and was too little.

The 1965 and 1971 wars proved that America is a fickle friend. President Nixon used Pakistan's friendship with China to establish links with Beijing by secret diplomacy. Henry Kissinger's secret visit to Beijing in July 1971 via Islamabad was facilitated by Pakistan. The opening of China was essential in Nixon's strategy for creating global balance of power. Pakistan's part was acknowledged by the US. US policy during the five-year rule of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was capricious and suspect. PPP regimes socialist policies, quest for nuclear weapons, large scale nationalization, the 1974 Islamic Summit in Lahore, formation of a fascist Federal Security Force- FSF, and ZAB emerging as a leader of the Islamic Ummah was suspect in US eyes. When India carried out its first nuclear weapon test at Pokharan in 1974, ZAB's angry retort, "We will eat grass to get the weapon", made Bhutto unacceptable to Washington.

Henry Kissinger's angry retort that, " We shall make a horrible example of you", proved that Pakistan and the US were on a collision course. Senior CIA agent, Max Mermelstein in his book, " The Man Who Made Snow", reveals that CIA had planted an agent in Prime Minister Bhutto's Secretariat to spy on him. Pakistan was involved in efforts to get nuclear fuel processing plant from France and a Heavy water facility from West Germany. Bhutto government's foreign policy was to seek balance between China, Russia and the United States. In Washington's view Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had become too big for his boots, and had to be cut down to size. President Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter imposed sanctions on aid to Pakistan. During the 1977 PNA movement Zulfikar Ali Bhutto got cornered by election rigging, but claimed in a public retort that America was behind the PNA movement to topple his government. He alleged that his government was being punished for the nuclear weapon programme, and alignment with the Arab states. ZAB was discerned to be anti-Israel.



After Bhutto Jimmy Carter made some effort to normalize relations with Pakistan, and offered US Dollars four hundred million as a grant. President Ziaul Haq refused the offer, and called it "peanuts". Pak-US relations took a U-turn for the better when the Red Army invaded Afghanistan in December 1979. Jimmy Carter's covert action programme to provide weapons to Afghan Mujahidin was unworkable without Pakistan's cooperation. President Ronald Reagan aware of Pakistan's value, offered Dollar 3.2 billion aid package. With Pakistani cooperation, the Red Army was defeated, and its retreat and humiliation triggered the collapse of the Soviet Empire. Pakistan's graph was high in Washington. The fallout of the ten years war in Afghanistan, was arrival of three million Afghan refugees along with Klashnikov, drug, and extremist sectarian culture, which has damaged Pakistani society and the state.

During the Zia era, in view of Pakistan's value as an ally, Washington ignored Pakistani nuclear developments and human right abuses, especially towards women. Pakistan's usefulness ended after the defeat of the Red Army in Afghanistan. Having used Pakistan to achieve its objectives in Afghanistan, Pakistan was jettisoned as a trusted ally. Pakistan had served its purpose.

After the October 1988 election Benazir Bhutto's becoming Prime Minister, and return of democracy was welcomed by Washington, but annual certification of Dollar 600 million aid by the US President (under the (1984- Pressler Amendment), stipulated guarantee's from Islamabad that Pakistan did not possess any nuclear weapons. In October 1990 US Presidents certification was denied, and sanctions were imposed. This was a set back for the four democratically elected governments of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif. Besides Washington after receiving US Dollars 658 million, blocked the supply of duly paid for F-16 fighters to Pakistan. It refused to return the money either. This was an unjust and unfriendly act. Sanctions and embargo on the supply of F-16 fighters was highly unjust, discriminatory and damaging. Washington adopted a step-motherly attitude towards democratically elected governments, which were sacked one after another by civilian Presidents ie. Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Farooq Leghari. The adverse law

and order, banking and corporate loot and scams, huge bank loans given to cronies, which were not returned, and PM's husband elevated as Minister of Investment, when there was no such ministry, was bad for Pakistan's reputation. After the forex scam by Nawaz Sharif's second administration, World Bank and the IMF did not bail out Pakistan. The forex reserves nose-dived to 350 million dollars. Pakistan was on the verge of bankruptcy.

Pakistan's successful nuclear test- "the Islamic bomb" was an eye sore to Washington. And India exploited Kargil and defamed Pakistan globally. US media called Pakistan a failed state. This period was a low point in US-Pak relations.

The October 1999 take over by President Pervez Musharraf was considered a military coup and was not welcomed by Washington, which did not know the near disastrous drama on board the PIA aircraft returning from Sri-Lanka. President Bill Clinton's three day March 2000 visit to India, and only five hour stop over in Islamabad under high US security signified basic change in the 55 years US policy in South Asia. The "most allied ally" was rebuffed, because democracy had been thrown out of the window. But 9/11- a brazen act of terrorism changed US policy towards Pakistan after Musharraf's response to Collin Powell's blatant ultimatum, " you are either with us or against us". Musharraf responded, " We were with the United States against terrorism..". Wisely President Musharraf did not respond to the "barefaced threat" from Richard Armitage, the deputy Secretary of State that, " If we chose the terrorists , then we should be prepared to be bombed back to the stone age." It was a wise decision, considering that the enraged superpower was certain to punish the perpetrators of the 9-11 tragedy. In his widely read book - *In the Line of Fire*, Musharraf is candid that "Little did I know that we were about to be thrust into the frontline of yet another war, a war against shadows."

The relations with America now hinge on Pakistan's ability to contain terrorism internally, and stopping the terrorists from using Pakistan as a launching pad for terrorist activities across our borders. While the Musharraf government is doing its best, there is lot of resentment in

the country against US policy of aggression in the region, and discrimination and intimidation of Pakistan. After the March 2006, visit of President George Bush, a dozen Indo-US accords were signed; allowing India access to advance US nuclear technology, and denying the same to Pakistan. This proves that India clearly is a favoured nation. Pakistan has no other role except meeting American demands focused on terrorism and related issues. The recently passed bill by the US Congress making supply of military equipment conditional to Pakistan's anti-terror performance proves that the US lawmakers have not appreciated Pakistan's role in the war against terror and are determined to push Pakistan against the wall, and make it into a scapegoat. Robert Gates the new US Defence Secretary in his meeting with the President discussed measures to increase pressure on alleged insurgents on both sides of Pak-Afghan border. Rash statements of Karzai and NATO-US commanders came as loose canons. Karzai's provocative and irresponsible statements, American criticism, bombing of Bajaur madrassa, and military and civilian casualties from repeated NATO attacks on Pakistani posts and villages, have given rise to resentment and anger in Pakistan, which is being underplayed by the Musharraf administration. It is about time that resentment and anger of the Pakistani nation, is honestly and bluntly communicated to President Bush and his administration.

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# UPDATES

Q. There appears to be a major shift in US's war policy in Afghanistan. Discuss its important points. How far America has to look after Pakistan various interests in its new war strategy in Afghanistan

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Sifted By: Prof. Col ( r ) M. Zahur-ul-Haq

Ans: There is change in command in Afghanistan. General David Petraeus has taken over from Gen Stanley McCrystal. The American administration under President Barack Obama has rightly concluded that instead of facing an inevitable humiliating defeat in Afghanistan it is better to pursue a face-saving withdrawal of the US/NATO forces from the war-torn country.

In a major policy change the US has also understood that Pakistan is the only country that can play a critical role, if peace is to prevail in Afghanistan. This certainly does not mean that the US administration is ready to accept defeat at the hands of the Al-Qaeda or Taliban; however, it implies that Washington wants a representative government in Afghanistan that can handle all the major issues on its own. To achieve this goal, the US is prepared to increase both economic and military assistance to Pakistan.

In addition, the US administration has decided to provide a war chest of \$37 billion to the new supreme commander of the US/NATO forces in Afghanistan - General David Petraeus. Besides this, the incumbent US leadership is willing to strike a deal with the powerful Haqqani group in Afghanistan and is actively pushing President Hamid Karzai in that direction. Recent reports suggest that some US officials have held secret negotiations with Siraj Haqqani and that Pakistan had played a role in bringing the two sides to the negotiating table. How far the efforts of the Americans will bear fruit is yet to be seen. However, the Americans now seem to be moving in the right direction.

The Americans, who had fought a long and bitter war in Vietnam, were supposed to perform better in Afghanistan. But as time has proved that the US policy of surge and the use of brutal air power, alongside pumping in billions of dollars to an inefficient and corrupt regime, has not helped them to achieve any of their major goals in this region.

As a matter of fact, the US policy of bribing regional warlords, who are engaged in the nefarious trade of illegal drugs, has also resulted in the wastage of funds and time. This has in turn not only affected the morale of the US troops but has also eroded the support of the American people for the war in Afghanistan. No American administration can face such a situation for a long time. Therefore, the circumstances have led the US into a situation in which it is quickly running out of options that has resulted in a shift of policy.

While these are some positive developments, the insistence by the US for an Indian presence in Afghanistan is not going to be helpful to achieve the goals of the western world, especially America. This is so because India's objective is not to help the Afghans stand on their feet but solely to win lucrative deals for its companies and at the same time use its presence in Afghanistan to foment trouble in the Pakistan's province of Balochistan.

Pakistan has on several occasions provided the US with irrefutable evidence of Indian involvement in the insurgent activities taking place in Balochistan. The Indian intelligence agency, RAW, has also set up training camps in certain areas of Afghanistan from where extremist elements enter into the Pakistani territory and indulge in acts of terrorism. Moreover, some of the Afghan warlords, who cultivate poppy, with the help of their mentors - RAW - send the lethal drug (heroin) to various European countries. The illegal drug trade from Afghanistan to the West is about \$10 billion per year and this is by itself enough money to sustain the war that continues in Afghanistan and elsewhere against American interests.



In fact this booming drug trade is not possible without the encouragement of the Americans and the involvement of the Indian government. The government of Hamid Karzai has, so far, not only failed to establish its credentials in Afghanistan, but also continues to act as a puppet for the Indian government. Therefore, the present regime in Kabul has failed to rein in the illegal activities of the Indians in their country. Nevertheless, the coming days and months will prove how far the US is willing to go in order to achieve its redefined goals. The new military leadership in Afghanistan appointed by President Obama will have to do some tightrope walking in case it wants to succeed in creating conditions that will allow a face-saving exit to the Americans when they finally decide to leave the country to its fate.

At present, the policy of American drone attacks may have picked up some important Al-Qaeda and Taliban leaders but in the process the collateral damage amongst innocent people has inflicted serious long-term damage to US interests in the region.

In case the US is really serious to get out of the Afghan quagmire, then it must not only prop up the sagging economy of Pakistan, but also provide the security forces of this country with the equipment that is essential for them to inflict a deadly blow on the insurgents.

To achieve its objectives quickly the US will have to ignore India's objections and provide Pakistan with the much needed equipment they require not only to defeat the terrorists but that is also essential for the security of Pakistan.

Both the Pakistani establishment and the American administration must overcome the remaining misgivings that seem to linger on after the mistakes committed by President Musharraf. Mutual understanding and trust are the two main ingredients for success and in case any one party suspects the other it may result in failure. This is a proposition that should not be acceptable to

either Pakistan or the United States of America. Similarly, the Americans should ensure that Mr Hamid Karzai changes his hostile attitude towards this country. In the same vein, Karzai must also revise his relations with the Indians keeping in view the realities of his geopolitical position.

Another factor that could bring productive results for America, is the sincerity of its administration to nudge India to resolve the continuous issue of Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan. The US also has a role to play in the newly created water dispute by the Indians; who are all along playing foul keeping in view the international traditions on such issues.

One, therefore, strongly feels that instead of putting half-baked measures in place the policymakers in the US administration will keep in view the interest of Pakistan while implementing the new Afghan policy that is currently being evolved by the American think tanks in Washington.

On its part, Pakistan should clearly indicate to the US both the economic and political constraints that it is facing and to what extent it can cope with America in the current scenario. One hopes that the US will not, once again, abandon the people of Afghanistan and will only leave once the rehabilitation process of the country is on track. In case the Americans leave in a hurry, Afghanistan will definitely convert into a dangerous breeding ground for terrorism, a condition that will be in no one's interest.

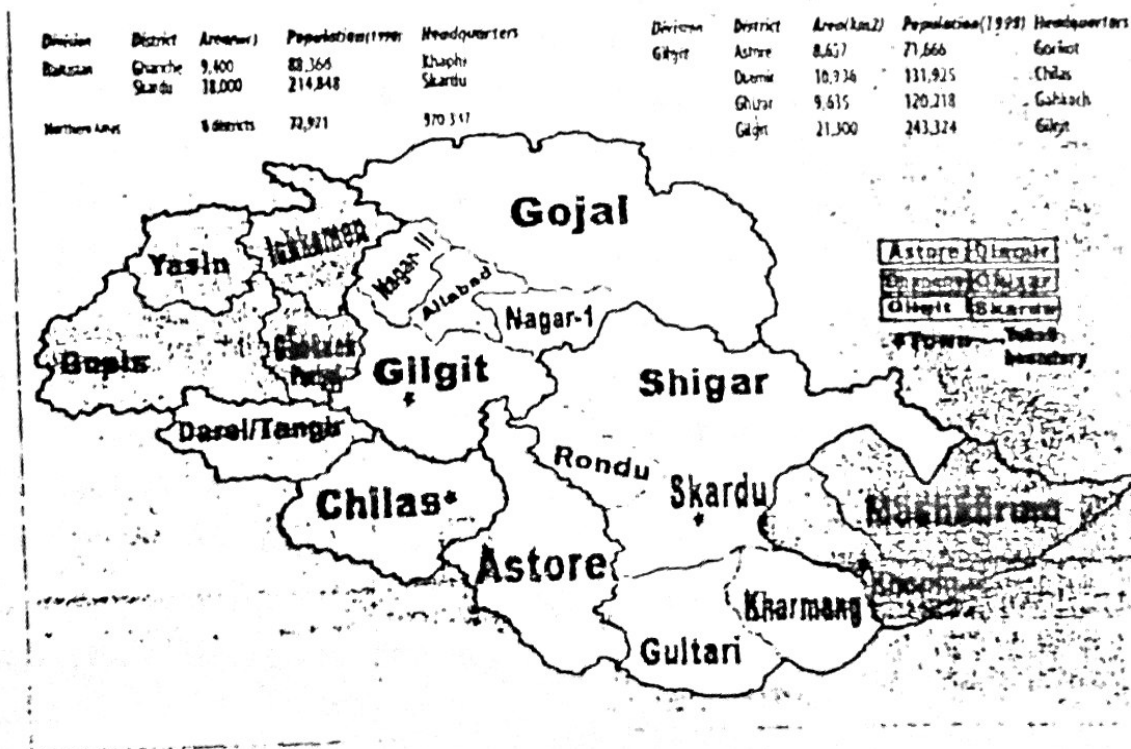
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# Northern Areas given full internal autonomy

Q: What are the salient features of Gilgit-Baltistan Empowerment and Self Governance Order 2009. On what grounds it has been criticized? Discuss its importance.

Answer: Compiled by Prof. Col ( r ) M. Zahur-ul-Haq

That the announcement of the Gilgit-Baltistan Empowerment and Self-Governance Order in northern areas by the government has been received with a mixed reaction should be no surprise. The cross-section of historical legacy with political imperatives provides the basis for the present controversy around the strategically important region that has common border with Afghanistan and Xinjiang region of China in the north of the country.



However, seen in the context of long-standing struggle of the people of Gilgit and Balochistan for their fundamental, political and legal rights,



the upgradation of the status of the northern areas under the Order is a new milestone in the history of the region. Zulfikar Ali Bhattu took the initiative almost four decades ago to constitute northern areas out of Gilgit Agency, Baltistan District and the states of Hunza and Nagar, no government paid any attention towards redressing the grievances of the people of these areas.

The region officially known as Northern Areas of Pakistan, Gilgit-Baltistan will have an area of 27971 square miles and a population of approximately 1,000,000. The region was a part of princely State of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) before 1947. This is the reason why the United Nations resolutions on Kashmir refer these areas as part of J&K for the purpose of determining its future through a plebiscite. But the people of Gilgit and Baltistan had never accepted the forcible occupation of their land by pre-partition Dogra rulers. In 1947, through a popular revolt against Maharaja Hari Singh, they got themselves liberated from the yoke of Dogra rule. The Mirs of Hunza and Nagar and other chieftains of the areas requested Pakistan to assume direct responsibility for the administration and security of the Agency.

Pakistan agreed to their request, pending the settlement of the future of J&K, under the provisions of the Interim Constitution of Pakistan (1947-54), which allowed any "other area" with the consent of the federation to be included in Pakistan. Since then the people of Gilgit and Baltistan have been demanding a status for their region equal to other provinces of Pakistan. The successive governments of Pakistan, however, did not pay any heed to the popular aspirations of the people of these areas, who were groaning under the oppressive laws and regulations enacted and enforced during the colonial era. When a mass popular movement against the autocratic regime of Ayub swept the whole of Pakistan in 1968-69 and demanded the restoration of democracy, the people of Gilgit and Baltistan also organised a movement for their rights and voiced their demands for an end to the centuries old system of feudal slavery.

This is to be noted that General Yahya Khan, who took over from Ayub Khan accepted East Pakistan's demand for one-man-one vote as the basis of 1970 elections and also agreed to the dismemberment of One Unit granting provincial status to Balochistan, but did nothing either for

Who opposes the change?

The change has been criticized by a minority of Kashmiri leaders who favour an independent Kashmir. However, it has the wholehearted support of the the Hurriyat Conference, the representative political Party of the people of Kashmir which strongly advocates Kashmir as the eventual integral part of Pakistan. If Azad Kashmir can exist with its legislature, a Prime Minister and all other feature of a Province without being merged with Pakistan, Northern Areas too deserved a similar status pending the final settlement of the future of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Just as existence of Azad Kashmir has not led to any kind of change in Pakistan's stand on Kashmir similarly the Northern Areas developments will not bring about any change in it.

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Q. Highlight the main features of Gilgit-Baltistan Empowerment and Self-Governance Order 2009. Discuss its significance. On what grounds it has been criticized?

Prof. Col (r) M. Zahur-ul-Haq

The Northern Areas constituted Gilgit Agency, Baltistan District and states of Hunza and Nagar. The government has renamed it through Gilgit-Baltistan Empowerment and Governance Order as Gilgit-Baltistan. It is a strategically important region having common borders with Afghanistan and Xinjiang province of China in the north of Pakistan. It has an area of 27971 square miles and population of about 1,000,000. The region was part of princely State of Jammu and Kashmir before 1947. This is why the United Nations resolutions on Kashmir refer these areas as part of J&K for determining its future through a plebiscite. But the people of the region had never accepted the forcible occupation of their land by pre-partition Dogra rulers. In 1947, through a popular revolt against Maharaja Hari Singh, they got themselves liberated from the yoke of Dogra rule. The chieftains of the area requested Pakistan to assume direct responsibility for their administration to which was Pakistan agreed. Since then the people have been demanding a status for their region equal to other provinces of Pakistan.

Some salient features of the Order, which are historic in nature, are mentioned below:

a. The areas presently known as Northern Areas has been renamed as Gilgit-Baltistan.

b. It would have an elected Legislative Assembly, which would elect the CM and a Governor to be appointed by the president on the advice of the PM. The Assembly will have 33 members of whom 24 will be directly elected. There will be 6 seats for women and 3 for technocrats.



c. The most significant change is that a Council has been set up on the same pattern as exists in Azad Kashmir. It will have the power to legislate on more or less same subjects, about 61, as the AK Council. The federal government will have built-in majority in the Council as in case of AK. Islamabad will continue to control its legislation without affecting the local autonomy. The purpose is to ensure harmony with the laws of Pakistan. Assembly and the Council will be able to legislate. The Assembly will have the power to approve annual budget.

d. Gilgit-Baltistan would have its own Public Service Commission and an auditor general.

e. The chief judge of the Supreme Appellate Court shall be appointed by the chairman of the Council on the advice of the governor.

f. Till the election of the Legislative Assembly, the Federal Minister of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas would be the Acting Governor of Gilgit-Baltistan.

The above Order is a happy beginning which has been welcomed by the people who have been granted virtual status of a province. Many irritants exist. Certain vested interests in Azad Kashmir, Held Kashmir and elements in India have opposed the granting of the new autonomous status to Gilgit-Baltistan. However, will of the people will prevail. No hurdle or conspiracy can stand against it. The people of the region rather feel unhappy because the Order has remained short of granting them full provincial status. A minority on both sides of the Line of Control, who favours independent Kashmir, has not liked this decision for obvious reasons. The majority that wishes to see Kashmir as part of Pakistan is afraid that the Order may not negate the commitment Pakistan made to the UN to undermine its traditional stand on

Kashmir and thus may provide an excuse to India to merge the held part of J&K into Indian Union on this pretext.

However, all these apprehensions and criticisms are baseless. The region has not been fully integrated with Pakistan. No violation of its commitment to the UN has taken place. Pakistan has only introduced certain political reforms to end the age old oppressive colonial rule. It has recognized their rights as honourable citizens and given them autonomy to adopt democratic self-rule. The advocates of Independent Kashmir live in fool's paradise because in view of the geographic location of the area it can never exist as an independent state. It is a natural extension of Pakistan and shall one day has to become part of Pakistan. It has the whole-hearted support of Hurriyat Conference that is the recognized political representative of Kashmiris on both sides of the LoC.

There is yet another important aspect of the reforms introduced through the Order. In view of the existence of Talibanization in the nearby FATA and NWFP, any delay in the reforms would have exposed to this region to the influence of extremists and militants. Moreover there is nothing in UN resolutions that stops Pakistan from introducing reforms to improve peoples' lot in the region. Pakistan's position on Kashmir is in no way compromised. The elections in Gilgit-Baltistan were held on November 12. Number of constituencies was 23. The elected Assembly will run the affairs of the region.

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Discuss the details of Iran-Pakistan Gas Pipeline project recently signed between the two countries. What is its importance for Pakistan?

*Ans: Iran-Pakistan (IP) gas pipeline project has entered the implementation phase following finalisation of US \$7.5 billion gas project, on June 13, 2010. Dubbed as the "peace pipeline", it will start supply of natural gas to the country from 2014.*

The landmark agreement was signed by Iran's Deputy Oil Minister Javad Oujii and the Pakistani delegation in Tehran. If things proceed as per plans, the country will have an intake of the first flow of Iranian piped gas in its system by mid-2014 and 100 per cent or 750 million cubic feet (mmcf) gas per day by the end of 2015. The gas volume imported from Iran will be nearly 20 per cent of the current gas production and the supply is for 25 years, renewable for another five years. The agreement also provides for increasing the quantity of gas to one billion mmcf of gas per day.

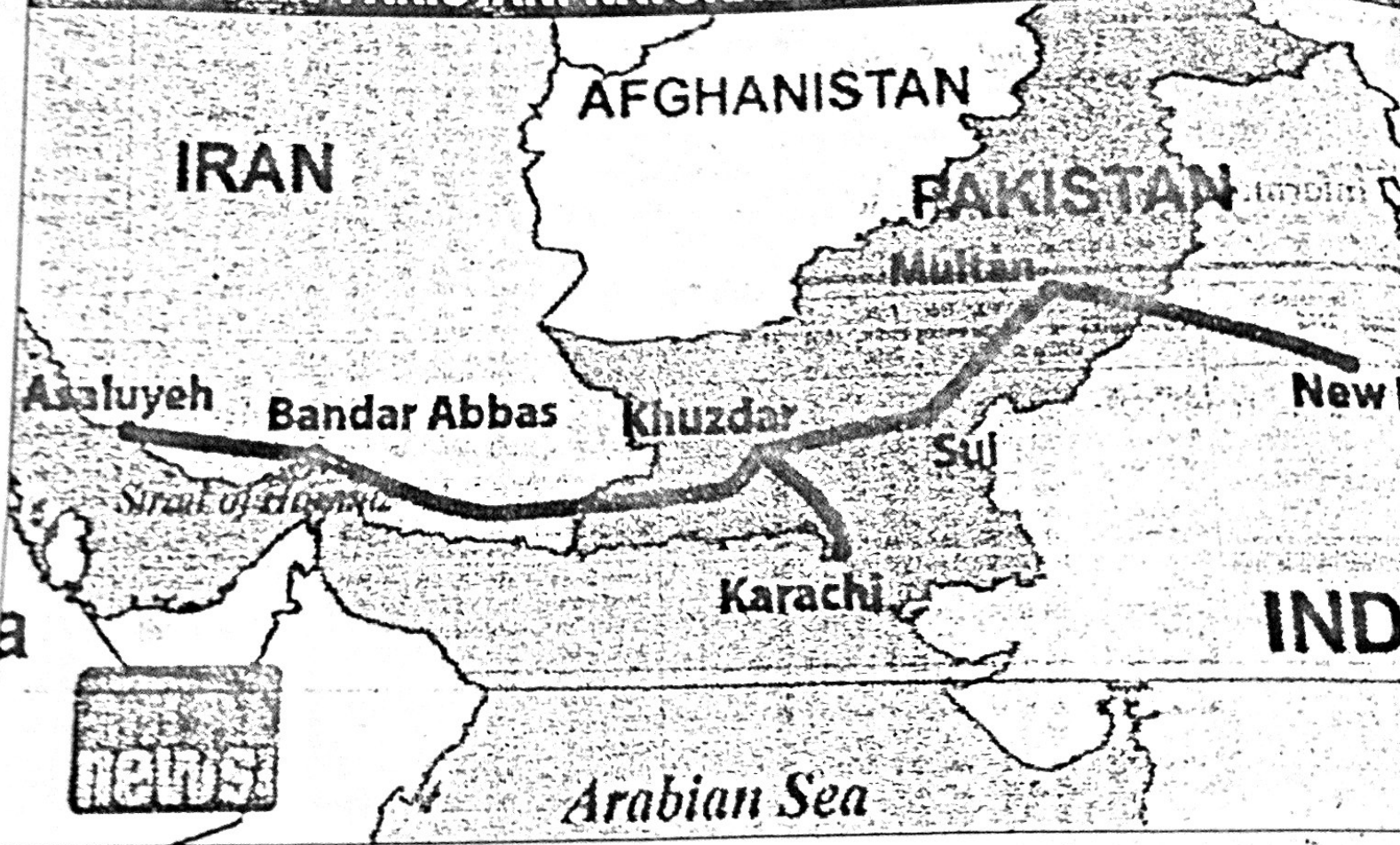
Pakistan has to construct about 700 kilometre pipeline from Point 250 KMS at Pakistan-Iran border, traversing along the Makran Coast Highway to connect with its existing transmission network at Nawabshah. Estimated to cost US \$1.65 billion, a 42-inch diameter pipeline is planned to be built over a period of three years, preceded by a year-long feasibility study.

Iran's deputy oil minister told reporters at the contract signing ceremony in Tehran that from June 14, 2010 Iran would start building the next 300-kilometre leg of the pipeline from the south-eastern city of Iranshahr to the Pakistani border, through the Iranian port of Chabahar. Iran has already constructed 907 kilometres of the pipeline between Asaloooyeh, in Southern Iran, and Iranshahr, which will carry natural gas from Iran's giant South Pars field. The project is crucial for the nation to avert a growing energy crisis; already causing severe electricity shortages in the country and the project would help generate around 5,000 megawatts (MW) of electricity.

The use of Iranian gas for thermal power generation will provide the solace of US \$1.5 billion when it replaces the competitive fuel (LSFO, HFSO) being used in power generation. However, the imported gas would not be economically viable for domestic use because of its higher price.



# IRAN-PAKISTAN: NATURAL GAS PIPELINE ROUTE



**Q. State the details of the recently concluded Pak-Iran Gas Pipeline Project. What is its importance for Pakistan?**

**Ans:** Pakistan and Iran has finalised the \$7.5 billion gas project dubbed as a "peace pipeline" to start the supply of natural gas to Islamabad from 2014. After decades of negotiations, we have witnessed the execution of the agreement... to export more than 21 million cubic metres (742 million cubic feet) of natural gas daily from 2014 to Pakistan. Iran will start building the next 300-kilometre leg of the pipeline from the southeastern city of Iranshahr to the Pakistani border, through the Iranian port of Chabahar.

Iran has already constructed 907 kilometres of the pipeline between Asalooeyeh, in southern Iran, and Iranshahr, which will carry natural gas from Iran's giant South Pars field.

The pipeline will connect Iran's giant South Fars gas field with Pakistan's Balochistan and Sindh provinces. Pakistan has to construct about a 700-kilometre leg of the pipeline from the border, traversing along the Makran Coastal Highway to connect with its existing gas transmission network at Nawabshah. A 42-inch diameter pipeline is planned to be built, which is estimated to cost \$1.65 billion.

The project is crucial for Pakistan to avert a growing energy crisis, already causing severe electricity shortages in the country and the project would help generate around 5,000 megawatts of electricity. Under the gas sale and purchase agreement (GSPA), Pakistan will import about 750 million cubic feet a day (mmcf/d) with provision to increase it to one billion cubic feet a day (bcfd). The volume of imported gas will be about 20 per cent of Pakistan's current gas production and the agreement is for a period of 25 years, renewable for another five years.

Iran has the world's second largest gas reserves after Russia but has struggled for years to develop its oil and gas resources. Sanctions by the West, political turmoil and construction delays have slowed down Iran's development as an exporter. Iran state television said the pipeline was 1,000 kilometres long, with about 907 kilometres of it already built. The Pakistan-India (IPI) gas pipeline project was

conceived in early 1990s. However, the project could not take off for various reasons, including the new gas discoveries in Pakistan of Miano, Sawan and Zamzama, Indian concerns on pipeline security and Iranian indecisiveness on certain issues.

Pakistan would be allowed under an agreement signed in March to charge a transit fee if the proposed pipeline is eventually extended to India. The project was revived and bilateral Iran-Pakistan Joint Working Group (JWG) was constituted. Iran needs \$25 billion to develop its crucial energy industry. The United States has tried to discourage India and Pakistan from any deal with Iran because of Tehran's disputed nuclear program, which the West fears is a cover to build bombs. Iran, hit by a fourth round of UN sanctions on Wednesday over its refusal to suspend its uranium enrichment activities, denies any such possibility.

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*Currently, Iran produced 600 million cubic metres of natural gas, of which 430 to 440 million cubic metres was consumed domestically. Iran plans to raise its output to 900 million cubic metres over the next three years with the expansion of South Pars and hopes to further hike it to 1,100 million cubic metres by 2015.*

Pakistan is currently facing a daily shortfall of over 400 mmcf of gas, which is projected to increase to four billion cubic feet by 2025. To meet the shortfall and also to cater to the future energy needs, the country has been considering and probing, since mid-1990s, various options for the import of natural gas through pipelines. Amongst these options, the notable ones included: Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (Tapi) gas pipeline, Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) gas pipeline and Qatar-Pakistan under-sea pipeline. Islamabad has also been contemplating on importing 3.5 million cubic feet of liquefied petroleum gas per day from Qatar. It is estimated that this project will entail an expenditure of \$2.0 billion annually.

Experts maintain that Pakistan's future can be secured by meeting its energy needs adequately. According to conservative estimates, the country is presently suffering a loss of Rs45 billion annually due to the continuing energy crunch. If plans to import gas for meeting the country's needs for electricity and gas are not implemented immediately and its indigenous gas resources are not fully and expeditiously exploited, the loss can increase manifold.

*Furthermore, the construction of IP pipeline will create job opportunities, vocational training and health facilities, and social uplift in the backward areas of Balochistan and Sindh. Being an environmental friendly fuel, the natural gas fuel will also ensure substantial carbon credits.*

*Meanwhile, India and Iran are reportedly holding talks on building a gas pipeline between the two countries along the bed of the Arabian Sea. The carrying capacity of the gas pipeline's first leg will total 31 billion cum annually, with the cost of construction estimated at \$4.0 billion.*

India and Iran were discussing the delivery of natural gas produced in Turkmenistan with Indian assistance to North Iran; while the Islamic Republic will send natural gas from its southern deposits to Indian consumers. Under the project being worked out by South Asia Gas Enterprise Private Ltd (SAGE), the gas pipeline will be 1,100 km (684

miles) long. The pipeline will start from Chabahar and will deliver gas to consumers in Gujarat.

The natural gas extracted from different gas fields contains traces of vapours of other combustible gases that have to be separated from methane gas before pumping it into the gas distribution network. Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) is a mixture of these separated gases. But LPG plants have not been installed at many gas and oilfields in the country and impure gas, equivalent to 500 tons of LPG, is burnt in the air daily before pumping pure methane in the gas distribution system. The daily loss of 500 tons of gas, at current rates, comes to over Rs2.5 billion.

However, according to experts, Oil and Gas Development Co. Limited (OGDCL) has the infrastructure for substantially increasing its exploration activities and also the potential to make the nation self-sufficient in oil and gas within 10-15 years, if it adequately plans acquisition and training of additional technical manpower and equipment over a period of 5-8 years and productive wells are discovered.

For realising this goal, it is, however, imperative for OGDCL to acquire the services of a fully qualified and adequately experienced exploration and production management team, and allowing them the independence to make technical and financial decisions solely on merit and in the national interests of the country, without unnecessary interference from official quarters, both upper and horizontal.

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# The Budget 2010-11

The finance minister presented the budget for FY-2010-11 that reflects "fragile macroeconomic stability" and proposes a number of measures aimed at further consolidating it through imposing new taxes of Rs85 bn, enhancing the existing tax collection by Rs50 bn and withdrawing 45.0 per cent of subsidies, mostly pro-poor from Rs228 bn to Rs127 bn. The budget proposals also provide some relief to the marginalized and semi-marginalized segments of the society through a few fiscal and non-fiscal measures, but little incentives have been provided to either industry or agriculture sectors. The salaried people with a hike of 50.0 per cent in basic salaries and pensioners with 15-20 per cent increase are the main beneficiaries of the relief measures. Some proposals have also been made to provide direct subsidies to poor families and for employing the unemployed youth.

To successfully achieve the objectives of the new financial budget, a lot will depend upon effective implementation of the proposals, observance of strict fiscal discipline and achieving consensus among powerful stakeholders in addressing key structural imbalances.

The task is of pivotal importance, however it is very daunting. To start with, GDP growth is projected at 4.5 per cent, a higher target when compared to figures of last two fiscal years of 1.2 per cent (FY-09) and 4.1 per cent (FY-10). The projection is based on growth of 3.8, 5.6 and 4.7 per cent by agriculture, manufacturing and services sectors respectively against their respective growth of 2.0, 5.2 and 4.5 per cent during outgoing fiscal year. Achieving these targets could set pace to achieve the three-year medium-term budgetary framework's (MTBF 2010-11 to 2012-13) growth target of 5.5 per cent and other goals. Nevertheless, growth would remain subjected to reducing inflation and discount rate, addressing energy crisis, and improving governance.



Budget's total outlay is Rs3.259 trillion with a fiscal deficit estimated at 4.0 per cent of GDP. The reduction in fiscal deficit by 1.1 per cent would help to reduce current account deficit targeted at 3.4 per cent of GDP, and reduce pressure on interest rate. Total revenue receipts are projected at Rs2.574 trillion with tax revenue component of Rs1.667 trillion to be collected by the Federal Board of Revenue (FBR), with a tax-to-GDP ratio of 9.8 per cent. The high share of indirect taxes against direct taxes is projected at Rs1.12 trillion. Preferable focus should have been on increasing direct taxation.

The fiscal deficit would be bridged through domestic and foreign borrowings and capital inflows. Government is once again depending on inflows of \$5.2 bn under the Kerry-Lugar bill and \$3.3 bn from the IMF's ongoing SBA facility. The latter would add to the public debt that has already reached a critical level of Rs8.146 trillion by end of third quarter. It is not clear if tax-to-GDP ratio of 9.8 per cent would remain static during FY- 2011. Measures to increase it, one of the grey areas of fiscal management that should have been given priority, were not stated explicitly.

Fiscal management is seriously constrained as reflected by the budget's income-expenditure layout. Current expenditure is estimated at Rs1.997 trillion as against gross revenue receipts of Rs2.411 trillion, and development expenditure of Rs766.5 bn with Public Sector Development Programme (PSDP) expenditure of Rs663 bn. PSDP expenditure is further split into federal government's spending of Rs290 bn and provincial governments' share of Rs373 bn. Defence expenditure is to increase from Rs378 bn to Rs442 bn. Debt servicing is to surge by Rs69 bn to Rs873 bn, as compared with outgoing fiscal year's revised estimate of Rs814.6 bn. Debt servicing and defence expenditure together would consume around 66.0 per cent of tax revenue collected by the FBR. The government will have to borrow Rs685 bn that is more than the planned PSDP expenditures of Rs663 bn. These figures hardly paint a desirable fiscal picture.

In fact, a major breakthrough should have been made in the budget by bringing agriculture and real estate incomes under the tax net. The initiative of imposing 7.5 and 10.0 per cent capital gains tax is at best a step in the right direction. General sales tax (GST) has been increased by 1.0 per cent to 17 per cent to fetch additional revenue of Rs33.0 bn to Rs35.0 bn. The measure has been taken to appease the IMF because of the proposed delay in imposition of value added tax (VAT) till October, 2010.

Initial estimates by the FBR show that imposition of VAT would bring additional tax revenue of Rs70.0 bn. Increase in GST and later imposition of VAT would increase inflation and make life of the common man tougher than it is at present. This very measure runs contrary to the objective of reducing inflation from 14.0 per cent at present to 9.5 per cent by end of FY-2010-11 and to 7.0 per cent by end of MTBF. Reducing inflation in the midst of withdrawal of subsidies, huge fiscal deficit, and soaring cost of debt servicing would be one of the biggest challenges of fiscal management during FY 2010-11. Reducing excise duty on 29 products including some of the commodities that affect common people and providing 100 days employment in 12 union councils of 12 districts are a few positive measures of the budget. Raising the exemption limit for income tax from Rs200,000 to Rs300,000 for salaried people and from Rs100,000 to Rs300,000 for non-salaried people would also provide some respite. However, are such measures sufficient enough to address the real issues of unemployment, low industrial growth, double digit inflation, and such?

The budget prepared in constrained fiscal and non-fiscal environment can hardly resolve all the issues faced by the economy. On the other hand, perhaps the open acknowledgement of the fragile economic situation by the government could change its mindset to implement the proposals as prudently as possible.

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Q. Discuss the extent of energy crisis in Pakistan. What are its causes. Suggest remedial measures.

Ans: The country is facing worst energy crisis that is affecting economy adversely. This is happening despite sufficient water in dams, decrease in oil prices in world market and the facility of importing oil worth \$6 bn provided by Saudi Arabia on deferred payments. The real cause of the crisis lies in the circular debt of the energy sector that has shot up to Rs400 bn. It is because of non-payment of outstanding dues by the provincial and federal governments departments. This has caused a phenomenon called circular debt. It goes like this: IPPs (Independent Power Producers) generate power with guarantees given by the government about purchasing the power and making payment. IPPs get their fuel supply from companies who should get prompt payments. When consumers do not make payments to IPPs, the IPPs cannot pay the fuel suppliers and the fuel suppliers in turn cannot pay for the fuel purchased by them, a state of circular debt comes into being and production of electric energy stops.

The total installed power-generation capacity in Pakistan is about 20,000 MW. Under normal circumstances, at any time, only about 75 per cent of it is produced. Pakistan's demand is around 15,000 MW. Why is it, then, that we are only able to produce a little over 10,000 MW these days, to suffer the huge load-shedding and industrial closures?

### Causes of the crisis and Remedial measures

Following are the main factors that have led to the current energy crisis:

One: Pakistan's hydel sources can generate 6,000 MW, but they are not producing more than 2,200 MW due to the water shortage. Gas shortages for IPPs have resulted in 1,000MW shortfall. The circular debt, as explained above, owed to power producers, oil marketing companies and gas utilities is another factor.



Two: From 2002 to 2007, while the economic planners performed well, the energy planners lagged behind. Under PPP government, the only energy initiative taken is Rental Power Plants (RPPs) which are suspected to be corruption infested. They were to generate 2,250 MW at a very high cost. Fortunately they have not become functional.

Three: During the last two decades successive governments disallowed WAPDA to set up new power plants. An inadequate IPP policy and lack of political will to start large hydroelectric projects such as Kalabagh Dam, has let the nation down.

Four: The PPP government has not formulated any plan to utilise the vast Thar coal resources. The popular belief is that Thar coal is of inferior variety. But technology exists in the world where such coal can not only produce energy but also, in the process, natural gas. Up to 10,000 MW can eventually be generated from Thar coal. Nor has it made an effort for additional gas production. Not a single project in thermal, gas, coal and hydel power generation or development of primary energy sources has been initiated.

Five: Meanwhile, there has been no progress towards trans-national pipelines (from Iran, Turkmenistan or Qatar). India at first manoeuvred its way into the Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) pipeline project, to use it for extracting the civil nuclear power deal from the US. Now that it is no longer interested in this pipeline deal, Pakistan has been pushed back by at least five years in the completion of this project. The US has now publicly advised Pakistan to drop the IPI gas pipeline.

Six: The previous government brought together the world's leading energy consultants to work on the Mashal LNG (Liquified Natural Gas) project. Two major international LNG companies came forward. One bidder was recommended who is waiting in vain to get the contract for the last two years.

Without such supplies we are heading for gas load-shedding, which will be worse than the load-shedding the country is facing now.

The country's current energy mix is: oil, 31 per cent; natural gas, 51 per cent; coal, 5 per cent, hydroelectric power, 12 per cent; and nuclear power generation, 0.7 per cent. What we should strive for is: oil, 20 per cent, natural gas, 51 per cent; coal, 15 per cent, Hydel 20 per cent; nuclear power generation, 4 per cent; and renewable sources, 1 per cent.

Seven: Every sugar mill in Pakistan is capable of producing energy which can be sold to PEPCO (Pakistan Electric Power Company) based on a process called co-generation. Co-generation uses technology where bagasse, a by-product of sugar manufacturing, and coal can be used to generate energy. As a modest estimate, 2000 MW can be added to the system through this source.

Eight: Pakistan has an estimated hydel potential of close to 50,000 MW. Only a little over 6,000 MW has been installed. The big dams in the pipeline are Basha, Bunji and Dasu. Pakistan should have built a big dam every decade. Mangla was built in the 1960s and Tarbela in the 70s. Unfortunately, in the last three decades not a single big dam has come into existence. If the various political parties of this country can arrive at a consensus on as controversial an issue as renaming of NWFP, could they not have reached a consensus on Kalabagh? One large dam is required just to overcome the losses due to silting in the existing dams. More dams would enhance the water storage capacity of the country.

Nine: Almost 8,000 MW can be generated through small/medium hydroelectric units on rivers and canals. Pakistan has developed good capability of nuclear energy both for peaceful and strategic purpose. We must explore ways and means of increasing the share of nuclear energy from 0.7 per cent to 4 per cent per year. Seeking a civilian nuclear energy agreement from the US should be our top priority.

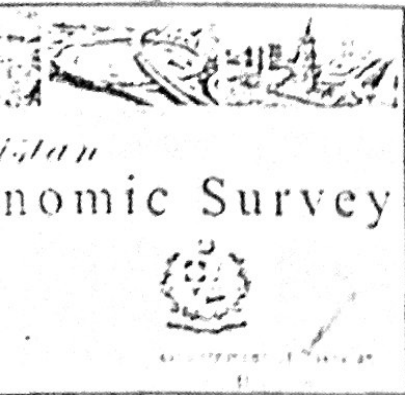
Ten: All the water and power sector projects like Gomal Dam, the raising of Mangla, the Thal Floodwater Canal, Kachhi Canal, Raineer Canal, Satpara Dam, Kurram Tangi Dam, Mirani Dam, Sabazkai Dam, Jinnah Barrage, Allai Khawar, Khan Khawar, Duber Khawar, Malakand III and Neelum Jhelum Hydro Electric Projects, were initiated during the last government. There are a number of other

sites, in various stages of study, for water reservoirs and power generation, both on the Indus and Jhelum Rivers, and off-channel, which should be pursued vigorously. Also, there are small and medium storage sites in all provinces of Pakistan which must be pursued.

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Q: State the economic condition of the country as per the Economic Survey recently released before the announcement of the Budget for the year 2010-11. What causes have been pointed out for the poor performance of the economy?



## Economic Survey 2009-10

Ans: Economic Survey estimates GDP growth at 4.1 per cent; energy crisis impacts growth by 2 to 2.5 per cent; per capita income falls by \$20; public debt surges to Rs8.160 trillion; war on terror inflicts \$43 bn damage on economy in 10 years

Dr Hafeez A Sheikh, Adviser to the Prime Minister on Finance on Friday admitted that GDP growth in two years has not been so good with unemployment rate increasing to 5.5 per cent from 5.2 per cent, per capita income of \$1051, down by \$20 from \$1071 in 2008-09. "The per capita income has been worked out keeping in view the 173.5 million population of the country." However, in the outgoing fiscal year the economy showed some recovery with provisional estimated GDP growth of 4.1 per cent after modest growth of 1.2 per cent in 2008-09.

Dr Sheikh stated this while launching the Economic Survey 2009-010, authored by Principle Economic Adviser Sakib Sherani, saying the recovery is still fragile and the tough challenge for the government is to protect the growth recovery keeping in view the risks that include a further deterioration of internal security, continuation of energy shortages and recession in global state of economy which may hurt Pakistani exports as well as remittances.

The adviser said that for the outgoing year, the agriculture sector grew by an estimated two per cent against a target of 3.8 per cent and previous year's growth rate of four per cent. While crops sub-sector declined 0.4 per cent over the previous year, livestock posted a healthy rise of 4.1 per cent. Industrial output expanded by 4.9 per cent, with Large Scale Manufacturing (LSM) posting a 4.4 per cent rate of growth. The services sector grew 4.6 per cent, as compared to 1.6 per cent in 2008-09.

Sherani — the architect of the Economic Survey — said the economy suffered a lot because of the energy, water crises and internal security situation. "The energy crisis has adversely impacted the GDP growth by two to 2.5 per cent meaning by that the growth could have performed well up to 6.6 per cent if there existed no energy crisis."

Mentioning the impact of the war on terror on Pakistan, Sherani disclosed that Pakistan sustained a huge losses of \$43 billion during the period from 2001 to 2010. He said that the war in 2009 got intensified owing to which the country's economy braved a loss of \$3.052 billion.

The Economic Survey says Pakistan public debt increased to a whopping Rs8.160 trillion by March-end, 2010 which is equal to 56 per cent of the GDP and 379 per cent of the total budgeted revenue for the year. However, the survey has failed to let the people know about the poverty level saying the government will disclose the figure after three to four months.

Foreign direct investment has declined by 45 per cent. The decline in FDI inflows was in line with the steep drop in global flows of foreign direct investment that fell 32 per cent in 2009 according to estimates of the International Institute of Finance (IIF). For the period July to April 2009-10, FDI totalled US\$1.8 billion as compared to US\$3.2 billion in the same period of FY 2009. This represents a decline of 45 percent.

A large part of the decline in FDI for the period was recorded under telecommunications (a net decline of US\$607 million), and Financial Services (a fall of US\$548 million). Combined, the decline in these two sectors, which related to a few "lumpy" transactions amounted to 81 per cent of the overall reduction in FDI in 2009-10. Investment levels in some sectors remained healthy, including in oil and gas exploration (FDI of US\$605 million), communications (US\$222 million), transport (US\$104 million), construction (US\$86 million), and paper and pulp (US\$81 million). Despite a steep decline, inflow of FDI into financial services was recorded at US\$133 million for the period.

A worrying development was the large net disinvestment recorded under the IT services sector for the year (amounting to US\$95 million). Overall, out of the major industry categories, 12 recorded higher FDI for the period, while 24 industries witnessed a net reduction in FDI inflow.

The survey unveils that the external current account deficit is expected to contract to around 2.8 per cent of GDP in the outgoing year in the wake of the large improvement is mainly on the back of a steep decline in imports for much of the year, improving exports as world demand is gradually restored, and a continued increase in worker remittances, which are expected to reach 4.8 per cent of GDP for the full fiscal year.

The survey also mentioned about the allocation of financial resources between the Centre and provinces under 7th NFC Award, based on multiple criteria. Under the new mechanism the Centre will allow an increase in the share of provinces with 56 percent for the first year and 57.5 per cent for the remaining years. The share of the federal government in the net proceeds of the divisible pool shall be 44 per cent during the financial year 2010-11 and 42.5 per cent from the financial year 2011-12 onwards. From the divisible pool provinces will get in next fiscal year about Rs569.8 billion.

The survey also claims to get the fiscal deficit target of 5.1 per cent of the outgoing fiscal. However, during the answer-question session, when asked as to why the government has massively increased the salaries of Army personnel much before the budget announcement and no required heed is being paid to the government employees, Dr Hafeez A Sheikh said the government would definitely

provide relief to government employees. However, it is not right to divide the nation putting such questions, he said. "We should keep the fact in our mind that the Pakistan Armed Forces are at war with militants to ensure the safety of the common people of the country."

When asked as to why the government has reduced the allocation in the education sector, the adviser said since education is the provincial subject and the major diversion of financial resources to provinces is being taking place from next fiscal year. Now the responsibility to enhance allocation for education lies with the provincial governments. "As far as the higher education sector is concerned no reduction in allocation has taken place."

When asked as to why the committee constituted by the adviser to the Prime Minister Dr Hafeez A Sheikh to look into the 'manipulated GDP growth, furnished by the National Accounts Committee has not met before the release of the economic survey, Dr Nadeemul Haq, Deputy Chairman, said that the committee has not met, but we have circulated among the committee members the paper with regard to the GDP growth. However, he said that the committee has not yet taken the final decision on the GDP growth.

This is really unfortunate that Sakib Sherani has included in the economic survey the provisional figure of GDP growth of 4.1 percent which has not been endorsed by the committee constituted by Dr Sheikh in EAC meeting. (ews: 6 Jun 10)

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Q: The SAARC organization concluded its 16th meeting on 1<sup>st</sup> May 2010 at Thimphu, the capital of Bhutan. Assess its long term promises and limitations for Pakistan. Discuss why can't Pakistan benefit from the potential of the organization? Should it prefer ECO over SAARC and why?

Ans: By Prof. Col (r) M. Zahur-ul-Haq

It is due to the absence of a long-term sense of direction and an objective foreign policy since independence that has delimited our role of our country in the comity of nations. There is no issue which has suffered more from these collective failings of ours than our membership of the SAARC. We have not paid serious attention to the long-term goals that we wish to achieve as member of the organization. We have not bothered to carry out an in-depth study of the long-term potential of the SAARC as well as its limitations. The statements being made by the Pakistani leadership after the recently concluded 16th SAARC Summit at Thimphu reflect this confused state of mind.

It is true that regional economic cooperation has been successful in accelerating the economic progress of the member states of many regional cooperation organisations, the foremost being the European Union. The process of economic integration within the EU has resulted in unprecedented economic prosperity of its member states thus providing an impetus for the establishment of similar regional cooperation organisations in other regions like ASEAN, MERCOSUR, GCC, ECO and SAARC. However, the achievements of these organisations in promoting regional economic cooperation and accelerating the economic growth and development of their respective member states varies from region to region..

The economic progress for a regional economic grouping rests primarily on the advantages of free trade among the member states. The operation of the law of comparative advantage through the dismantling of trade barriers among the member states leads to an efficient allocation of resources and increase in their gross domestic product. The ability of a regional economic grouping to realise fully

its potential for economic cooperation depends upon the political will of the member states which in turn is determined by three main factors: firstly, the state of political relations and climate among the member states, in particular the existence or absence of serious disputes between the member states; secondly, the hegemonic ambitions by one or more member states; and thirdly, the feeling of cultural commonality and affinities among the peoples of the member states.

The process of economic integration takes place in a regional economic grouping leading to an economic union. The market forces operate in such a manner as to shift the locus of economic decision making to the economically powerful member states. The feeling of cultural commonality helps in overcoming these strains. The European Union has been able to move successfully through the various stages of the evolution of a regional economic organisation because it fulfils these necessary conditions for its success. Above all, the peoples of the EU member states feel that they have a common cultural heritage whose roots can be traced to ancient Greece, the Roman Empire and Christianity.

On the other hand, the SAARC has failed to take off because it lacks the necessary conditions for the success of a regional economic organisation. As far as the economic side is concerned, the economies of many of the SAARC member states are competitive rather than complementary thus limiting the scope for increase in intra-regional trade and the resultant beneficial effect in the form of increase in GDP. This is particularly so between the economies of Pakistan and India which are competitive rather than complementary in such sectors as textiles, agriculture like rice carpets, simple manufactured goods, etc.

More importantly, the SAARC lacks the necessary political conditions for its success. Its biggest member, India, harbours hegemonic ambitions in the region with the objective of bringing its neighbouring states in South Asia under its domination. India again has serious disputes with many of its neighbours, particularly with Pakistan with

which its relations have been suffered because of wars, the Kashmir dispute and differences on many other important issues such as Siachin, Sir Creek, the water issue and terrorism. In short, the political relations and climate between Pakistan and India are not conducive to the deepening of economic cooperation and integration between the two countries within the framework of the SAARC on the lines of the European Union.

Finally, the peoples of Pakistan and India lack cultural affinities and the feeling of cultural commonality which form the bedrock for the process of the deepening of economic cooperation and integration within a regional economic organisation. After all, Pakistan's creation was based on the well-considered view that the Muslims were culturally distinct from the Hindus and constituted a separate nation. Therefore, the process of economic and political integration within the framework of the SAARC would negate the very rationale for the creation of Pakistan.

For all of these reasons we should take up a detailed specific study on the long-term pros and cons for Pakistan's economic integration in SAARC. We should deal with the various SAARC related issues in the light of the findings and conclusions of such a study. We are likely to conclude that for Pakistan it would be much more beneficial to concentrate its energies on the deepening of economic cooperation and integration within the framework of the ECO, which fulfils all the necessary conditions for the success of a regional economic organisation, rather than SAARC which can be useful only for limited schemes of economic, commercial and cultural cooperation. An economic union within the framework of the SAARC will rob Pakistan of its economic independence by shifting the focus of economic decision made at New Delhi.

\*Member Countries of ( SAARC)

South Asian Association Regional Cooperation  
Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, Nepal,  
Bhutan, Bangla Desh, Sri Lanka, Maldives

\* Member Countries of (ECO)

Economic Cooperation Orgnization  
Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan,  
Azerbaijan, Tajkistan, Turkamanistan  
Uzbekistan, Kazkastan, Turkish Cypriot



Q. Highlight the main provisions of the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment that has been adopted by the Parliament. Discuss the importance of each amendment in restoring the 1973 Constitution. Will it have any impact on the life of the common man?

The Constitutional Reforms Committee of the Parliament signed draft of 18th Amendment on 31 Mar 2010. It was placed before the Parliament on 3 Mar and duly passed. It revives the real spirit of 1973 Constitution by removing all the distortions introduced in it by the dictatorial regimes of the past. The amendment restores the parliamentary sovereignty. Most of the powers of the Prime Minister which had been transferred to the President have been reverted back. Highlights of the bill are:

1. President's power to dissolve the Assembly on his own, under article 58(2)b, have been taken away.
2. NWFP has been renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
3. A proper system to appoint members of superior Judiciary has been proposed.
4. the Concurrent List has been abolished as part of granting autonomy to the provinces.
5. Chief Election Commissioner will be appointed in consultation with the Leader of the Opposition.
6. Islamabad High Court will be revived
7. The composition of the judicial commission would remain seven but the appointment of the retired judges in the body would be the sole discretion of the Chief Justice of Pakistan who would be the head of the commission.

The Parliamentary Constitutional Reforms Committee managed to put together an 18th Amendment abolishing the extra-

constitutional accretions made by the two military rulers of the past, but only after crossing two hurdles, those of appointments to the superior judiciary and the name of the NWFP. The two military rulers who amended the constitution afterwards, Ziaul Haq by his RCO or Revival of Constitution Order, given final shape in the 8th Amendment and Pervez Musharraf by the 17th. Though both were seen as carrying out amendments to perpetuate their own power, both amendments provided the president to dissolve the National Assembly, as well as appoint the service chiefs.

It remains to be seen how this abolition is received in the military, where this power is not the only article of faith. There is also the National Security Council, where the military chiefs, primarily the COAS, would be able to excoriate the prime minister with the president in the chair.

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Q. Give an objective assessment of The Education Policy 2009 announced by the government recently. What are prospects of its success?

Answer by: Prof. Col (r) M. Zahur-ul-Haq

The main provisions of The Education Policy of 2009 are: \*The annual budgetary allocation for Education in future will be 7% of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) thus increasing literacy rate to 85% by 2015. \*District Education Boards will be set up to promote education at grass root level to achieve Development Goal of universal primary education by 2015. \*Intermediate classes will become part of the School system. \*All primary schools will be upgraded to middle level. \*Enrolment in Higher Education will be increased will be increased from present 4.7% to 15% by 2020. \*Syllabi of public sector schools will be improved in consultation with private sector schools. \*Policy of uniform examination system in the country will be followed. \*Teachers with Matric and Intermediate education will be replaced by trained teachers. Their salary structure will be improved. \*Project of Apna Ghar will be launched in every district to provide education to poor students. \*National merit program will be launched to reward bright students.

Raising literacy rate to 85% is a target that was set at World Education Forum met at Dakar, the capital of Senegal, under the UNESCO, in the year 2000. A National Plan of Action (NPA) was prepared to provide for "Education for All." Minimum of 4% of GDP was to be earmarked for education which was never done. The new Policy recommends 7% which appears to unrealistic in the backdrop of the past experience. In view of country's economic conditions, rising defence requirements, increasing energy expenditure, law and order situation but more than that the mindset of feudals in power, it is doubtful that the target will ever be achieved. Considering the track record of the governments in the past this Policy too may prove to be another exercise in futility.

It all started with the famous Sharif Report of 1959 of Ayub's era which was followed by the Noor Khan report of 1961. A high profile policy report was launched during Nawaz Sharif regime under the title The New Education Policy, that set ambitious targets to hit by



2015. That year is now quite at hand without achieving any of its goals. The net result of all this activity has been further deterioration of the state of national education. Political will, on the part of politicians, lacked to see the success of the reports. Pakistan today is one of the few countries where the number of illiterates keeps on increasing from year to year. Presently around 55 million Pakistanis above the age of 10 are utterly illiterate. In primary education schools about 65% of school-going age students join the classes but 40% or so drop out in the first two years. Poverty, poor school environment are the main causes. Schools in the private sector, that claim to offer better education, are very costly which the majority of people can ill-afford.

The policy under review has been launched reluctantly and after lot of foot dragging. It lacks the spark of genuine interest. The absence of thrust that is so essential for actualization of the program is quite evident. It is largely due to the absence of a friendly socio-political-system that would promote the cause of education. The success of any education policy would need a strong political will that has been almost wholly absent in any regime that ever came to power. The need of the hour is a stubborn dedication at all levels for the purpose and a leadership with extra-ordinary will power to get the things done. The fact is that without these essentials even the finest vision will fail to work.

The policy suffers from lack of strategy ie how to implement its proposals? For instance it says henceforth 7% of GDP will be set aside for education whereas in the past no government in power has ever been able to provide more than 2%. It says the standard of public sector schools will be improved to match with the performance of private sector schools without identifying the basic cause for the difference which is social inequalities, existence of a small elitist class and widespread poverty. In this environment no education policy has ever borne fruit in the past and none will ever succeed in the future. However, if the people in power are a bit serious about educating the nation on sound lines, they may heed the following suggestions.

It is recommended that a high powered Educational Authority may be set up with the aim of educating the entire nation within next 5

years. The task should be entrusted to the Union Councils of the LG system whose number in the country is 6026. They should all be directed to establish the required number of primary schools in their areas of responsibility. They should ensure the enrolment of every child of school going age. Much of the needs of these schools will be met out of local resources. The Authority should provide modernized syllabi and teachers training facilities. The government should allocate 7 to 10% of GDP to finance the project.

This nation-wide spread of education at primary level shall entirely be in public sector. It will be highly subsidized but quite comparable to the private sector in worth and quality to enable even the poorest of the poor to have access to any institution he wishes to join. The public sector education thus should prove better than the private sector so that the so called prestigious institutions are compelled to bring down their costs. Spread of education at primary level at such a mammoth scale would create demand for education at all higher levels. When demand is there supply has to come as a matter of course.

In view of the above Apna Ghar schools for the poor are not recommended. This would create yet another class of the downtrodden which might get equated with orphanages. The proposal militates against the policy of giving the nation a uniform educational system.

Deeni Madaris have not been put to the required reforms. Their affiliations with political, sectarian and militant organization is a matter of major concern to the nation. A survey conducted by The Institute of Pakistan Studies reveals that 172 madaris out of 251 is almost 60 % of them have political affiliations, rest are affiliated with religious sectarian parties that are extremists and militant and 3% with other mainstream parties. As many as 100 madaris openly oppose military operation against Taliban in tribal areas. They are doing more harm than good to the nation. They must be put to necessary reforms as early as possible.

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Note: Also consult the detailed essay on Education Policy 2009, given in the Essay Package

Q. What is National Finance Commission (NFC) Award? For the first time in history of Pakistan Provinces have agreed upon a mutually acceptable Award. What were the differences? What are the provisions of the Accord? Discuss objectively.

Ans: By Prof. Col ( r ) M. Zahur-ul-Haq

The Constitution of Pakistan gives the federal government powers to levy the most productive taxes on non-agricultural incomes, imports, industrial production, excise duties and sales taxes on goods etc. Once collected these taxes are then shared between the federal government and the provinces according to a formula decided by the NFC. The formula should be negotiated and agreed upon every 5 years but this time it is late by 7 years. As per the normal practice, the federal government takes 5% as its charge for collecting these revenues. The 55% of the balance goes to central government, while the provinces get their share as per an agreed formula. However, so far there hasn't been an agreement on sharing due to grievances of Balochistan and NWFP in particular. The Punjab demanded the distribution of funds on the basis of population while other provinces claimed larger share due to rampant poverty and need to develop vast natural resources. It is a happy sign of the time that a settlement has been eventually hammered out in a two days meeting among the representatives of the Center and the Provinces in which the Punjab has shown remarkable cooperation to the satisfaction of the other three provinces. As a result an agreed Award has taken shape. The main provisions of the Accord are given hereunder:

#### Provisions of the NFC Accord

The National Finance Commission has decided four factors i.e. population, backwardness, revenue and Inverse density population for horizontal distribution of resources among the provinces under



## Objective Assessment of the Accord

The main point of objection is why Federal government should take a disproportionate share much more than what it really needs. Expenditure on defence, civil bureaucracy and debt servicing is, of course, inescapable but why maintenance 500 agencies many of which are absolutely useless and must be disbanded forthwith. Why maintain a large army of ministers that number about 90, biggest in the history of Pakistan, just to oblige some of PPP's henchmen. Federal share must be brought down from 55 to 45 and then to 40%.

The federal government must shed many subjects of concurrent list that really belong to provincial domain and can best be handled by the provincial governments. Moreover, all the development schemes that should be implemented at lower levels of the government should be transferred to them. This will reduce the incidence of corruption as well.

In addition, host of authorities, agencies and departments that have outlived their utility, must be wound up. Resources thus released should be ploughed back into the much neglected education sector at federal as well as provincial levels.

Provinces such as Balochistan and NWFP whose capacity to generate revenue is restricted due to economic backwardness or lack of human resource material or incidence of militancy, deserve sympathetic treatment. In the ongoing scenario their responsibilities to maintain law and order have become manifold and they need additional funds which is the responsibility of the federal government to provide within the framework of the NFC Award

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Q: Discuss the causes that account for Pakistan's poor economic performance in the recent past. What should be done for the revival of the economy?

## Causes of down fall of Pakistan's economy

Although the trickle down effect was much in discussion and speeches in the era of economic growth of the past government, but somehow it never materialised and the common man remained in stress and nothing reached him or changed for him. The poor and the low-income group are now more worried about the rapidly changing socio-economic conditions. There is no hope and no distant silver-lining for the under-privileged, no matter what turn the economy may take.

Growing sense of insecurity and deprivation is spreading fast; common man is worried at the unbridled price-hikes and on top of it,, persistent load-shedding, higher fuel costs and scarcity of essential food items like wheat flour, etc. Industrialists are concerned at the rising prices of fuel and energy, higher import cost of vital inputs and non-availability of skilled labour-force. Farmers are facing untold hardship and are unable to make both ends meet, no matter how hard they work. They are faced with shortages of water, shortages of electricity and unavailability of better seeds and cheap fertiliser, and other inputs along with shortages of cheap capital.

Fear of unemployment and rejection from society are now consistent in the minds of young generation, which is demoralising for them. Their parent's sacrifice in terms of finances and student's hard work and long hours of studies and all that to come to nothing. The growing problems that our governments and policy maker now encounter are multi-dimensional, concerned not only to maintain the present level of economic prosperity but with the passage of time, how to improve the standard of living of people. The destiny of 170 million Pakistanis rests with the wise decision of the government, especially in the field of education, career building, employment generation, human sector development and overall welfare of the people and

their basic needs. The nation's worry of external threat and internal disharmony is also on the rise.

Witnessing one crisis after another on the socio-economic fronts, the hay days of growth and prosperity appears to have slipped away, thus the fiscal year 2007-08 will be remembered as one of the most turbulent years of Pakistan's economic history. During the year, inflation recorded a growth of 12 per cent - highest since 1990-91 while food inflation was at 17.6 per cent it achieved levels never seen before and it was set to rise further only to devastate the fixed income group. Added to these the country faces a productivity crisis in her vital manufacturing sector, an oil crisis, an emerging water crisis. All these crises make Pakistan's future destiny to look as grim. The trade gap and current account balance gap were highest ever at 15.3 per cent and 14.1 per cent of GDP in 2007-08 and if this trend continues in the future it will become the single most destabilising factor of the Pakistan's economy. Trade deficit during 2007-08 shot by nearly 53 per cent mainly on account of rising oil prices and decline in Pakistan's textile and clothing exports. After remaining low and within the stipulated targets for a very long period Pakistan fiscal deficit is again raising its head, which during 2007-08 was reported at 6.5 per cent of GDP. If appropriate measures were not taken the fiscal deficit could rise to around 10 per cent of GDP in the current fiscal year. Pakistan is losing its competitiveness in the field of textiles exports; power shortages are only aggravating the situation for the worse. Pakistan's stock market had been one of the leading indicators of economic growth and prosperity for the last 6-7 years. During 2007-08 KSE 100 share Index and its market capitalisation suffered decline by more than 10 per cent over the previous year.

But the question arises is why, despite a strong economic base all of a sudden the ascending level of fear is bulldozing all positive gains and expectations. The answer is not so difficult to illustrate. It is because the so called era of economic boom and rising standard of living revealed the half truth, only the brighter side of the coin. Many economists now believe that the basic parameters of the often repeated story of a surging and booming economy was unrealistic and mostly based on engineered data, may be due to ignorance or inherent in competency of the economic managers.



But Pakistan has enough potential to fight back the impasses to achieve real break-through and milestones in her socio-economic sector with new initiatives and appropriate planning.

To revive the momentum of economy growth, investment activities and maintain prices stability what the government and the policy makers need to do is to cool down the hyper tempo of exaggerated fear and feeling of insecurity among the 170 million people. In fact, we need to fear no one than our own lethargy and inaction. Pakistan is strong enough to withstand challenges to its security, integrity and prosperity. Pakistan has enough potential to put itself on the path of rapid progress and prosperity. It has large number of working-age population, ready to accept any challenge. Unfortunately, only a minor fraction of the privileged class is creating all the mischief only for their unlawful gains. They are bulldozing law of the land, and creating artificial crises including food crisis. Among them the big hoarders, profiteers and smugglers are bent upon to shake the foundation of the economy. This small hoard of black sheep must be dealt with very severely and ruthlessly. Despite repeated public demands, not a single black sheep has yet been persecuted publicly under the law of the land. Lack of punishment and accountability only make them bolder to inflict more harm to the people and the country.

Major and visible initiatives need to be taken to increase agricultural and industrial productivity both in the rural and urban areas. To address the alarming level of poverty and unemployment micro and medium enterprises (SMEs) should be promoted in large scale. The purpose for which micro credit schemes were launched but yet to be availed by the public as they are out of the reach of the common man. This is mainly due to chronic and deep-rooted corruption and inefficiency prevalent in the micro credit system.

Through improved agricultural productivity and a modern livestock sector Pakistan can not only overcome her shortages of food but it can become a net exporter of those commodities. Live stock is another area where huge potential exist for growth.

Increasing the productivity of livestock systems and mixed crop-livestock systems motivates farmers to protect their rangelands and use them sustainable for raising livestock rather than putting them to the plough. Already, in many parts of the world mixed crop-livestock systems are the

norm. In the developing world, livestock add value to resources that would otherwise go to waste. The livestock industry can generate a large economic impact through its forward and backward linkages in Pakistan's economy.

The main objectives of livestock development in Pakistan should be to achieve self-reliance in livestock products and improve productivity of milk and meat and open huge employment opportunities in the rural areas. These objectives could be achieved through implementing enhanced productivity of existing livestock, dairy, poultry and fisheries resources; through development of new technologies, scientific methods of farming and improved management practices; exploiting export potential of livestock, dairy, poultry and fisheries and their products; promoting import substitution of milk and dairy products; ensuring availability of credit for livestock farmers, especially the landless ones; improving livestock marketing infrastructure; strengthening institutions for livestock research and extension and improving their linkages and coordination. Development of import substitution like edible oil, tea and renewable energy should also be developed.

To rapidly develop small-scale industry agriculture, livestock, forestry and fisheries a revolutionary system of interest free loan should be introduced. For this purpose a special fund could be established by the government. The criteria that would entitle one for interest free loan should be efficiency, hardworking and willingness to accept challenges. Young, educated and unemployed person could be included in such schemes on priority basis.

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**Ans: 2:** During the early part of the current decade the government in power consistently claimed that the graph of economic progress of the country was rising so rapidly that very soon Pakistan will become part of the miracle economies of Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). The propaganda was so strong that it hoodwink the international magazine "Newsweek" to publish a cover story about Pakistan under the title "A Rising Star in the East." However, those who understood the kind of progress being made declared that in fact a bubble economy was in the making. But the proud managers of the economy kept on inflating this bubble. Caught up in a state of absolute self-deception they set very high targets for the next

annual budget. But these unrealistic policies soon started giving results. The bubble burst with a bang. The masses were hit hard by scarcities, shortages, sky-rocketing prices. Gulf between, the 5 % ultra rich. 5 % super rich and 20 % hand to mouth population on the one hand and 70 % the most miserable creatures of this God given country on the other, widened to the extent that it made the life of an average citizen unbearable. Regardless of all this the party in power kept on moving ahead relentlessly with its illusive policies without realizing that it had reached a point beyond which there was a sheer fall to abysmal depths. The President of the state complacently sat on his high pedestal. Instead of correcting the course of events going wrong and monitoring the faltering Prime Minister or reigning in the finance Ministry that was going wild, he rather chose to support them. Thus the the Party in power deserved nasty whipping for its detestable misrule. It duly received that long awaited backlash in the coming general elections when it was defeated by a not very popular leadership that had been tried and rejected twice by the nation in the past. It was a humiliating defeat not only for the ousted bigwigs but a mighty setback for the President as well who had earlier got himself elected from the previous Parliament and therefore could constitutionally claim to be the legitimate President of Pakistan. But pragmatically the elections had dismantled the very powerbase on which he could stand firmly under the changed set up. In the newly developed hostile environment demand for his resignation had become so universal and vociferous that a person with a bit of self-respect would not have stuck-in-disgrace to his high office even for a day. In the tradition of a steel-nerved person, however, he holds on to his position until he is forcibly ousted by the unsparing destiny.

With this general backdrop of the environment that accounts of the poor economic progress of the country during the recent years, the specific reasons for dismal economic performance are as under:

**Corruption:** According to recent survey of Amnesty International, Pakistan is fifth in corruption among 163 countries of the world. State of corruption is two dimensional. In the first place it well known that there is hardly any department of the state machinery that could be identified as corruption free. From the political leaders in power, to the bureaucracy down to its most insignificant official views the state funds with ferocious eye of a vulture. Almost every international donor agency openly expresses its dissatisfaction with the use of their funds since major part of the funds is



misappropriated. Complaints are voiced over the aid received for war on terror and as general military financial support. Even the Zakat and Usher money, that is arbitrarily deducted at source by the government, is bungled up in so many devious means. Only a fraction of it reaches the deserving ones. The major portion of it is gulped by the big fish. In the second place it is the common man who has to come into contact with the officials of the state machinery such as the police, the courts, revenue offices etc has to cough up money for illegal gratifications at each step to get his work done. In the third place corruption that had already assumed a widely accepted way of life with disregard to any kind of moral or ethical values attached to it has been further made an act of piety by the National Reconciliation Ordinance which the head of the state has himself baptized the nation with. His sole aim was personal survival as President with the help of the corrupt politicians who had looted the country with both hands in the past, had been sentenced to punishments by the courts of law at home and abroad, served jail terms but as the fate would have it were about to come to power. The Ordinance was to wash their red hands as clean as that of a dervish or even a divine. The highly placed corrupt got Rs 54 billion loans remitted with one stroke of the pen. The State Bank reported that from a total of 600 defaulters the number has come down to only about 150. Obviously these are those unfortunate people who are commonplace citizens and were no not influential enough to get their loans written off. If they do not refund they will be sent to jail. After all some one has to go there to uphold the flag justice to flutter over the palaces of the high and mighty.

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Q: There has been an unprecedented surge of corruption in Pakistan during the past few year. Give an estimate of the corruption, causes and remedial measures.

Sifted by Prof. Col ( r ) M. Zahur-ul-Haq

MUCH to the shame of every decent Pakistani, the country's leadership continues to take Pakistan down the slippery slope of increasing corruption. Over sixty years have passed and instead of arresting the trend of corruption our successive rulers have made it worse with each passing decade. Transparency International (TI) has pinpointed the habitual handicaps we are afflicted with - from financial misdoings to lack of governance to a total absence of transparency. The TI report refers to the well-known scams and mismanagement in many public bodies like Pakistan Steel Mills, PSO, KESC, DHAs and so on. Nor are the land scams forgotten including unauthorised allotments by nazims and the well-known harassment by land mafias. The people continue to get oppressed while the elite continues to fatten up its ill-gotten resources. And no end seems in sight at all - in fact, as the TI report points out we are getting worse. Ironically, TI also points to the fact that the anti-corruption drive took a nosedive after Musharraf issued the NRO, just 56 days after the ratification of the UN Convention against corruption. Of course, Pakistanis do not need TI to point out to them the total lack of any accountability in this country. Every day living is replete with tales of bribery, nepotism and an absence of any governance. Nothing can be done in the normal course of things. Bribes must be paid and corners cut. The latter has often resulted in death and misery, especially when expired medicines are sold and rotten food finds its way to the poor. But no one in the state is bothered enough to hold anyone accountable. Environmental hazards are allowed to fester and environment protection laws lie gathering dust except in the odd case which becomes an exception.

Rs500b corruption committed: The Transparency International Pakistan reveals an increase of corruption in Pakistan, making the

country to stand at 42nd position among the corrupt countries in the world. Anti-corruption efforts in the country had taken a 180 degree turn after Gen Pervez Musharraf issued the National Reconciliation Ordinance on October 5, 2007, 56 days after the ratification of the UN Convention against corruption Pakistan 2009. Corruption Perceptions Index Score is 2.4, and out of 180 countries, its ranking as most corrupt country has slipped 5 ranks, from 47 in 2008 to 42 most corrupt country in 2009, the report added. He said Pakistan needs immediate enforcement of good governance and transparent administration to counter the acute problems of billion of rupees corruption scams reported in Pakistan Steel Mills, TDAP, EOBI, PIA, Rental Power Plants, KESC, NIC, NHA, OGDC, PSO, PEPCO, CDA, DP Division, DHAs, Pakistan Steel TCP, NBP, PC, and many other organisations. All land scams of Punjab, CDA, NWFP, Sindh (specially like gutter baghicha, unauthorised allotments by Nazims, fraudulent change in land records by revenue officers), reported in last one year in media shall be investigated by a judicial tribunal, and all land records should be computerised within one year.

Terrorism is the direct outcome of poverty, resulted only and only due to corruption, and mainly because of prevalent illegal direct/indirect Armed Forces Rules in Pakistan since 1951 to 2007, fully endorsed by corrupt Judiciary. The government is ruling Pakistan without governance, and Pakistan has lost credibility all over the world, due to which the country is facing serious economic threats, poverty, inflation, food and electricity shortages and increase in unemployment, which are direct results of the massive ongoing corruption. Pakistan also requires immediate action through a surgical operation on review and cancellation of the appointments and promotions not made on merit as well as extension in service or reappo-intment after retirement and remove from the key public offices of those who are facing corruption charges, and implementing the effective non-discriminatory accountability mechanism for those civil/defence departments not complying with the procedures including privatisation, transparent implementation of rules by regulatory authorities, SECP, CCP, PPRA, EPA, SBP) OGRA, PEMRA, PTA, PFRA



etc in order to restore donors agencies, IFIs and investor's confidence, the report suggests.

Political will of the government to fight corruption is urgently required and must also be seen by public and donor countries, like formation of Independent Accountability Commission as required by United Nations Convention against corruption under HOPO Act 2009, to report only to the parliament or judiciary and not to the Ministry of Law (to avoid conflict of interest and unbiased accountability), and to include all public office holders belonging to civil services, armed forces service, judicial services and elected representatives. Moreover, bribery, cartels and other corrupt practices undermine competition and contribute to massive loss of resources for development in all countries, especially the poorest ones, as between 1990 and 2005 more than 283 private international cartels were exposed that cost consumers around the world suffered an estimated US \$300 billion in overcharges, as documented in a recent TI report. The CPI 2009 reveals the effects of corruption in the subcontinent, which is more alarming in Pakistan, as Bangladesh which was the most corrupt country in 2001, 2002 and 2003, has improved its ranking from 38th most corrupt country in 2008, to 42nd most corrupt country in 2009.

Transparency International Pakistan also congratulates Pakistan Army, which has proved to the world that Pakistan armed forces are the best. The elimination of terrorists in Swat in two months by Pak Army is what US and NATO forces failed to achieve in eight years in Iraq and Afghanistan, which has made Pakistan a proud nation, and Army Chief has also taken up seriously the violation of Public Procurement Rules by DHA as well as armed purchases, and advised to follow the rules, which is a healthy sign and warning for those who are violators of rules, he added.

He said the government must make serious efforts to apply rules and regulations across the board, to achieve the goal of reducing corruption. In the last ten years, the economic growth of Bangladesh, and deterioration in Pakistan economy can also be judged from the

currency parity rates of Pakistan, Bangladesh vs Dollar in 1999 and 2009, Taka/Pak Re was 49.65:51.84 and in 2009; it is Taka/Pak Re 70.39:83.46.

New Zealand was the top-ranked country with a score of 9.4, followed by Denmark at 9.3, and Singapore and Sweden, both on 9.2. The countries which saw their ranking drop included Iran, which fell to 1.8 from 2.3 following a presidential election in June that the opposition said was rigged. Political turmoil also contributed to a fall in Ukraine's score to 2.2 from 2.5. Greece saw its score slide to 3.8 from 4.7, reflecting insufficient anti-corruption enforcement, lengthy delays in the judicial process and a string of corporate scandals that TI said pointed to "systemic weaknesses". Nations that improved included the United States, which rose to 7.5 from 7.3. TI cited Washington's swift response to the financial crisis, including reforms demanding greater transparency and accountability. Poland rose to 5.0 from 4.6 after establishing an anti-corruption office. Russia edged up to 2.2 from 2.1, a rise attributed to anti-corruption legislation introduced by President Dmitry Medvedev. But TI noted that the excessive role of the Russian government in the economy remained a problem. According to Transparency International Pakistan, Rs500 billion worth of corruption was committed in Pakistan during the last year.

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Q: What are the provisions of the National Reconciliation Ordinance 2007? What factors led to its initiation? Point out its pros and cons. Why couldn't the Parliament approve it as law? Discuss its consequences.

## National Reconciliation Ordinance 2007

Ans: By Prof Col (r) M. Zahur-ul-Haq

One of the major factors that led to the formulation of the national Reconciliation Ordinance was that Benazir Bhutto was anxious to return to Pakistan after eight long years of self imposed exile. She had chosen to remain out of the country to avoid legal actions on outstanding cases of corruption against her. She approached the US for help. It was a God sent opportunity for Mr Bush. He is reported to have promised help but for a price which she readily agreed to pay. Mr Bush had desired to land his forces in Pakistan to fight terror which was a violation of Pakistan's sovereignty and no patriotic government could possibly permit that. But Ms Bhutto allegedly agreed to the demand provided she became the third time Prime Minister of Pakistan., with US help of course. Mr Bush also wanted access to Pakistan's nuclear assets and Dr Qadeer Khan to which Ms Bhutto is alleged to have given her assent. Taking up Ms Bhutto's cause, Mr Bush launched a diplomatic offensive and convinced Musharraf for a deal under which Ms Bhutto could safely return to Pakistan without facing the court of law for her corruption cases.

At home a situation was in the making that needed to be tackled. Presidential elections were nearing. Musharraf was apprehensive of a twin threat that could spell his downfall. First was the ever-increasing influence of the religious extremists and the militant Taliban who were fast getting out of hand. The second threat came from the multiple opposition from almost all political parties of the country. He decided to look for the support of Pakistan Peoples Party and its chairperson in view of their liberalism and anti-Taliban stance, to put up a joint fight against terror. Moreover, in his



forthcoming elections as President of Pakistan he wished the support of PPP to get elected by a wide majority of the legislators. Musharraf and Benazir thus became each other's complimentary needs. Back channel diplomacy took start brokered by the US perhaps. A deal was struck between Ms Benazir and President Musharraf for mutual cooperation to serve their respective ends which led to the passage of National Reconciliation Ordinance by the National Assembly to pave way for Ms Benazir to return to Pakistan without any apprehension. However, majority of Musharraf's well wishers strongly opposed the deal because they knew that Ms Bhutto would never take the deal seriously and shall soon go back on her undertakings. Her only aim was to find a way to enter Pakistan. All these fears proved to be correct and within days Ms Benazir established an opposing camp against Musharraf. The Ordinance was no longer worth the paper it written on.

The truth is that the promulgation of the Ordinance was morally and legally unjustified. It took its inspiration from purely personal interests and was quite irrational in its make up. From the very beginning it was up for a disaster.

It is being widely said that by promulgating the National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) President Musharraf has become responsible for passing one of the darkest laws in the history of our legal jurisprudence. The purpose of the law, as expressed in its preamble is that there is immediate need to "promote national reconciliation and confidence amongst holders of public office and remove the vestiges of political vendetta and victimization". These are lofty ideals but NRO fools nobody. It was promulgated purely for political reasons in pursuance of a "deal" as per the condition that all pending cases of corruption against Benazir Bhutto and her spouse will be withdrawn and terminated by law.

However, no law or principle of jurisprudence allows the president or the legislature by issuance of an ordinance to decide whether or not a person is guilty of a crime. In any civilized society this is the role of the courts that have the exclusive jurisdiction to decide guilt or

innocence of the accused through proper trial. NRO is a blatant violation of the rule of law and is in reality a "judicial verdict" announced by an Ordinance, without trial. As a result the number of topmost political leaders, bureaucrats, public men and retired armed forces personnel guilty of high corruption, serious criminal offences whom the Ordinance benefited is about 5000. All the PPP leaders including President Asif Ali Zardari who drew benefits under the NRO, fell in this category.

The Ordinance was due to expire after 28 November 2009. To make it a law the government was eager to take to the Parliament but had to withdraw it due to lack of support by majority of the members. Those offenders who awaited to benefit from it after it became law were frustrated. Most of these beneficiaries are part of the government. There is no authority who can prosecute these dignitaries except the Supreme Court to whom the bill has been sent back. A new Pandora's box is likely to open up in consequence.

The unfortunate aspect was that that if legalized NRO would have institutionalised corruption in Pakistan which is already labelled as one of the most corrupt countries in the world. People who had been waiting for someone to rid the country of this menace through even-handed accountability were deeply frustrated and disappointed.

Musharraf in his inaugural speech as chief executive in 1999 had justified his takeover by promising to bring all the guilty to the book. He said "The process of accountability is being directed especially towards those guilty of plundering and looting the national wealth and tax evaders. My advice to the guilty is to return voluntarily national wealth. They owe this to Pakistan.

The promise to check rampant corruption is reiterated by the president in his book "In the Line of Fire" where he says "Never in the history of Pakistan had we seen such a combination of the worst kind of governance along with corruption and the plunder of national wealth. All I have to do is to make clear that the charges would not be dropped."

During Musharraf's time NAB spent millions of rupees in prosecuting the cases against Benazir Bhutto in Pakistani courts as well as abroad, undertaking foreign trips at public expense and hiring expensive services of foreign consultants and investigating agencies. NAB is reported to have been working tirelessly to bring the looted money back. However, over-night it appears things have magically changed and suddenly all those holding public office and charged with corruption during a certain period were declared innocent and declared 'victims' of 'political vendetta'.

The NRO benefits those who after looting national wealth, leave the country, successfully avoid trial and take stolen money outside Pakistan and refuse to reconcile with NAB to pay it back. Cases against such persons are now withdrawn and the corrupt have become lawful owners of that loot. For eight years the NAB officials remained convinced that the prosecution was valid and in the process spent millions of rupees of public money. Now they too are pardoned. Is there any accountability?

No one denies that national reconciliation is imperative and important and must be done amongst all stakeholders. Political victimization was wrong and all false cases initiated for non-genuine reasons are to be dismissed. However, reconciliation is not a recipe for saving the corrupt and legalizing corruption.

### A noble example from South Africa

We have the example of South Africa before us. When the Apartheid regime ended atrocities had been committed by the opposing camps, ie the regime and ANC (African National conference) and other liberation forces that had fought apartheid. They had to move on to save the country and could not afford a continuation of hatred and revenge.

A Truth and Reconciliation Commission was set up to investigate gross violations of human rights from 1960 to 1994 with the aim of reconciliation in South Africa's divided society. Anyone could come



forth and publicly confess the truth and their guilt before this committee and request for amnesty from prosecution. The idea was to accept the responsibility of the commitment of corruption or cruelty to ensure that it never happens again. Statistics show that 7112 petitioners including ex President F W de Klerk confessed before the committee, out of which only 849 were pardoned.

Any reconciliation law in Pakistan should also have been confession-based only. Let any body who truly wants to reconcile and cleanse the system come forward with his/her confession before a committee of independent and neutral persons and then seek clearance or pardon with or without returning the plundered wealth. Only then can we achieve national reconciliation which would be credible and satisfying to the people of Pakistan. No one has any right to declare innocent any person who is charged with stealing people's wealth. It is only the people who can accept the confession and grant forgiveness..

#### A laughable bad law

The New York Times has termed Musharraf-Benazir deal laughable and asked the US administration not to support anti-democratic measures and ways to help an individual to extract personal gain. National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) has been challenged as a "Bad Law". Even a layman understands that NRO is a document which goes against the basic principles of accountability and responsibility. The Ordinance is confirmation of Pakistan having been labeled as one of the most corrupt countries where the elite, with all their arrogance are free to defy moral and legal codes of behaviors. The political elite in Pakistan is self-seeking, unconcerned with the problems facing the country and the miseries that people suffer from.

This means that no member will be prosecuted if he or she has maintained enough fear among the other members, has managed to remain popular enough and has developed a system of sharing the loot. Actually, the NRO provides a mechanism whereby the present government could whitewash the black deeds of PPP members, and also provides a mechanism whereby Benazir Bhuto could keep her ill-

and Musharraf's pride of being a master strategist met an ignoble end. His dream to rule for another term ended in smoke. A major accident of history brought Zardari to power as President of Pakistan and Musharraf had to leave Pakistan to live in exile for indefinite period with threats of trial for all kinds of misrule.

Under NRO corruption of Rs 1000 billion written off

According to the official National Accountability Bureau (NAB) list, approximately Rs165 billion was written off because of the promulgation of the NRO and the subsequent act of making the NAB impotent but official sources claim that according to 'actual' calculations corruption cases of about Rs1000 billion were terminated. In just one case, a case of a highly influential individual involving a US\$1.5 billion (Rs122 billion) plunder was terminated with the legal stroke of an illegal pen. In yet another case, the wife of an influential politician walked away scot-free with an amount of exactly Rs310 million written off. There is a long list of cases in which complete immunity of billions of rupees was granted to a select segment of society. Besides the NAB list of NRO beneficiaries given to the Law Ministry for presentation before the prime minister and then the National Assembly, hundreds of other political luminaries were given a clean slate in corruption cases without mentioning the word NRO and thousands of political workers involved in heinous criminal activities too got their records cleansed.

The National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) was promulgated as a result of a deal between then military dictator Pervez Musharraf and the PPP leadership on the night of October 5, 2007 to facilitate the election of General Musharraf in Army uniform on October 6, 2007. Under this highly controversial, discriminatory and unconstitutional NRO, corruption cases of hundreds of politicians, influential bureaucrats and political activists of some political parties were withdrawn.

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# Majority of Madaris has political affiliations

*Survey Report released by Pakistan Institute of Pakistan Studies carried by the daily Nation on 28 Mar 09*

Pakistani *madaris* are perceived as a catalyst factor promoting orthodox views. Their role in shaping the views of the masses and their students is a serious concern for many. Their affiliations with political, sectarian and militant organizations is a major cause of concern

The survey reveals that 172 out of 251 ie 62 percent *madaris* have political affiliations, 59 percent are affiliated with religious parties and 3 % with other mainstream parties, 18 percent are affiliated with sectarian or jihadi parties. The survey shows that Deobandi and Jamat-e-Islami *madaris* are more inclined towards politics as 82 percent of Deobandi and 100 percent of JI *madaris* have political affiliations. The Barelvies do not focus much on politics\_ ony 27 percent of them have political affiliations; 78 percent of Ahle Hadith and 48 percent of Shia *madaris* are politically oriented. 57 percent of *madaris* hold the view that war on terrorism was directed against Islam and Muslims. One hundred and three out of 115 *madaris* oppose the military operation in the tribal area.

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# War on terror: dangers and possibilities

Dr Maleeha Lodhi News: 26 May 09

Among the encouraging developments in the past week have been the convening of an All Parties Conference and a series of conventions of ulema and mashaikh, which have rallied political parties and influential religious leaders behind the country's fight against militancy. In a rare show of unity, leaders of 43 parties and religious organisations from across the political spectrum assembled in Islamabad in a meeting convened by Prime Minister Yusuf Raza Gilani on May 18 to endorse the security operation. The clear stance taken by the head of the Pakistan Muslim League (N), Mian Nawaz Sharif, swung the balance of opinion in the meeting and ensured the unanimous adoption of the 15-point resolution. Certain opposition parties which took a dissenting view were isolated by the support voiced by Mr Sharif.

This political consensus, together with the changed public mood, means that the military action has the necessary support that past operations lacked. But the political momentum will have to be sustained by the government's continued engagement with the opposition, in order to keep it on board through the many imposing challenges that lie ahead. Public support too can prove fragile, especially in the face of a humanitarian crisis whose full dimensions are still unfolding. Therefore, the government should not make the mistake of taking this political and public support for granted.

The government can nonetheless take comfort from another welcome development: growing support for the counter-insurgency campaign from a large and influential section of religious scholars and ulema. Two successive conventions of ulema and mashaikh in the last ten days in Islamabad rejected the Taliban's brand of Shariah and pronounced the military action to flush out the militants as a "war for Pakistan's survival and sovereignty." These gatherings of Barelvi religious leaders also issued a fatwa declaring suicide bombings and beheadings as un-Islamic.

With significant numbers of religious scholars throwing their weight behind the anti-militancy operation, the country's political leadership has a unique opportunity to engage religious leaders on a more consistent basis to evolve a counter narrative to the pernicious ideology preached by militants. If insurgencies are ultimately neutralised by political means, defeating the

ideology of violent extremists will be as important as the military effort underway. Many arguments being put forward by religious leaders can form an important part of the effort to counter the militants' message and contain radicalising influences and ideologies in the longer term. If these efforts are undertaken purposefully they can, over time, help bring about a decisive turn in the battle of ideas.

Where there is opportunity in this fraught situation, there is also peril. The military, political and humanitarian fronts will pose severe tests for the leadership. Although security forces seem to have encircled the Taliban in a number of their strongholds, they are in for a tough haul in a terrain that advantages the militants. Topography confronts the military with greater danger than the militants' hit-and-run guerrilla tactics. A bewildering maze of caves and underground bunkers shield the militants from the use of fierce fire power by the military.

The hardest battles have yet to be fought in a campaign that can be prolonged. Army commanders rule out any timeline for when they expect the operation to end. The classic difficulties of counter-insurgency will be compounded if the militants melt away in and from the battle zone.

While the security forces have been acting to block military supplies and support to the insurgents from neighbouring areas, there is so far little indication of the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) militants from the tribal areas coming to the aid of the Malakand insurgents. This tends to support a premise long held by the army, which is that militancy in different regions and tribal agencies have local dynamics and can in fact be dealt with separately. For all the extravagant claims made by the TTP leadership, this alliance is federated even more loosely than often assessed.

Meanwhile, reports of armed residents in Kalam and Lower Dir acting forcefully to halt the infiltration of militants indicate both public confidence in the military operation and what could become a key plank of a longer-term strategy to resist Taliban insurgents and prevent their return. Tribal lashkars are apparently being formed in several places in the Swat valley to confront the militants, while residents of Peochar valley are said to be stepping forward to help security forces identify the Taliban. These developments underline a crucial aspect of the counter-insurgency effort: cooperation from the local population.

This raises the next and all-important question of what will fill the political and administrative vacuum once the military concludes the operation. Would in fact the army have to stay for at least an initial period to provide security, bolster "policing" arrangements and help deliver basic services until a more permanent administrative structure is put in place? Effective and credible

measures for the post-conflict phase are critical otherwise the gains of the military campaign will simply dissipate. In the absence of a workable plan, the danger of militants returning to the area will continue to haunt its inhabitants.

The government should evolve and unveil a framework for security and public services for the post-operation phase to build confidence among Swat's residents and demonstrate that it is indeed equipped to deal with the aftermath of the military action. This is especially necessary to allay widespread doubts at home and abroad that Islamabad lacks a plan B.

Of all the challenges posed by the Swat operation, the most urgent is the displacement crisis, which has acquired dire proportions. The point has been widely made and merits reiteration: managing the humanitarian crisis is paramount to winning hearts and minds. Public and political support for the military operation can evaporate if the plight of the two million displaced people is not adequately addressed. In this regard, reports of mismanagement and disarray at some of the refugee camps are a source of alarm. They urge the need for decisive action by the government to prevent the crisis from turning into a disaster.

Efforts by parties unreconciled to the counter-militancy effort to politicise the humanitarian crisis cannot be ruled out. This is where the government will need to direct sustained attention and energy in coming months while also guarding against any hasty move to repatriate refugees. Until a secure environment, local law enforcement arrangements and an adequately resourced and managed rehabilitation plan is in place, sending refugees back will be a high-risk endeavour. This should be avoided unless the IDPs can be amply enabled to rebuild their lives and homes and of course live without fear.

If the atrocities committed by the Swat militants became the catalyst for the dramatic change in public mood that enabled the military action to be launched, it is now up to the political and military leadership to press this advantage by pursuing a coherent course of action. This means working in tandem on an integrated approach toward the multiple dimensions of the Swat problem, and carefully coordinating and calibrating responses on the military, political and humanitarian tracks. This also means being able to respond to the unforeseen and manage the unanticipated. The task before the government to insure that its actions resolve and not in any way exacerbate an admittedly difficult situation.

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# Pakistan and the CARs

By: Prof. Col (r) M. Zahur-ul-Haq

## Gwadar Port

**Q:** Despite the ideal geo-strategic location of Gwadar Port it may not be able to become hub of international economic importance unless Pakistan manages to overcome all those hurdles that prevent it to play its role in the region to full potential. Recount those hurdles and suggest how to do away with them.

**Ans:** To start with, it was not unrealistic to presume that Pakistan being an Islamic state, will have smooth sailing in establishing intimate trade, commercial and social relations with all the five Muslim Central Asian Republics, which had won independence from the USSR on its break up in 1981. But it proved to be a wishful thinking. These states were Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. This landlocked region is bordered by USSR and China in the North East, Afghanistan and Iran in the South West, European subcontinent in the North and the Middle East in West.

Pakistan had a history of religious and cultural ties with CARs but all those failed to assert themselves in developing the kind of Muslim brotherhood that people in Pakistan were eager to expect from them. This was not without reasons. They had their problems, some of which are:

Firstly, Afghanistan lies between Pakistan and CARs which has not seen peace for many decades in the past. It has always been politically disturbed and militarily a flashpoint. Normal channels of communication and infrastructure was hard to develop under uncertain conditions. The rich energy resources like oil, gas, electricity and agricultural produce such as cotton could not be utilized by the outside world except Russia and European countries. While pipelines existed for the flow of oil and gas from CAR's rich Caspian region towards the North no such infrastructure took shape for their shipment down to Afghanistan and onward to Pakistan.

Secondly, although the republics have gained independence yet they are still inevitably linked with the former Soviet Union. The CAR economies are so intertwined with the soviet economic system that their mutual interdependence will take time to end. Stalin had very cleverly drawn their maps in a manner that no Republic would ever become a well defined nation-state. The population was scattered to get mixed up into heterogeneous ethnic, linguistic and sectarian groups. They continue to be secular as they ever were but instead of communists now they prefer to be known as socialists, democrats and nationalist democrats. They are highly allergic to the Taliban and would like keep the religion of Islam to themselves as individual's own concern. They are as much afraid of Afghanistan on this account as they are from Pakistan due to the movements of strong religious extremism of the Taliban. Under the influence of the religious extremists of Afghanistan two such organizations have also taken root in CARs, which they would not permit to flourish and become effective at any cost. It is due to this reason that Pakistan is unable to play its Islamic card to make any appeal on the basis of Islamic fraternization. This has gone to India's advantage in a big way. Initially India was fearful of the possibility of Pakistan forming an Islamic bloc with the Republics but the Republics have instead swung towards India at the cost of Pakistan. India has outsmarted Pakistan in developing stronger diplomatic ties with them. It has obtained the favour of its military presence by running an air base there.

Thirdly, the urgent need of the Republics is technology and capital investment for the development of vast mineral resources and the infrastructure of the region. This requirement can be adequately met by the western countries, China and Japan since Russian economy is comparatively weaker and has not proved to be of much help in this regard. India, to some extent, with its superior economy has also extended its helping hand which has been welcomed by the Republics with gratitude. Comparatively, the economy of Pakistan is much weaker. It can neither offer advanced technical know-how nor enormous dozes of capital which is the urgent need of the Republics. In this great game of rivalry being played in the region to command its riches, Pakistan stands seriously handicapped. Moreover, Pakistan is perpetually in the grip of religious extremism coupled with deadly intrigues of power struggle among its politicians. The country thus stands discredited in the eyes of the international community. It is unable to look after its own interests. How can it come to others help. The politicians in

their greed of power have destabilized it, some in the name of Islam and some to uphold the cause of democracy. While the truth is that none is interested in Islam or democracy. They all worship the goddess of feudalism that infuses in them nothing but greed for power and more power without an end in sight.

### Strategy for a workable CAR policy

The ongoing CAR scenario depicted above is not after all as hopeless and dark as it appears to be. The Pakistan CAR relations of the future can be mutually beneficial provided Pakistan works out a strategy whereby the Republics, individually and collectively, get attracted towards Pakistan. Following are some of the imperatives of such a strategy; One: Their fear of Taliban threat from Pakistan as well as Afghanistan, should be allayed once for all to their entire satisfaction. Two: Pakistan must do all what it can to normalize relations with Afghanistan. Three: Pakistan should achieve respectable internal stability both on political and economic fronts. Four: Pakistan should somehow strive to become indispensable to the CARs.

The imperative mentioned last on the list above is of fundamental importance. Unless Pakistan is needed it will not be heeded. Each one of the rival players engaged in the great game of benefiting from the riches of the region is there because it is the reciprocal need of the Republics; otherwise none would have been there. Moreover, Pakistan should have no illusion about the limitations of the comparative role it would be able to play to look after its interests. Some rivals will offer technology, others capital etc. Pakistan should prepare itself to make some kind of an exclusive contribution. The direction of CAR's import and export trade would be towards north, east and west where Pakistan will have no part to play. The south, however, will be its exclusive preserve where India and Iran would be its contenders. Iran could become its partner leaving only India as the sole rival. But despite India's superior diplomacy and resourcefulness, Pakistan will win the race due to the existence of Gwadar Port which has the potential of becoming indispensable for the CARs in times to come. India will have nothing comparable with Gwadar to counter the edge that it has given to Pakistan.

### China's contribution



Before the consideration of factors that are likely to make Gwadar indispensable to the CARs it should be acknowledged that this option has been made available to Pakistan by China. It financed to the tune of \$ 298 million to construct the first phase of this mega project at Gwadar which was started on 22 March 2002 and inaugurated in March 2007 by anchoring the first vessel. China has also undertaken the construction and development of the second phase of the port. The port is located on the Arabian Sea close to the entrance of Persian Gulf. China also intends to set up a petroleum refinery at Gwadar.

### What makes Gwadar indispensable to CARs and China

The port will handle trans-shipment of merchandise for the Gulf and ports on Arabian Peninsula. It will serve as the main trade link with landlocked Afghanistan and Central Asia. It will be a major refining point being closely located near world's largest oil and gas reserves. Iran and Oman have also planned to build oil refineries there. With Gwadar's substantial capacity it will be able to handle ships upto 30,000 dwt bulk carriers and 25,000 dwt container vessels. With a chain of warm waters ports on the mouth of Persian Gulf, Pakistan will become a huge business hub serving all countries of the region. Gwadar lies just 624 nautical km to the east of the Straits of Hormuz through which 60 % of the world's oil passes. Xinjiang lies 4500 km from China's eastern coast but just 2500 km from Gwadar. Same would be the position of southern parts of the CARs. Much of their international trade will be routed through Gwadar at much less freightage costs. Gwadar would be the terminus of gas pipelines from the CARs reaching either from Daulatabad's fields in Turkmenistan, South Pars fields in Iran and from Qatar. Gwadar can provide a strategic base to China and the CARs for the expansion of their oil and gas trade.

### Control of Gwadar taken over by Port of Singapore Authority

For running of the port with professional competence its control has been handed over to the Port of Singapore Authority (PSA). This international authority operates 22 ports in 11 countries. It will invest \$ 550 million in the next few years. After full operation Gwadar will be linked up with world's largest and deepest seaports. The PSA will run the port for 40 years during which it will be exempt from all kind of taxes. An Iranian firm will supply 100 MW of electricity to Gwadar. Development of all means of communication

the rail, road and an international airport, are on the cards to connect the port with the rest of the country and Central Asian Republics.

To conclude it may be said that Gwadar seaport will be an international energy corridor and a hub of all kinds of economic and commercial activities in the days to come. Closer connections with CARs and China will promote the economic interests of the region as a whole. It may not become an Islamic bloc but it will certainly become a multinational union which will bring within its orbit the Middle East, African countries and South East Asian nations. Pakistan will thus acquire a highly important, strategic and honourable status among the comity of nations.

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Q. Discuss the new trends that have entered the US-Iran relations. What impact the changed outlook is likely to have in the region with reference to Israel and Iraq?

Answer: By Prof Col ( r ) M. Zahur-ulHaq

An intense debate is going on in Washington between the realists and the neo-conservatives on what policy the United States should adopt towards Iran in the coming days. The discussion has been occasioned by a report on Iran, published by the Council for Foreign Relations (CFR), New York. This report has been prepared by an independent task force, co-chaired by former US national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and the former CIA director Robert Gates. The other members of the team are also distinguished Americans who hardly give any impression of "softness".

The neo-conservatives have mocked the recommendations of the report as "appeasement". They are, on the other hand, in favour of increasing pressure on Iran over its alleged nuclear weapons programme. They argue that Iran's decision to resume building uranium centrifuges have wrecked a long-running European Union-led dialogue which is a proof of Iran's bad faith. The US will consequently ask a meeting of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on September 13 to declare Iran in breach of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, a prelude to seeking punitive UN sanctions. The neocons maintain that the nuclear issue is too urgent to brook further delay.

But nuclear weapons are not Washington's only worry. The US charges include Iran's perceived meddling in Iraq, where the blame for the surge in Shia unrest is laid partly at Tehran's door. The recent Kean report on 9/11 has strengthened the hands of neocons as it details some unofficial links between some of the Al Qaeda hijackers and Iran.

Newsweek editor Fareed Zakaria has asserted that Iran is the problem of the future. Some reports, emanating from Washington, even speak of a "surprise" in store for Tehran in October, a month before the US



presidential election. The hawks in the Bush administration could recommend a punitive strike against Iran's nuclear facilities. Some astute analysts, however, maintain that the current propaganda campaign against Iran has intensified as the presidential election draws closer. Knowledgeable observers like William Beeman feel that "the new round of Iran-bashing is not a prelude to another invasion of a Persian Gulf country but rather a political ploy in an election year."

While the Bush administration seems set on a tougher line, it should be reassuring for Tehran that ideological imperatives notwithstanding, practical considerations are beginning to be voiced in the United States.

For instance, Dow Jones Energy Service reported on July 30 on the work in Iran of a Halliburton subsidiary and quoted its chief executive telling a business gathering in Houston that working in Iran "is right and right." The most important recommendation of the CFR's report is that Washington should start talking to Tehran. "Iran is experiencing a gradual process of internal change," the report says. "The urgency of US concerns about Iran and the region mandate that the US deal with the current regime through a compartmentalized process of dialogue, confidence-building and incremental engagement". The interesting part of the recommendation is that a direct dialogue with Iran be initiated through "a basic statement of principles along the lines of the 1972 Shanghai Communique" signed by the United States and China that led to the normalization of relations between the two former antagonists.

The focus of the dialogue, according to the report, should be on six themes: (a) regional stabilization in Afghanistan and Iraq; (b) a quid pro quo on the question of terrorist groups with Iran coming clean on the question of the presence of Al Qaeda elements in that country in return for the US taking steps to "conclusively disband" the Iraq-based Mujahide n-i-Khalq cadres that often mount across-the-border forays in Iran; (c) a more focused strategy for the fulfilment by Iran, of its October 2003 commitment to the IAEA on the nuclear issue or face multilateral sanctions imposed by the Security Council.

The other three themes for dialogue will be of special interest to Iran: (d) Resumption by the US of "a genuinely active involvement" in the West Asian peace process and Iran would acquiesce in a settlement since

its "hostility towards the peace process is not immutable"; (e) take steps to reduce Iran's isolation by permitting wider contacts in different fields, including financial institutions whose support Iran would need for its major energy and pipeline projects; (f) consent for Iran's application to begin talks with the WTO. The question naturally arises about the reasons which have impelled the authors of the report, influential and distinguished Americans not known for their "softness" to adopt a constructive, cooperative and conducive attitude towards the Iranian problem.

One reason could be the difficulties encountered in the Afghanistan and Iraq ventures. Another reason could be the sheer impracticality of ignoring an important country like Iran in a strategy covering West and Central Asia. The CFR in a way represents the US foreign policy establishment and its report is both a public acknowledgement of the failure of the current policy and a recommendation that a post-election Iranian policy will need a lot of new thinking. Interestingly, the response from Tehran to the CFR's report is typically Iranian - defiant as well as conciliatory, reflecting the multiplicity of the power centres that characterize the decision-making process in Tehran.

There is deep internal division between the hardliners and moderate reformers in the Iranian power structure which sometimes complicates its stand on foreign policy issues. It will, however, be not easy for the United States or Iran to forget the past, get over mutual mistrust and normalize relations. After a quarter century of hostile relations, starting with the toppling of the Shah and the 1979 seizure of the American embassy in Tehran, the United States and Iran find themselves in a vicious circle. Too much of national pride is involved on either side to let them leave the beaten track and explore new ways of solving their mutual problems. An important recommendation of the CFR's report is that the slogan of "regime change" be dropped because it arouses Iranian nationalist sentiments and brings back the memories of the American role in the ouster of Mosaddeq in 1953. Instead, the new American policy should be to encourage political evolution and include Iran in the US Middle East initiative.

John Kerry has made it clear that, if elected, he will hold direct bilateral talks with Iran. After the bitter experience of Iraqi venture,

George Bush, if re-elected, should be the last person interested in another foreign military adventure. So it appears that the recommendations of the CFR's report will receive due attention from policy-makers irrespective of whether George Bush or John Kerry wins the presidential race. Most analysts are agreed that the present state of affairs cannot last endlessly. Resumption of bilateral relations is in the interest of both Iran and the United States.

The regime in Tehran is essentially flexible, though it knows that in times of political turbulence it is dangerous to make radical u-turns. For the Americans, regional conflicts - Iraq and Afghanistan - underline the urgency of a new approach towards Iran. Since the US has compelling interests in both Iraq and Afghanistan and Iran has demonstrated its ability and readiness to use its influence constructively in these two countries as well as its ability to make trouble, Washington may decide to resume and expand the Geneva-type discussions that were held with Tehran earlier.

There are clear indications that the futility of the current American attitude towards Iran is being increasingly realized in the foreign policy establishment. The CFR report on Iran reflects the new trend in influential US circles which have begun to voice practical considerations in ties with Tehran. Irrespective of the result of the presidential election, some new thinking on Iran may lead to positive results in the post-November period. Resumption of US-Iran ties will be a momentous event which will have far-reaching implications for the region and beyond.

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## Iran Israel Relations

### Israeli fears Irans nuclear program

The nuclear program of Iran with its potential to develop nuclear weapons is of major concern to Israel. This has led to much fears of an eventual Israeli attack on Iran, particularly with the anti-Israel rhetoric of the President, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, and his intentions to "wipe Israel off the map."



A secret Israeli plan to strike Iranian nuclear enrichment facilities at Natanz with nuclear bunker busters.

The Israeli weapons would each have a force equivalent to one-fifteenth of the Hiroshima bomb. Under the plans, conventional laser-guided bombs would open "tunnels" into the targets. "Mini-nukes" would then immediately be fired into a plant at Natanz, exploding deep underground to reduce the risk of radioactive fallout. "As soon as the green light is given, it will be one mission, one strike and the Iranian nuclear project will be demolished," said one of the sources.

The tactical nuclear weapons would only be used if conventional weapons were "ruled out" and if the United States "declined to intervene", the article continues, based on "senior" military sources. Ephraim Kam, a strategic expert at Tel Aviv University's Institute for National Strategic Studies and a former senior army intelligence officer, dismissed the report. "No reliable source would ever speak about this, certainly not to the Sunday Times," Kam told the Associated Press.

In June 2008, Israel conducted a major military exercise that American officials speculated might be training for a bombing attack on Iran. A senior Pentagon official said one of the goals of the exercise was to send a clear message to the United States and other countries that Israel was prepared to act militarily: "They wanted us to know, they wanted the Europeans to know, and they wanted the Iranians to know," the Pentagon official said. "There's a lot of signaling going on at different levels."<sup>[30]</sup>

Iran's foreign minister, Manouchehr Mottaki declared that Israel was not capable of an attack and still recovering from the 2006 war in Lebanon.<sup>[31]</sup> The Iranian Chief of the Revolutionary Guards, Mohammad Ali Jafari said Israel was within the reach of Iranian missiles and Iran would close the Strait of Hormuz, cutting off two-fifths of the global oil supply.<sup>[31]</sup> Iran has the capability to close the Strait of Hormuz or impede traffic for a month or more, and any U.S. attempts to reopen it could escalate the conflict.<sup>[32]</sup> Shabtai Shavit, a former chief of the Mossad, said Iranian atomic facilities could be destroyed within a year. Isaac Ben-Israel, a former general of the Israeli Air Force, said an attack could be carried out at any time but only as a last resort.<sup>[31]</sup> Iran's Shahab-3 missile exercises were conducted in early July demonstrating that Israel was within reach.

According to the New York Times, Israel sought help from the United States for a military attack against Iran.<sup>[33]</sup> Israel reportedly asked for bunker-busting bombs for an attack on Iran's main nuclear complex and for permission to fly over Iraq to reach Iran's major nuclear complex at Natanz. The Bush administration rejected the requests. According to the article, White House officials never conclusively determined whether Israel had decided to go ahead with the strike before the United States protested, or whether Prime Minister Ehud Olmert of Israel was trying to goad the White House into more decisive action before Mr. Bush left office.

The Bush administration did agree to sell a thousand GBU-39 standoff bunker penetrating bombs to Israel, but a strike against Natanz would require hundreds of these bombs.

On April 1, Army General David Petraeus said "the Israeli government may ultimately see itself so threatened by the prospect of an Iranian nuclear weapon that it would take preemptive military action to derail or delay it.

On 27 July 2009, Israel's Defence Minister Ehud Barak during a press conference with Robert Gates, the US Defence Secretary, in Jerusalem, "...warned Iran that a military strike on its nuclear facilities was still an option. We clearly believe that no option should be removed from the table. This is our policy. We mean it. We recommend to others to take the same position but we cannot dictate it to anyone".<sup>[36]</sup> The same day, Israel's Ambassador to US, Gabriela Shalev, during a special UN Security Council session held to discuss the situation in the Middle East, called Iran the "biggest supporter of terrorism. The Islamic Republic's nuclear program and its support of terrorism pose a threat to the entire Middle East."

According to Mohammad Ali Jafari "If Israel military aggresses against sovereignty and independence of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the country will use its right, established under international law which inevitably establishes the right to defend its sovereignty by all lawful means available to it. Moreover, if such aggression is penetrated, the United Nations will be obliged to repulse such an aggression towards its sovereign member". At the same time, top Iranian general referring to the case of Mordechai Vanunu, former Israel's nuclear technician, who revealed details of Israel's nuclear weapons program to the British press in 1986, stated that "Israel's nuclear arsenal possess an immediate threat to Middle East". Ali Jafari summed up

saying "Israel really wastes its time attempting to spoil the recent important steps taken by Iran and US towards opening a new page in their relations."<sup>[38]</sup> On 27 July 2009, Hassan Qashqavi, Iranian foreign ministry spokesman said "It is enough to tell its ally, the Zionist regime and convince it for the issue of disarmament and dismantle its own 200 nuclear warheads from the occupied territories. It automatically will bring security to the region and all countries of the region will feel secure. The solution for defence umbrella is removing nuclear warheads of the Zionist regime and has no other way."<sup>[39]</sup>

On 17 September 2009, Ze'ev Elkin said that the delivery by Russia of S-300 missiles may prompt Israel to strike Iran.

### Iranian Jews

Iran has the largest Jewish population in the Middle East outside of Israel; the Iranian Jewish community is guaranteed one seat in the Majlis, currently held by Maurice Motamed. A large population of Iranian Jews resides in Israel, including former President of Israel Moshe Katsav, former

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# Nation's Educational Matters

# Causes of Illiteracy and lack of Education in Pakistan

Article 37-B of the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan lays down that the "state shall be responsible for eradication of illiteracy and provision of free and compulsory education up to secondary level within minimum possible time."

Thirty-six years have elapsed since this constitutional provision was made. No sustained effort has been made in Pakistan to fulfil this national commitment. Some sporadic initiatives were made during the first PPP government. Ayub did nothing to take up this cause although Sharif Commission on Education had drawn attention to address the literacy issue. A Literacy and Mass Education Commission set up by Zia-ul-Haq prepared the first national literacy plan. Although considerable funds were allocated for it, the plan was not implemented.

A few experiments were taken in hand - Nai Roshni, Iqra and Ujala projects in the late eighties and early nineties. Later, literacy was included as a component of the national education policy and some allocations made as a part of Education Sector Reform Programme. The very early years of the 21st century saw the setting up of the National Commission For Human Development - thanks to Dr. Nasim Ashraf. Also literacy departments in the districts and at the provincial governments. Punjab and NWFP took the initiative of starting sizable literacy programmes. Practically little was done in Sindh and Balochistan. Punjab however failed to implement its projects during the last 3 years. Only recently a number of literacy centres have been opened. NWFP's initiative has been impressive although there too there is a slowing down of the programme.

The major reason for the overall poor performance has been the lack of political will and poor record of the Federal Ministry of Education. Literacy all along was accorded the lowest priority. Musharraf regime abolished the National Literacy Commission on the pretext of economy. It was reduced to a small cell in the ministry. The lost ground, to some extent, was made up by the National Commission for Human Development. This commission made rapid strides by opening a large number of literacy centres all over the country. The present government has put a stop to this literacy programme with the result that planned tens of thousands of centres have not been

started. A high level committee is reviewing the situation. The present position is that inclusive of non-formal schools for out-of-school children, the literacy centres opened by Punjab and NWFP are less than one fifth of the targets fixed under the National Plan of Action which was prepared to meet the DAKAR Education For All goals.

Literacy-wise Pakistan remains at the lowest rung of the international literacy ladder. It has done little to honour the pledge it made at the UN general Assembly to meet the Literacy Decade objectives. It further has fallen short of the UN Millennium Development Goals. According to 2009 UNESCO Global EFA Monitoring Report, Pakistan is one of the few countries in the world which will (if the present neglect continues) fail to achieve a single DAKAR EFA goal. Pakistan also is one of the very few countries where despite some improvement in the literacy rate the number of illiterates keeps on increasing.

It is time the government of Pakistan is made to realize that it cannot afford to continue its woeful neglect of the cause of literacy and education. Because of low literacy and other lags, Pakistan's Human Development Index rating stands today at 136 - one of the lowest in the world. Our myopic policy makers need to be educated and informed (using UNESCO Director Robson's words) that:

- a. Literacy is a basic human right (Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948).
- b. Literacy is the foundation of all further learning.
- c. Literacy is a public good. It provides individual and social benefits, reduces intolerance and connects individuals to global trends and thinking.
- d. A key part of Poverty Reduction Strategy.

The following official statistics should hopefully open the eyes of our myopic and uncaring elected representatives and policy makers: Overall 45% population (10+) is illiterate, and 58% women cannot read and write 70% rural women are illiterate. 76% rural women in NWFP are illiterate 84% rural women in Sindh cannot read and write. 85% rural women in Balochistan are illiterate. In 32 districts literacy rate is below 40% In 56 districts more than 70% women are illiterate.

Isn't it pathetic that during the last 3 years hardly any literacy centre has been opened in Sindh and Balochistan by the provincial governments? Isn't it tragic that instead of a progressive increase in the allocation to education to quickly move towards UNESCO's minimum of 4% of GDP, it has



remained around 2% and has been further reduced by the present government to less than 1.5%.

A word about India and China which in 1949 had a literacy rate almost the same as in Pakistan. India today is nearing 70% and China close to 100%. We claim to be 55% (this is questioned in many quarters). Why this huge difference? Because of government's lack of will to seriously work for the promotion of literacy. By 1983 China's country-wide literacy programme had started yielding results. (All schools in villages were running spare time literacy classes for village women). India's sporadic efforts graduated by 1978 into a national programme for literacy with the union government and provinces sharing resources and infrastructure. Rajiv Gandhi, later, was far-sighted enough to include literacy as one of FIVE National Missions. This Mission is a direct responsibility of the PM's secretariat. Its implementation arm is the National Directorate of Adult Education which has counterparts in the states, backed by a professional base of a network of 26 states resource centres. Programmes include Total Literacy Campaigns and Post Literacy. Literacy centres in India also impart messages on social and cultural desirables like small family norm, immunization, mobilization against social evils, enrolment in schools, health education and women's empowerment. Unlike our neighbours - China and India,

we have largely wasted six decades. It is time our rulers realize that without literacy and education, no nation can make real progress. This is all the more true in the 21st century. Can we afford the burden of 60 million totally illiterate Pakistanis? Besides personal disability, they are a drag on society and the economy. Most of our rulers have a feudal background or have a feudal mindset. There is a pressing need for the civil society and media to exert pressure on them and make them realize that we have to catch up with the rest of the world. We live in the computer age where knowledge societies alone can prosper and cope with the new challenges. Illiterate societies are weak lack as they do wherewithal for attaining stable democracy and a strong economy. The media and our universities as well as civil society activists must lobby for literacy and persuade government to realize its primary responsibility to expeditiously make Pakistan a literate society. Prime Minister, Mr. Gilani, will you please add literacy to your list of high priorities. Here is a 5-Point programme for immediate action:

1. Raise the education budget to 4% of the GDP (as recommended by UNESCO).
2. At least 10% of the education budget should be earmarked for literacy

# Pakistan's Anti-literacy Budgeting

Compiled by: Prof. Col ( r ) M. Zahur-ul-Haq

Annual budgets are instrumental in eliminating illiteracy and promotion of educational standards of the nation. Unfortunately our governments have always accorded lowest priority to this sector which guarantees human resource development and national progress. The result is economic backwardness, political instability and social degradation. The role of the government in promoting literacy in the country is discussed in the light of Article 37(B) of the constitution ("the state shall be responsible for eradication of illiteracy and provision of free and compulsory education up to secondary level within minimum possible time") and the National Plan of Action for EFA as a follow-up of the Dakar World Education Forum targets as also the MDGs and the goals set in the UN General Assembly Resolution on the UN Literacy Decade 2003-2012.

Pakistan's literacy-wise lags behind most of the developing countries. It is because of lack of political will. There has been a large increase in the number of illiterate men and women in the country. A feudal mindset of national leadership has failed to do its duty to make the people literate. Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, in the 70s, had taken some initiatives for spreading literacy, the PPP subsequently has consistently done little to promote this cause. Both the Benazir governments, in the 90s, were found seriously wanting in this respect. We are now, witnessing the lowest ever allocation for education and literacy in the current year. Less than 1.5 percent of the GNP. A 5-point initiative for immediate action is essential.

1. Raise the education budget to 4 percent of the GDP (as recommended by UNESCO).
2. At least 10 percent of the education budget should be earmarked for literacy programmes.
3. Restore the National Commission for Human Development and make it an autonomous central mechanism for the lead role in literacy.
4. Double the expenditure for primary education with a view to not only having better teachers, better facilities but also ensuring higher net enrolment so that there is a drastic reduction in dropouts (which

results in a huge loss of resources). 5. Ensure opening of 100,000 literacy centres and 50,000 centres for out-of-school children with a view to moving rapidly towards the achievement of the approved National Plan of Action targets.

Following is the statement of yearly allocations for Education in Pakistan (1995-96 to 2008-09) Source: Economic Survey 2002-03, Finance Division Government of Pakistan and Economic Survey of Pakistan 2005-06 and EFA Global Monitoring Report 2008-09 and other related documents of Government of Pakistan

Year	% of GDP	Year	% of GDP
1995-96	2.00	2002-03	1.7
1996-97	2.62	2003-04	2.20
1997-98	2.34	2004-05	2.12
1998-99	2.40	2005-06	2.40
1999-00	1.7	2006-07	2.42
2000-01	1.6	2007-08	2.49
2001-02	1.9	2008-09	1.25

The budget as announced in the National Assembly on June 13 has raised the allocation for education to some extent but has fallen very much short of the minimum of 4 percent of GNP as recommended by UNESCO (a little more than 2 percent). The most shocking aspect is the almost total neglect of literacy in the provision for the projects of the Federal Ministry of Education.

In the current financial year 50 million rupees were provided for literacy. This indeed was only a fraction of the amount required to be provided annually under the National Plan of Action (not less than rupees 3 billion per year). Amazingly and most disappointingly, the allocation for literacy in the budget for the next year has been reduced to rupees one million only.

Today around 60 million Pakistanis of age 10 and above are utterly illiterate. How illiteracy retards a nation's progress is well known.



There is a general agreement that no country can make real progress in this day and age if the bulk of the population cannot read or write. As is well known literacy is a basic human right and has been duly acknowledged as such in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is the foundation of education. It is a public good. It provides individual and social benefits, helps reduce intolerance and connects individuals to global thinking and trends. It is also a key element of a viable poverty reduction strategy. It is unthinkable in this day and age that a large part of the productive manpower of a country is innocent of the basic skills of reading or writing.

Admitted that currently Pakistan faces a financial crunch. But the axe should not fall on an essential requisite for progress and development. We cannot afford to remain at the lowest rungs of the ladder of UN Human Development Index because inter alia, of our poor record of literacy and primary education. Imagine a country and its lopsided priorities where 1.3 billion rupees are provided in the budget for new cadet colleges and only one million for literacy. A country where in two of its four provinces practically no literacy centres have been established during the last three years. 85 percent of rural women in Balochistan are illiterate and till a few months back, not a single literacy centre was sanctioned by the government in the province. There is so much talk of providing special funds for the development of Balochistan. Where do the billions provided or promised actually go?

It is not realised that the large and swelling number of illiterates are a heavy drag on our economy and society resulting in serious deficiencies, distortions and social disorder. Allocation for literacy should be at least one billion rupees instead of one million, by cutting down unnecessary and extravagant administrative expenditure including the huge amounts being appropriated for the PMs House and the president's 'palace'. Can we afford to spend tens of million of scarce foreign exchange provided in the budget for junkets abroad. The MNAs and senators and also editors of the newspapers and TV channels anchors should raise the issue forcefully to persuade the prime minister and the adviser finance to review the low budgetary

provision for literacy and raise it to at least 10 percent of the education budget.

The government is responsible not only for drastically reducing the role of the National Commission for Human Development for the rapid spread of literacy (the commission had developed the capacity to actually run more than 50,000 centres all over the country), it also has literally wiped out the prospects of accelerated promotion of literacy to meet the national and international commitments by reducing the financial allocation for it to a ridiculously small amount. This unwholesome display of retrogressive behaviour is indeed a reflection of the feudal mindset.

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# Educating the nation in five years

By: Prof. Col (r) M. Zahur-ul-Haq

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## The Lament

\*The governments of the past have paid lot of lip service to the cause of education by pledging to achieve 100% literacy rate by 2015. A couple of Educational Commissions produced scholarly reports. The New Education Policy saw the well known Vision of 2030 etc. However, the end result of all this academic effort today is that half of our population is still illiterate.

\*The present government is also busy in building up a fresh vision of its own. It should, however, realize that such objectives can be achieved only by a leadership of exceptional abilities at implementation of the projects.

\*The task is not an impossible one. Many Far Eastern countries have done it before. Pakistan can also do it for which It needs a socio-political system in the country that is friendly and merciful to education. It needs strong political will in favour of national education. It needs a stubborn dedication at all levels to promote the cause of education. It needs a burning desire for the social uplift of the nation through education. Above all it needs a leadership with extra-ordinary will power to get the things done. Without these essentials even the finest Vision will fail to work.

\*The question is whether the present government is blessed with all the above essentials? The answer is obvious. Its so called democratic ifs and buts, pulls and pushes, absence of consensus, preoccupation with problem of survival, lack of good governance, absence of respect for education etc and above all the excuse of financial constraints may not let it take the required steps in the desired direction.

## The Proposal

In view of the above, therefore, the government would be well advised to set up a High Powered Educational Authority with the task of educating the whole nation within the next 5 years. The task should be entrusted to the Union Councils of the LG system, whose number in the country is 6026. They should all be directed to establish the required number of Primary Schools in their areas in accordance with a road map, to ensure the enrollment of every child of school going age. The Authority will provide modernized syllabi and teaching staff. The government should allocate 10 to 15% of GDP annually to finance the project over the next 5 years.



## A pragmatic approach

1. Almost six decades are over. Why more than half of the nation is still illiterate. Why 100 % education has not been achieved?
2. Answer: Pakistan is in the grip of a feudalistic system from the very start. The country has been ruled by Jagirdrs, Sardars, Khans, Landlords, Chaudhries, agro-Industrialists, Generals and religious overlords. This is our feudal class.
3. The feudal is an autocrat who doesn't like to see his people educated because that eventually may eliminate him by ushering in a state of true democracy and establishing a real Islamic welfare state, giving the nation social justice by promoting rational distribution of wealth. This is what the feudal does not want to happen.
4. But the feudal is so deeply entrenched in our national life that it is almost impossible to get rid of him. However, this mission impossible can be achieved by a leader of substances who may appear on the scene and usher in universal education revolution.
5. Precedence has been set in recent history by Gen Park of Korea who came to power in 1962, abolished feudalism to achieve 100 % national education during the next few years. Education turned a poor country into an economic giant, within a decade.
6. Korea was far behind Pakistan during fifties. Today it is miles ahead of it. Secret of the economic progress of the rest of the Far Eastern nations (ASEANS) is also abolition of feudalism and achievement of 100 % education.
7. Pakistan is likely to remain an uneducated and economically backward nation for the next hundreds of years if it fails to abolish feudalism and does not bring in educational reforms on priority basis.
8. *No democratic government shall ever be able to accomplish this task for the reasons mentioned above. Our nation will have to await the arrival of a leader*

of Gen Park type to abolish feudalism who would have the means, power, vision and force of personality to enforce his reforms. That would be first phase of the desired educational revolution. To start with a small group of dedicated educationists, aided by the media, may launch a movement for the desired educational revolution which may gather momentum and pave way for the emergence of the awaited leader(ship).

9. The **second phase** would be the reformation or preservation of the existing educational structure as well as provision of educational cover to more than 50% of country's illiterate population.

a. Cadet Colleges:

These are partly funded by the state, They provide ideal education to all sectors of the society. This trend should be further encouraged.

b. Public Schools:

They are autonomous centers of excellence. Are highly expensive. Mostly serve feudal classes. May become accessible to lower classes with the passage of time. Should continue to exist.

c. Government Schools:

Less expensive. Serve all classes of the society. Over-crowded with poor academic achievements. Unhappy staff. More and more such schools should be opened with improved standards. A uniform syllabus should be adopted for the entire country with minor variations to accommodate provincial needs. Provincial Text Book Boards should also coordinate with each other to produce text books to maintain uniformity.

d. Private Schools:

To utilize the vast educational potential present in the private sector, these schools should be allowed to flourish duly monitored by high powered inspecting authority. They should adopt the syllabi of the government schools to maintain educational uniformity.

e. Deeni Madaris:

*Exist in large numbers. Serving the poor but creating religious extremists. Unable to contribute to the progress of the nation in any field due to biased religious teachings. Doing more harm than good to themselves as well as the nation. But why call them deeni? In Islam deen-dunia are inevitably integrated.*

*Should be named as Awami Madaris. Should be funded by the state. Should remain under absolute government control. Funds coming from home and abroad for their support should be handled by the government. Should be headed by liberal Principals. Sciences, computer, humanities and all modern subjects including English etc should be taught, as in any normal education institution.*

### National Union Schools (NSUs)

However, to bring the vast majority of illiterates into the educational net the Union Councils spread all over Pakistan should be directed to launch as many Primary Schools as required so that every child of school going age of their area gets enrolled. This vast network of NSUs will form the mainstream of Pakistan's educational system. The NSUs will be funded by the state. A standardized uniform syllabus as prescribed for government schools will be adopted by the NSUs as well. Trained teachers shall be provided by the Education Deptt.

### Attainment of the objective

*This is how the whole nation should get educated up to the Primary level within a period of 5 years. Demand for further education will ensure opening up of Middle order and Secondary level schools. Presently there are enough universities for higher education. More may be opened, if required.*

### The required levels of investment

*(Human resource development)*

The government should allocate 10 to 15% of the GDP annually, as against the present 1.8%, for the attainment of the stated objective. Bangla Desh allocates 7.4% while the level of allocation in the world over is 5% on an average. UNESCO may be approached for educational funds and professional expertise.

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