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5/2/2016

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**Contents**

**PAKISTAN / PAKISTAN & WORLD**

Beyond Pipeline Politics: Prospects Of Pakistan-Turkmenistan Relations – OpEd | Nasurullah Barohi ..... 5

India’s Pakistan Strategy | Munir Akram ..... 7

Pakistan Not Among Top 15 Countries With Highest Military Expenditure in 2015 ..... 10

Towards a Quasi Military-Civilian Regime | Imtiaz Alam ..... 12

The Curious Case of The Indian Spy | Sehar Kamran ..... 16

Indian secret designs & terrorism in Pakistan | Saima Aman Sial ..... 19

Pakistan at Bottom in Gender Equality Global Ranking ..... 22

Nationalism And Challenges | Khurram Minhas ..... 23

Water — Pakistan’s Most Critical Challenge | Dr Manzoor Ahmad ..... 25

Climate Change — and Pakistan | Editorial ..... 28

**EDUCATION**

Development Through Quality Education | Ghazanfar A Garewal ..... 29

Pakistan and the Issue of Education | Salman Ali ..... 31

Pakistan’s Education Spending Lowest in South Asia ..... 33

**ECONOMY**

Consensus on an economic agenda – DAWN OpEd ..... 36

Is The Western Route of CPEC Dead? | Hurmat Ali Shah ..... 38

IFC Praises Pakistan’s Economic Policies ..... 40

Global Survey Paints Gloomy Picture of Pakistan Economy ..... 42

**WORLD**

A World Without Nuclear Weapons | Barack Obama ..... 44

The Rise of Donald Trump is a Battle for the Soul of the Republican Party | Ben Jacobs ..... 47

Southern Asia’s Nuclear Powers | Eleanor Albert ..... 53

How the World Reacted to ‘Panama Papers’ Leak ..... 61

Indo-US Growing Military Cooperation | Editorial ..... 64

US Think Tank Ranks Indian Nuclear Programme as Unsafe ..... 65

Saudi Arabia To Dump \$750 Billion In Assets If US Doesn’t Kill 9/11 Bill ..... 66

Donald Trump: Foreign Policy’s Useful Idiot? – OpEd | John Feffer ..... 68

Trump’s Eye View ..... 69

On Leadership ..... 71

A new leader for the UN – OpEd | Tribune ..... 73

Why Obama is visiting a different Saudi Arabia this time | Faisal J. Abbas..... 75

‘Damned if you do, damned if you don’t’ ..... 77

SCO: A Game Changer | Sehar Kamran ..... 78

## PAKISTAN / PAKISTAN & WORLD

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[Beyond Pipeline Politics: Prospects Of Pakistan-Turkmenistan Relations – OpEd | Nasurullah Barohi](#)

Pakistan has been seeking to increase its relationship with the countries in the Central Asian region. The warmth of pursuing such a foreign policy is particularly inspired with the historic experiences of non-interference and the mutual respect for each others views on different regional and international issues. This affection further ranges from the common bonds of religion, in addition with the cultural and linguistic closeness. Apart from such notions, the exceptional trade and business opportunities within the Central Asian countries is the potential means that also entuses to enhance the bilateral and multilateral relationship between the CARs and Pakistan. Particularly, Turkmenistan — a Central Asia country rich in oil and natural gas — has always been viewed as an important partner for cooperation by Pakistan.

The recent visit of the Turkmenistan's President Gurbanguly Berdimuhamadov to Pakistan was an illustration of the reality to explore a variety of ways to further boost ties between both sides. This occasion also provided the consideration for jotting down a new era of the vast cooperation and the greater regional integration. Pakistan being a country lacking in energy critically needs Turkmenistan's support for overcoming the enduring problem. To address the energy crisis, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed to further explore the cooperation in the fields of energy between Pakistani and Turkmen Petroleum and the Oil and Gas Ministries respectively.

The two sides once again vowed for the timely completion of the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline project. The Pakistani side further demonstrated its firmness about the mutually beneficial project and vowed its commitment for all sort of support to expedite the implementation process of the long cherished dream of TAPI project. Pakistan expressed its high appreciation for Turkmenistan's offers of assisting it by adding 1000MW in its electric grids to overcome the current electric shortfall in the country. Whereas, the prospective role and the opportunities encompassed for the whole region through the China-Pakistan-Economic Corridor (CPEC) and with Pakistan's extended assistance, the project will also provide the Turkmenistan to export and exploit the opportunities in the regional and international market through its trade and commerce potential through the project.

To address the issues of communication space and the less familiarity of the two nations about each other's language, a particular MoU was signed between the Pakistan's National University of Modern Languages (NUML) and the Magtymguly Turkmen State University (MTSU). In the modern era and the changing pace of the diplomatic discourse, the MoU is realization of the fact that without appropriate communication between the people of two sides it would be really hard to keep sustaining the brotherly ties of the two nations in the coming future.

The visit of President Gurbanguly is viewed in Pakistan as a ray of great hope in terms of manifold opportunities that cover a great deal of the prospects to cover the issues and moreover, inspires the two sides for the eager pursuance of mutually beneficial objectives. During his visit Pakistan and Turkmenistan inked over eight accords and Memorandums of the Understanding ranging from areas of cooperation that include closer interaction and cooperation for strict check over the money circulation and money laundering that is a prime source of distress in the region. It was high time for such crucial visit which has successfully initiated a process of the concrete steps such as the exchange of financial intelligence between the two sides to tackle the menace of the radicalization and terrorism in a greater regional and international interest.

Source:<http://www.eurasiareview.com/01042016-beyond-pipeline-politics-prospects-of-pakistan-turkmenistan-relations-oped/>

## India's Pakistan Strategy | Munir Akram

INDIA'S ambitions of achieving Great Power status cannot be fully realised unless Pakistan is strategically neutralised. A conventional military defeat of Pakistan has been a costly and unlikely option ever since the latter acquired a credible nuclear deterrence capability. Pakistan has also built a strategic relationship with China which provides it with the capacity to balance, to a considerable extent, India's larger military and economic capabilities.

India's need to bring Pakistan to heel has intensified in the context of the emerging Great Power contest in Asia. Pakistan's incorporation into an Indian sphere of influence would be a grave setback to China's future role in South, West and Central Asia and the western Indian Ocean. The prospect of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, while India has no land access to the west and Central Asia, has added a new dimension to India's determination to neutralise Pakistan. India's strategic goals, if not its methods, are fully supported by the US and its allies.

India has adopted a complex strategy to wear down Pakistan's resistance. This strategy encompasses: military and political pressure; subversion; terrorism; diplomatic isolation; media and public defamation and cultural domination.

*Explore:* Pakistan's guide to engaging with India

Some elements of India's comprehensive strategy and actions are now public knowledge, such as Indian National Security Adviser Ajit Doval's boastful speech recalling how Indian agencies eroded the Kashmiri freedom struggle through corruption and intimidation; forecasting the separation of Balochistan; and expressing glee at the Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan's beheading of Pakistani soldiers in Fata.

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India has adopted a complex strategy to wear down Pakistan's resistance.

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India's strategy has a wide canvas.

One element of the strategy is the attempt, pursued in tandem with the West, to neutralise Pakistan's nuclear deterrence capabilities. Thus, the discriminatory Western

restraints on equipment and technology transfers to Pakistan and the vigorous US opposition to Pakistan's deployment of theatre nuclear weapons and long-range missiles which are designed, respectively, to counter India's Cold Start doctrine and its second-strike capability.

Meanwhile, India maintains military pressure on Pakistan through deployment of advanced weapons systems (ballistic missiles, anti-ballistic missiles etc), expanded offensive deployments, military exercises to refine the capacity for a surprise attack (as envisaged in India's Cold Start doctrine) and frequent shelling along the Line of Control in Kashmir.

*Related:* Manmohan assails Modi's Pakistan policies

Subversion, involving infiltration, sponsorship and support for dissident or disgruntled groups within Pakistan, is a third element of this strategy. The sponsorship of the Baloch Liberation Army and terrorism in Balochistan and Sindh has now been confirmed by the recent capture and confession of the Indian spy. Disaffected groups in Karachi, rural Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkwa have been encouraged for many years to disrupt peace and security.

Substantial proof has been gathered by Islamabad's agencies of Indian sponsorship of terrorism against Pakistan through the TTP, in collaboration with Kabul's National Directorate of Security and certain power brokers. Some of this evidence has been shared with the UN but has not evoked any action so far from the world organisation. An Indian link to the Lahore park atrocity, responsibility for which has claimed by an affiliate of the TTP, cannot be ruled out.

Pakistan's armed forces are one of the few organised institutions left in the country. Not surprisingly, because of their profession and training, their resistance to Indian domination is robust. Tarnishing the reputation and credibility of the Pakistan Army is an important element of the Indian strategy. Through the Indian and Western media, the Pakistan Army is incessantly accused of doing today what it did yesterday — supporting the Afghan Taliban and the Kashmiri jihadi groups.

*Also read:* Pakistan and India's 2015 journey: From nightmare to 'breakthrough'

The reality is clouded by 'fifty shades of grey'. Despite old relationships, Pakistan's security establishment is either confronting some of these Jihadi groups or has little influence over them (the Afghan Taliban). The violent sectarian groups in Punjab are known to have enjoyed in recent years the protection of some politicians rather than the



security establishment. Notwithstanding this, the Indian-inspired mantra against the army and the ISI is frequently echoed not only by the Western media but even within Pakistan.

At the opposite end of India's kinetic actions, is the wide and successful use of its "soft power", epitomised by Bollywood. This song and dance culture has been warmly embraced by large segments of Pakistan's young and moneyed elite. Over time, this can lead to greater acceptance in Pakistan of India's political and strategic goals.

Since early days, India has attempted to co-opt Pakistani politicians, by fair means and foul. When out of office, some political leaders have had intimate contacts with the Indians. Shamefully, some of them — excluding the ruling party — are known to have expressed the desire for Indian and other foreign intervention in Pakistan's internal affairs. Even today, the desire of some of Pakistan's leaders to 'normalise' relations with India at any cost is inexplicable.

India has been able to play on the fears and predilections of Pakistan's politicians to set the tone and pace of the bilateral relationship. Dialogue is held out as a favour to Pakistan. India's positions on both substance and process keep hardening with each encounter. Concessions continue to be made by Pakistan on process and substance — to no avail or purpose.

It is high time for Pakistan's National Defence Council, which includes both the civilian and military leadership, to undertake a frank and in-depth review of India's objectives and policies towards Pakistan and evolve a coherent and consensual strategy to respond to each of the elements of India's policies aimed against Pakistan.

To those Americans who disingenuously chide Pakistan for being paranoid about India, I would respond as Trotsky did shortly before being assassinated: "Just because I am paranoid, does not mean I am not persecuted."

*The writer is a former Pakistan ambassador to the UN.*

*Published in Dawn, April 3rd, 2016*

Source:<http://www.dawn.com/news/1249653/indias-pakistan-strategy>

## Pakistan Not Among Top 15 Countries With Highest Military Expenditure in 2015

**STOCKHOLM:** Despite spending \$735 million on import of arms last year, Pakistan did not make it to a list of 15 countries with the highest military expenditure in 2015, revealed a report published by a Swedish think-tank on Tuesday.

The United States remained in pole position as the country that spends the most on its armed forces, by far. Washington's military spending budget of \$596 billion was down by 2.4 per cent from the previous year, a smaller decline than in recent years.

SIPRI senior researcher Sam Perlo-Freeman said the United States now has "additional overseas contingency operations' (OCO) spending from the war against" the Islamic State (IS) group.

Meanwhile, rising tensions worldwide helped push up military expenditure in 2015, the first increase after four years of declining spending, the report published by the Stockholm International Peace Research said.

For the full-year 2015, world military spending totalled \$1.67 trillion, a rise of one per cent from the previous year. The increase was attributed primarily to more expenditure in Eastern Europe, Asia and the Middle East, while the decline in spending in the West was levelling off, SIPRI said.

The world's second-biggest spender, China, dished out \$215 billion, followed by Saudi Arabia which overtook Russia for third place at \$87.2 billion. Moscow spent \$66.4 billion.

During the 10-year period from 2006-2015, the US military budget shrank by four per cent, while China's soared by 132 per cent. Those of Saudi Arabia and Russia also increased significantly, by 97 and 91 per cent respectively.

France, which had the fifth biggest budget in 2014, fell to seventh place behind Britain and India.

Military spending budgets continued to decline across Western Europe, albeit less sharply than in recent years.

“The reasons for the change in trend are Russia, IS and Nato politics,” Perlo-Freeman said, noting that Alliance members have agreed to maintain spending at two per cent of their gross domestic product until 2024.

In Asia, rising spending in Indonesia, the Philippines, Japan and Vietnam reflected tensions with China and North Korea, SIPRI said.

Source: <http://nation.com.pk/national/05-Apr-2016/pakistan-not-among-top-15-countries-with-highest-military-expenditure-in-2015>

## Towards a Quasi Military-Civilian Regime | Imtiaz Alam

The prime minister is embroiled in a crisis every other day as real power slips away from him and shifts to a powerful and consistent space-grabber. Are we witnessing a 'creeping' coup or moving towards a quasi-military-civilian regime?

As Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif tries to wriggle out of one crisis – the recent dharna in the capital, something even graver happens, this time his sons' involvement with offshore companies for their businesses. And at the end of each crisis, PM Nawaz loses more civilian space to the military establishment. Although he has appreciably conceded to form a judicial commission to inquire into the foreign businesses of his sons, who are almost permanently settled abroad to ostensibly avoid the repeat of the fate older son Hasan had to suffer at the hands of Gen Musharraf's coup, his opponents are not going to be silenced. Nawaz's dilemma is: damned if he does, damned if he doesn't.

Since the country is in a state of internal war against terrorism with the army leading it under the leadership of the much-admired COAS, Gen Raheel Sharif, the military establishment is finding it convenient to expand its space even beyond the required areas of operation. Following the attack on the Army Public School in Peshawar that brought all the political parties together around a National Action Plan (NAP), the army got carte blanche for military operations across the country. Riding the wave of achievements in Operation Zarb-e-Azb, a popular military campaign strategically required expansion of its areas of operation to finish its mission. No one could question the mission of reversing the menace General Raheel Sharif's predecessors had quite questionably patronised. (However, I am not sure what his would-be-successor will do). Unfortunately, a conservative and reluctant PML-N government was found wanting in leading the campaign against religious extremism and terrorism. Rather than consistently leading the campaign, it tried to either coalesce in by taking a prolonged reconciliation course with terrorists or reluctantly followed in the footsteps of the military establishment. With no exceptional achievement on most of the non-military points of NAP, despite the ownership of the military operation, the PML-N government even failed to institutionalise the ideological-cum-military campaign as required under NAP. That gave the military establishment such an upper hand in the overall affairs of the state that it scuttled a very sensible regional and international foreign policy vision of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. The primacy of an internal war against terrorism externally

required pacification of and cooperation with our neighbours and much greater support of the international community.

Quite expeditiously, an opportunist federal government felt no hesitation in granting special powers to the Rangers in Karachi over and above the head of the government of Sindh, despite the latter's protests. Earlier, in Balochistan the popular Dr Malik's government was rendered toothless for political reconciliation with the alienated nationalist Baloch factions as the Frontier Constabulary kept its free hand from being tied to political initiatives. In both the smaller provinces the federal government did not stand with the provincial governments and let power slip away from their hands.

Compared to the federation, where informal interactions between the elected chief executive and the COAS became a norm instead of following any institutional mechanism – such as the cabinet's National Security Committee or Nacta – the provinces were bestowed with ad-hoc arrangements in the form of apex committees. As military operations picked up in Fata, Balochistan and Karachi, the apex committees assumed preeminent roles in Sindh and Balochistan – to be later made a rubber stamp for the hegemony of paramilitary forces. Soon the FC model of Balochistan, with a pre-eminent role of the paramilitary force, was extended to Sindh; the Rangers expanded their areas of operation and insisted on greater powers at the expense of other civilian institutions without whom it is impossible for the border security force to play its due role.

No doubt, both the FC and the Rangers played an important law-enforcement role, sparing the army for much harder operations in Fata. But by overstepping the domains of civilian law-enforcement agencies and elected governments, they could not achieve what was required by NAP – reconciliation in Balochistan and helping the provincial authorities with law enforcement in Karachi. Neither reconciliation in Balochistan nor effective policing of Karachi were managed successfully by paramilitary forces. These areas being far away from its support base in Punjab, the federal government was at ease seeing the two provincial governments and constitutional and democratic frameworks go down the drain in favour of de facto paramilitary dominance. Incidentally, in both cases, the 'RAW hand' was quite instrumental in demonising 'demons', both real and imagined.

Compared to the smaller provinces, the largest province – solely governed by Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif – somehow evaded a massive combing operation to clean-up some of the widest extremist and sectarian networks, including the good Taliban. The

army has been asking for too long to do the needful in Punjab as it did in other provinces. But the chief minister seemed to have been over-confident about his personalised administration being able to tackle a menace that he either underrated or considered as a hammering of his own constituency.

Both the PM and the CM saw a greater danger in granting the army a free hand in their bastion of power – in terms of right-wing and religious constituencies ever since they were created by the Nizam-e-Mustafa movement against Bhutto and stranglehold over Punjabi bureaucracy cemented over three decades of Sharif rule.

It was the strength of a first Punjabi popular leader who was able to challenge the godfather of bureaucracy, President Ishaq Khan, and at least three army chiefs. The latest challenge for PM Sharif is how not to let the military establishment erode his popular base among the broader sections of the religious right – often mixed with extremists – his hold over the Punjabi bureaucracy and an elaborate system of patronage. But the army is adamant and continuing with the operation in the aftermath of the Gulshan-e-Iqbal Park tragedy.

While the Punjab government has shamefully conceded ground to the religious right over the Punjab Women's Protection Act, various rounds of talks have taken place between the two sides to resolve the riddle of a much needed military-led operation in Punjab. Morally weakened by the Panama leaks, the Punjab government may have to concede ground to some of the demands of the army; that will complete the emergence of a quasi-military-civilian dispensation in all the four provinces. Allowing the army a free hand to chase out the last terrorist in Punjab is fine. The test of the army will be how far it goes after all the banned outfits, without the exception of 'good jihadis' now operating under the garb of welfare organisations, extremist seminaries, their financiers and ideologues.

But making a quasi-military-civilian diarchy a permanent feature is going to erode our constitutional, federal and democratic edifice – something the terrorists and religious extremists so terribly desire. A military-civil diarchy also cannot survive in an unequal and undefined partnership in which the civilian side is bound to lose. Damned if the Sharifs do – and damned if they don't.

The writer is a senior journalist.

Source:<http://www.thenews.com.pk/print/110857-Towards-a-quasi-military-civilian-regime>



## The Curious Case of The Indian Spy | Sehar Kamran

“All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.”  
–Article 2(4), United Nations Charter.

On 27th March 2016, a man was arrested from the Saravan border crossing over into Pakistani Balochistan. He is charged with espionage, subversion, as well as other acts to directly instigate terrorism and destabilise Pakistan. This man has been identified as an Indian Naval Officer, who went by the name of ‘Hussain Mubarak Patel’ in Pakistan, and Kulbashan Yadav in his native India.

The officer has confessed, both to his identity and to the nature of his operation; the former has been verified by his family. Yadav had been living in and operating from the area for about 14 years. Reports indicate that his capture was the result of the complacency that stemmed from the length of his presence in the country. His arrest, given his self-professed status as a serving commander, makes him the senior most person to have been arrested on espionage charges in Pakistan.

The arrest has not only raised many more linked questions, but also validated Pakistan’s long-standing claims of active and belligerent Indian involvement inside Pakistani territory. Once again Pakistan has found itself in a position where its territorial integrity and sovereignty has been violated. And once again, despite a clear breach of the UN charter, its concerns are being met with international silence.

While spy-craft is an institution as old as the advent of civil society itself, it is generally accepted as being at the root of many an international conflict, and as such has been criminalised in any way, shape or form within international law and its custodian, the UN. And it is in the recognition and upholding of the UN Charter that the international system as we know it has been able to exist and ward off the insecurity and anarchy this creates. Today, when the entire world is on fire, it is more important than ever to remember how the UN was established after the Second World War to maintain international peace and security. And the norm of respecting territorial integrity and sovereignty of other states is enshrined in this very Charter. Any breaches or state-sponsored activity against any other state is taken as violation of international law.



It is equally important to consider how the failure of this system through such violations can very easily result in a return to the anarchical insecurity that has proven so very destructive in the past.

Silence at the capture of a spy from a signatory state of the UN, who has confessed to carrying out activities to undermine the Pakistani state, is not a new trend by any means. It highlights the attitude of indifference, discount and disregard by world bodies and the international community towards Pakistan's legitimate security concerns.

Whether it is in the form of open threats made to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Pakistan by the present Indian National Security Officer, Ajit Doval – who is often also termed by the Indian media as the 'Great Indian Spy' as he lived and operated from within Pakistan for over seven years – by "advocating the policy of supporting militant groups to neutralise 'terror threats' emanating from Pakistan". Or the Indian Premiere Narendra Modi's remarks in Bangladesh, in which he clearly and openly admitted to the Indian role in 'subversive activities to destabilise Pakistan' and at Dhaka University on June 6, 2015 while discussing the events of 1971 which eventually led to the disintegration of Pakistan. Indian policy with regard to Pakistan remains very clear, and belligerent at best. This case of the Indian Naval Officer is proving to be no different, nor is it inconsistent with the current Indian regime's public statements and greater policy declarations.

And despite the fact that in October 2015, the government of Pakistan shared three dossiers with the UN, containing evidences pertaining to Indian interference in Balochistan, Federally Administered Tribal Areas (Fata) and Karachi, no follow-ups or reprimands were considered necessary. Today, these charges of interference are supported by the physical reality of Indian espionage on Pakistani soil in an undeniable manner.

It needs to be understood the global discriminatory narrative or practice of belittling genuine and now proven concerns of Pakistan emanating from its neighbour's heinous intentions will only lead to further regional instability and the disruption of global peace. Pakistan's voice in the international realm needs to be acknowledged, not only to assuage the state's concerns, but also to preserve the structure of and faith in the international community. Today, this incident will not only harm or destabilise Pakistan, but holds the potential to bring about the collapse of the current international order, as all states that lose faith in the system will want to revert to any measures that will safeguard their national interests, 'by hook or by crook'. The continuing lack of

international interest in the concerns of smaller states can have serious repercussions for global security, stability and peace.

The State of Pakistan must raise the issue of Indian espionage and sabotage activities inside Pakistan's territory within the global community in this context of international law. As Article 29 of the Hague Regulations 1907 identifies: "A person can only be considered a spy when, acting clandestinely or on false pretences, he obtains or endeavours to obtain information in the zone of operations of a belligerent, with the intention of communicating it to the hostile party." Through his own confession, this person satisfies this criteria. And since the purpose of spy-craft essentially remains the same: "to gather intelligence and create instances which cause instability and complications where territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state they are operating in", the challenge posed by these activities must be acknowledged and appropriately admonished.

It is high time that the international community stops taking the certainty of the current status quo for granted. And it is high time the Pakistani state fights a stronger battle for safeguarding its interests within the international legal framework, without de-emphasising the importance of not forcing the state to lose its faith in this system. In the words of the late Martin Luther King Jr, "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."

The writer is the President of Centre for Pakistan and Gulf Studies (CPGS) and Member Senate Standing Committees on Defence, Defence Production, Human Rights & Federal Education and Professional Trainings.

## Indian secret designs & terrorism in Pakistan | Saima Aman Sial

Indian involvement in fomenting terrorism in Pakistan is not a new revelation; however it is oft overshadowed in the international media by the Indian sponsored propaganda against Pakistan. In a recent spate of fresh evidence emerging out of the terrorist activities inside the country, Pakistan's intelligence agencies have arrested an Indian Navy officer from the restive province of Baluchistan, alleged with involvement in terrorist activities and tasked with a larger agenda of disintegrating Baluchistan and Karachi.

Kulbhushan Yadav, (serving Indian Navy Commander) was allegedly sent under deputation to the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) of the government to Iran (Chabahar Port) since 2013. It is well documented that India uses its consulates close to the Afghanistan and Iranian border to infiltrate terrorists in Pakistan. However, this case is unprecedented as the arrested man is, allegedly, a serving Indian armed forces employee.

It is no secret, that Pakistan undertook the decision to built nuclear weapons to ensure its survival against a neighbour that helped disintegrate its Eastern half. The western policymakers and commentators believe that Pakistan's threat perception must be de-hyphenated from India when the Indian Premiere doesn't hesitate celebrating for his country's consistent efforts that resulted in disintegration of the East Pakistan. Addressing the University of Dhaka, on 7th June 2015 he held no scruples in admitting

that, “we fought for Bangladesh’s ‘swabhimaan’ (honor) ... alongside Mukti Jodhas (Mukti Bahani)”.

Since Modi’s holding of office in India, the relations between Pakistan and India have seen a lot of upheavals. Although Pakistan’s Premiere Nawaz Sharif attended the swearing in of his counterpart, the good gesture didn’t translate meaningfully later for bilateral relations or dialogue. The dialogue process was repeatedly disrupted on nonissues and there was a discernable increase in dismissiveness from the Indian side.

Although, both states recurrently accuse each other of fomenting unrest and terrorism in each other’s territory, the international community promotes the India’s case of victimhood much strongly. The automaticity, with which fingers are pointed towards Pakistan by the Indian government, the moment an incident of terrorism happens, is appalling. No wonder, when the attack on Indian Airbase Pathankot attack was underway, Pakistan was accused of being involved and the media started touting the same old Pakistan hate story. This hysteria is mutual; however the Pakistani version of it is less sellable in the international community.

Notwithstanding that, the revelation of the Indian Navy officer posted in Chabahar port since 2003 with an Iranian Visa in Pakistan’s Baluchistan province is very revealing. It reinforces all the evidence, made available earlier by Pakistan in form of high level statements, official dossiers and agencies claims of Indian sponsorship of terrorism in Pakistan and its evil designs for possible disintegration of the country.

In what could be considered as a visible shift, since may last year, Pakistan’s top operational commanders conference, i.e. Corp Commanders Conference categorically mentioned RAW’s involvement in whipping up terrorism in Pakistan. It was the first time that the top military institution in Pakistan took a stance against such anti-state activities of RAW. Pakistan also submitted to the United Nations evidence in form of a dossier to support its claim of Indian involvement. While this was underway, the Indian administration was reinforcing its agendas through statements outlining its strategy for conducting terrorism in Pakistan. Indian Defence minister Manohar Parrikar readily admitted, in one of his statements in May 2015 that India ‘neutralizes terrorists only through terrorists’; only confirming the established Indian hostility manifested through sponsoring terrorism in Pakistan. Much earlier, in February 2014, India’s National Security Advisor, Ajit Doval, referred to Indian terrorism strategy against Pakistan, where India buys terrorist elements to be used against Pakistan as part of its defensive-offence strategy.

Indian intelligence involvement in aiding terrorism perpetrators in Pakistan is simply not a onetime agenda but a consistent policy of Indian administration. Retrospectively, there are clear and substantial evidences in the Indo-Pak bilateral relationship where India has admitted its role in agitating terrorism and continued unrest in Pakistan. In the Sharm-el-Sheikh joint statement, July 2009, between India and Pakistan, Indian premier admitted Indian involvement in fermenting terrorism in Pakistan. The statement reflected that Pakistan had credible information on threats in Baluchistan and other areas. Furthermore, India Today in a September 2013 report revealed that a Technical Support Division (TDS) was raised by the Indian army specifically to carry out covert operations. TDS mission mainly related to financing of bombings and session movements in the neighbouring states through pouring in of several crores of rupees.

One cannot but commend Pakistan's decision in conducting investigations through joint intelligence in the Pathankot incident, when cases – like the involvement of Indian Colonel in Samghota Express train bomb blasts – still await the sharing of concrete evidence from the Indian side. In April 2010, India officially admitted that its Army's serving officer, Lieutenant Colonel Shrikant Prasad Purohit, was an active member of the Hindutva brigade and responsible for the bombings on Pakistan-bound Samjhota Express. Pakistan has till date been seeking evidence from India in this regard, which is not forthcoming.

Whereas the Pathankot attack clearly manifested the glaring security lapse at an operational Indian base housing fighter aircrafts and helicopters, Pakistan's forthcoming response couldn't help thaw the ice of distrust. Unlike the tall expectations attached to the overture, it capsized under Indian intelligence's tsunami of distrust.

Pakistan's government should take serious note of such Indian belligerence, war mongering hyperbole, repeated confessions and evidence of promoting terrorism in Pakistan. It should launch a counter diplomatic offensive against India in all significant foreign capitals. Pakistan's ambassadors from the key international states should be briefed comprehensively on the such evidence.

In the long run, Pakistan ought to undertake a comprehensive politico-diplomatic strategy in dealing with the Indian threat in fermenting terrorism in Pakistan through direct involvement and through aiding proxies to forestall the brute and malicious Indian designs in weakening Pakistan.

Source: <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2016/04/13/comment/indian-secret-designs-terrorism-in-pakistan/>

## Pakistan at Bottom in Gender Equality Global Ranking

A global report shows that Pakistani women still face the world's worst inequality in access to health care, education and work.

The annual Gender Gap Index by the Geneva-based World Economic Forum released Tuesday showed Pakistan ranked 141 out of 142, second to last in global gender equality.

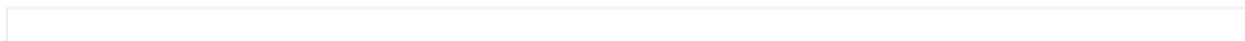
This is the third year in a row that Pakistan has maintained the second to last ranking.

The only country where women face worse equality issues is Yemen.

Neighbouring India's ranking falling from 101st out of 136 countries surveyed last year to 114th out of 142 countries this year.

The United States rose three places to rank 20th, while Yemen and Chad remained at the bottom.

Nordic nations lead the world again in promoting equality of the sexes, with Iceland, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark in the top five spots.



## Nationalism And Challenges | Khurram Minhas

Pakistani nationalism refers to the geographical, historical, cultural, linguistic, religious, political and economic expression of patriotism by the people of Pakistan. It refers to pride of the people in geography, history, culture, heritage, religious identity and economic development of Pakistan, and optimistic visions for its future. The religion of Islam is part of the Pakistani nationalist narrative. Pakistani nationalism is not about animosity towards any other country or nation, rather it's about pride in Pakistan. However, Pakistani nationalism faced severe challenges in recent past.

The war against terrorism had intensive negative physical, economic and psychological impacts on Pakistani society. There were competing narratives, which divided people politically and psychologically. People had various questions in their mind that whether this the war against terrorism and extremism was our war or not? The people of Pakistan mainly suffered economically and physically.

Global financial crisis 2008 coupled with impact of war on terror had drastically affected Pakistan's economy. Due to war on terror a loss of more than 100 billion US dollars and displacement of massive population from conflict areas overburdened the existing fragile economic situation of the country. From 2008 to 2013, bad governance, severe energy crisis and corruption badly affected the economy of Pakistan. People did not find economic opportunities; therefore, they wanted to leave the country. According to PEW survey 2009, more than 80 percent people wanted to leave this country. However, in recent two years, owing to economic reforms of the present government, according to PEW survey 2014, this figure has come down to 67 percent.

The nationalist sentiment is directly linked with economic prosperity and equal distribution of economic resources and human development. As mentioned above, during 2008 to 2013, due to various reasons Pakistan's economy was declining, therefore, a general public perception was that it was due to centralization of economic resources. Hence, the demand for new provinces emerged vigorously. The Baloch separatist movement, demands for a Hazara province and Saraiki province were largely based on economic deprivation.

All forms of media including print, electronic and social media are very important in narrative building and altering the public opinion on specific issues. Unfortunately, the media had played a negative role during past few years. The competition for improving viewership, the media often tries to highlight cultural, institutional and economic issues.

It often tries to find crispy news which attract viewer's attention. However, this unfortunate trend demoralized common citizens and created a perception that no one is immune to corruption and nepotism.

Role of external factor cannot be denied in this regard. Despite Pakistan's peaceful neighbourhood policy, its eastern neighbour did not accept Pakistan's existence since its independence. It has always propagated that division of the subcontinent was a historic mistake and Pakistan was a conspiracy of Britain to divide 'Indian holy land'. Since the whole world is concerned about terrorism after 9/11 incident, India has constantly propagated against Pakistan at international forum and labeled 'Pakistan a breeding ground for terrorism'. Similarly, it has waged a psychological warfare against Pakistan since early 1980s.

The holding of National Day parade after a gap of several years is a welcome development. This may be held each year uninterruptedly. There is a need to encourage sports activities which bind various communities. Such kinds of activities increase the velocity of interaction among people from various provinces which leave positive impact on national cohesion. Such kind of activities can restore Pakistan nationalism, which is imperative to national security and integration for the country.

— The writer works at Islamabad Policy Research Institute.

Source: <http://pakobserver.net/2016/04/16/nationalism-and-challenges/>



## Water — Pakistan's Most Critical Challenge | Dr Manzoor Ahmad

Of all the challenges Pakistan is facing, water is the most critical. The country is among the leading five that face extremely high water stress and low access to safe drinking water and sanitation, according to the World Resources Institute.

Similarly, the United Nations categorises Pakistan amongst those few unfortunate countries where water shortages could destabilise and jeopardise its existence in the next 10 years.

Today a quarter to a third of Pakistan's population lacks access to safe drinking water. Both urban and rural populations suffer from water contamination and waterborne diseases. The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals require us to ensure access to water and sanitation for all.

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Considering the enormity of the challenge and high cost of doing nothing, it is time government accorded its highest priority to water issues

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Few realise that the fresh water we receive through our rivers, fed by glaciers and rain, is no longer enough to meet our needs. With the increase in population and urbanisation, now more than 60pc of Pakistan's water is pumped from underground

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reservoirs. Some areas, such as in Baluchistan, access to the water below ground has fallen to 1,000 ft. In Lahore, groundwater tables have fallen in some parts by up to 65 feet in just the last five years. But of all the cities, Karachi faces the acutest water. The poor have to queue for hours to get drinking water. In the coming hot summers, water shortages could lead to violence.

Our mega dams at Tarbela and Mangla are 40-50 years old and their storage capacities have been falling because of silting and sedimentation. They store only 30 days of average water demand, compared to 1,000 days for Egypt and 220 days for India. After a hiatus of almost four decades, since Tarbela Dam was built, it was decided in 2006 to build another major multipurpose dam at Diamer-Bhasha. It's been 10 years since then but construction has not yet started and it could take another decade to complete.

But adding only one major water reservoir would not be enough. In fact, it would only restore the storage capacity that Pakistan had three decades ago. It is high time that the government focuses on construction of other major dams. Kalabagh Dam would be the most doable. Since 1963, every aspect of this dam has been explored by top national and international experts and they have all been unanimous that this was the best option for providing cheap hydroelectricity and water storage. Unfortunately it has been highly politicised.

According to Shamsul Mulk, the acclaimed water and dams expert, the cost of delay has been Rs132bn per year only on account of cheaper electricity. Unlike other more expensive and remotely located dams, Kalabagh could be constructed in just four years.

### **The way forward**

So far the government has been high on words but low on action. It has been deliberating on a National Water Policy but more than half way through its tenure it has failed to produce one. In September 2015, while reiterating the importance of water issues, the federal minister for planning and reforms promised to announce the long-delayed National Water Policy within three months. He had added that the coming generations would not forgive us if we do not take appropriate steps immediately to address water needs of growing urbanisation.

Considering the enormity of the challenge and high cost of doing nothing, it is time government accorded its highest priority to water issues. There is a need to have a full time water czar. The current federal minister for water is overburdened with several

portfolios including managing energy and looking after defence. What is needed is a full-time highly qualified technocrat to handle this assignment.

There needs to be a two-pronged approach addressing supply side as well as demand side issues. Over 95pc of Pakistan's water is used for agriculture. Due to poor farming practices and almost free availability, most of the water is wasted. Even before water reaches the farms, almost 50pc is wasted through the crumbling canal infrastructure. The Governments' policy of subsidising water-intensive crops is another major factor, exacerbating the situation.

At this time of the year when budgetary allocations are being debated, it should be realised that the biggest challenge facing the country is the water crisis. Accordingly it should receive more allocations than any other sector be it defence or roads.

In 1991, it was due to efforts of the then Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif that the Indus Water Apportionment Accord was signed by all the provinces and has worked successfully for over 25 years. If Mr Sharif wants to leave another legacy, it should be a forward-looking national water policy, which has clearly defined goals for improving water-use, efficiency in agriculture and creating new water storage capacity that could at least provide enough resource for 220 days as is the case with India.

*The writer served as Director Food and Agriculture Organisation to the UN  
Published in Dawn, Business & Finance weekly, April 25th, 2016*

Source:<http://www.dawn.com/news/1254171/water-pakistans-most-critical-challenge>

## Climate Change — and Pakistan | Editorial

It is a race against time and time is running out fast. There may be those who still question that climate change is caused by human activity, but nobody anywhere in the world can deny that climate change is upon us, and its effects are going to vary from the merely inconvenient to the catastrophic with every gradation in between. Pakistan is one of the states at the forefront of climate change. The Himalayan glacial melt is going to affect the Indus river system that is the national backbone, floods are of increasing severity and frequency, and their effects long-lasting, and extremes of temperature push humans to the very limits of sustainability. Heat kills more and more every year. Thus it is that we welcome the signing of the Paris climate change agreement at the UN General Assembly. Interior Minister Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan told the Assembly that Pakistan would establish a climate change council and a climate change authority, and that five per cent of the annual budget was dedicated to climate change activities.

As a vulnerable developing nation, the challenges are magnified for Pakistan, which is already grappling with a range of national emergencies from terrorism to the crisis in education and food insecurity. A chronically dysfunctional system of taxation means that the state is forever poor and corruption eats away at resources everywhere. Budgeting to combat climate change indicates a need for trillions of dollars worldwide to be allocated, and most of that needs to be spent in the developing nations, which are the most at risk. The Paris agreement is unique in that it has produced such a rapid response from potential signatories. The leaders of 175 countries have signed and the agreement could come into force years ahead of schedule. Much as we welcome this, there are caveats, most particularly around the ability to ring-fence dedicated finances for addressing climate change and protecting these from leakage, and the capacity to implement the necessary changes for effective interventions. This is a bullet that cannot be dodged. Act now.

*Published in The Express Tribune, April 26th, 2016.*

Source:<http://tribune.com.pk/story/1091662/climate-change-and-pakistan-2/>

## EDUCATION

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### Development Through Quality Education | Ghazanfar A Garewal

A COUPLE of years back, America's decline sparked a heated debate among scholars and analysts. To beat the heat, Fareed Zakaria opined that America would continue to stay influential in the world affairs because "the future is being invented here." His premise was based on a fact; America's leadership of educational and technological advancement in the world. Today, China has beaten it in economic field, but in the field of education and technological advancement it can only dream of leaving America behind.

America leads the world because it is leading in educational and technological advancement. According to Time Higher Education 2015-2016 ranking, America's 63 universities made to the top 200 of the universities. The California Institute of technology secured first position, Stanford third, Massachusetts Institute of technology fourth and Harvard University sixth. It will continue to lead as long as it continues to be a hub of innovation and knowledge-based economy. Therefore, the key to success is high quality education.

Where do the Pakistani universities stand? As ill luck would have it, our universities are not in the limelight. But the picture is not completely gloomy. According to the Latest QS World University Ranking in Asia, ten Pakistani universities are ranked among top 300 Asian universities. Some of its universities made to the top 500 in the list. It, certainly, can be hailed as a major improvement because, a couple of years back, none of the Pakistani universities was ranked among top 500.

Future belongs to those who excel in the field of science and technology. Does future belong to Pakistan? Danile Runde, in an article in Forbes, writes that Pakistan has undergone a series of positive development which has set the table for the sort of policies and investments needed to move the country on the path travelled by Indonesia or Brazil. Pakistan's economy has been on a positive trajectory for a couple of years. First time in its seventy-year history, it is going to complete its IMF programme.

By 2050, Pakistan's Middle class will expand from 40 million people to 100 million people. By 2050, Pakistan's economy is estimated to surpass \$2 trillion and India's \$42

trillion. To catch up with India, Pakistan needs to assign high priority to education rather than mass weapons. The future does belong to Pakistan if the government sets its priorities right. But the present government is high on infrastructural bonanzas; Metro-bus project, Orange line Project in Lahore and Green Line Bus Project in Karachi.

There is no denying the fact that Pakistan should increase budget spent on education and undergo educational reforms. But it is equally important that Pakistan's friends should foster education partnership with it. Our two friends, China and the US, can help us a great deal in this regard.

Indian Institutes of Technology are making headlines worldwide. Though they were established under Nehru's vision, USA helped to seize their potential fully. Indian Institute of Technology Kanpur was established with the assistance of a consortium of nine American research institutes, a part of Kanpur Indo-American Programme. If USA can launch such projects with India, why it cannot extend its assistance to Pakistan in this sector too? Pakistan, too, needs to choose gifts of far better implications.

Future seems to be a priority in our leaders' minds as Vision 2025 is much heard. Education is, again, missing as top priority under this vision. The government must set its objective to make at least one university among top 100 at world level.

— The writer is a Lecturer at NUML, Islamabad.

Source: <http://pakobserver.net/2016/04/02/development-through-quality-education/>

## Pakistan and the Issue of Education | Salman Ali

Education is a basic source that can, singlehandedly, turn the fortune for any nation, as it can be the best and most appropriate step for the long-term solution of any problems the state is going through. If we see nations who have developed their infrastructure and are in the top ranking, it is primarily because of its focus on its educational system, but unfortunately, Pakistan has an abysmal record in terms of education. It is rather unfortunate that not a single political party, individual or social sector has worked for this cause with complete dedication and farsightedness.

Pakistan has witnessed seven or eight education policies since gaining independence in 1947, eight five-year plans, about a dozen other education schemes and countless education and literacy campaigns but, nevertheless, our actual literacy rate is hovering around a little over 50 percent.

Just to highlight for my readers: Article 25-A of the Constitution binds the state to provide free and compulsory education to all children aged five-16 years. But sadly, despite passage of this law, there has not been any progress on this provision and provinces have yet to frame legislation to implement it. One more campaign is set to be launched in the country to ensure 100 percent enrollment in schools, as federal government is going to launch an intensive campaign across Pakistan that starting in April 2016 will ensure enrollment of every child in school by 2018. The first goal of this campaign is to get 100 percent primary enrollment. After achieving that goal, government will work on 100 percent enrollment in higher education institutions and 100 percent primary enrollment would be achieved before 2018.

This is indeed a good directive from government, reflective of government's good intentions, but the question is how it is going to be done. There appears to be no substantial answer to that so far. It could be said that the current campaign launched by the federal government might also meet the same fate if the ruling party does not show more sincerity and political will to make the campaign a success.

The concerned world bodies present a dismal picture of Pakistan's education sector. The United Nations mentioned in one of its reports released in December 2015 that 49 percent of the population of Pakistan lives in poverty, and it has one of the lowest investments for education and health. "Pakistan spends 0.8 percent of its GDP on health and 1.8 percent on education. The report ranked Pakistan 146 out of 187 countries on a human development index, equal to Bangladesh and just ahead of

Angola and Myanmar. Pakistan is facing tremendous challenges in the education sector, with approximately 6.1 million children not attending schools at all. The situation is especially alarming in rural areas due to social and cultural obstacles. However, one of the most deplorable aspects is that in some places, particularly northern tribal areas, education of girls is strictly prohibited on religious grounds. This is a gross misinterpretation of Islam, which like all religions urges both males and females to acquire education.

The authorities in the education sector in Pakistan are good at setting ambitious targets but inept at following through. Successive governments have abandoned policies of the previous administration and adopted new and more ambitious targets, wreaking havoc on the education system, squandering billions of rupees. As a result, Pakistan has failed to achieve the United Nations' Millennium Development Goal of primary education for all children by 2015.

I personally believe that there is a lack of political will and sincerity behind this failure. Every government announces a campaign to bring all children to school, but nothing substantial happens except for publication of government advertisements in newspapers and sloganeering on the electronic media for a few months. Our educational system needs to be harmonised and equalised. The implementation of one language, one syllabus and one system is the long-term solution to the problems that act as an impediment in our national progress. In the view of importance of education, government should take solid steps towards implementation instead of projecting policies. In this regard, the allocations should be made easy and timely from provinces to districts and then to educational institutions. Moreover, every member of society must play his/her role to be part of the progress of the country.

Last but not the least, I have a question for the federal government the answer to which would be of interest to people of Pakistan: how would the target of 100 percent enrollment be achieved with 60 percent of the country's population living on less than 100 rupees a day?

Source:<http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/19-Apr-16/pakistan-and-the-issue-of-education>



## Pakistan's Education Spending Lowest in South Asia

ISLAMABAD: Despite an increase in the 2015-16 education budget Pakistan's current expenditure on education is the lowest in South Asia.

"Pakistan has a literacy rate of 58pc, which has improved from 35pc in 1990-91, but still way behind the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) target of 88pc, which was to be achieved by the end of 2015," a report launched on Wednesday stated.

The report, 'Public Financing of Education in Pakistan and Agenda for Education Budget 2016-17', was launched by the Institute of Social and Policy Sciences (I-SAPS).

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'Utilisation of increased education budget needs to be improved'

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The report said that although education statistics have improved over the last few years, vast disparities still remain at the provincial level.

The report also said there are around 24 million out-of-school children in Pakistan, the second highest figure in the world after Nigeria.

Minister of State for Federal Education and Professional Training Mohammad Balighur Rehman attended the launch of the report.

At the event, he said such reports are not only useful to educationists but also to the government.

"The government must know that it is lacking in education budgeting and public financing, a healthy dialogue on such a pertinent issue is extremely beneficial for education," he said.

Mr Rehman added that the present constraints and improvements to the education system must be kept in mind, and spoke about the increase in the education budget over the last three years.

Presenting the report, I-SAPS executive director Salman Humayun said an analysis of previous federal and provincial education budgets revealed some encouraging facts.

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“It is heartening to see a visible increase in education budgets for all the provinces in 2015-16, with Balochistan registering an increase of 19pc, followed by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with 12pc, Punjab with 10pc and Sindh with an increased allocation of 7pc, compared with the previous year’s budgets,” he said.

He added that the utilisation of the allocated budget must be improved.

Mr Humayun said that according to the analysis of education budgets, budgetary allocations were not generally leveraged against key challenges, such as the access and quality of education.

“Some of the considerable issues in this context include inadequate engagement of legislature in the budget-making process, insufficient allocations compared with the actual needs, untimely fiscal flow, corruption, huge administrative expenditure, lack of transparency,” he said.

### **Punjab**

The report also presented the status of education in all four provinces. It said that according to Pakistan’s social and living standards measurements, Punjab has a net enrolment rate of 64pc at the primary level, while the literacy rate for males is 71pc, and 52pc for females.

The survival rate until fifth grade is 71pc, and the transition rate from primary to middle is 97pc. The number of out-of-school children aged between five and 16 is 13.1 million, which constitutes 47pc of the total population of children of school-going age. Out of this, 52pc are girls.

### **Sindh**

Sindh has a total of 46,039 public schools, of which 15pc are girls’ schools and 62pc are co-ed schools.

Of these schools, the majority are primary schools – 91pc – followed by 4pc middle, 1pc elementary, 4pc secondary and 1pc higher secondary schools.

Overall enrolment in government schools is 4.04 million, out of which 65pc are enrolled at the primary level. The net enrolment rate at the primary level is 48pc, while the literacy rate is 67pc for males and 43pc for females.

The number of out-of-school children is 6.2 million – 51pc of the total number of school-age children, and 54pc of these are girls.

**Khyber Pakhtunkhwa**

The net enrolment rate in KP at the primary level is 54pc. The literacy rate is 72pc for males and 36pc for females.

The survival rate to fifth grade is 67pc and the transition rate from primary to middle is 82pc. The number of out-of-school children in the province is 2.5 million, which makes up 34pc of the total population of school-going children. Of these, 4.7pc are girls.

**Balochistan**

There are 12,576 public schools in Balochistan, 28pc of which are girls' schools. Of these, 84pc are primary schools, followed by 9pc middle, 6pc high and less than 1pc higher secondary schools.

Overall enrolment in government schools is 1.1 million, 50pc of which are enrolled at the primary level. The report found that 43,620 teachers are working in Balochistan, 32pc of which are women.

According to the Pakistan social and living standards measurement 2013-14, the net enrolment at the primary level is 39pc, while the literacy rate is 59pc for males and 25pc for females.

The survival rate to fifth grade is 46pc, and the transition rate from primary to middle is 75pc. The number of out-of-school children is 1.8 million, about 66pc of the total population of school-going age children, and 4.51pc of these are girls.

*Published in Dawn, April 28th, 2016*

# ECONOMY

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## Consensus on an economic agenda – DAWN OpEd

AFTER Finance Minister Ishaq Dar's musing on a so-called charter of the economy, the IMF has added its voice for the creation of a national consensus on a 'core economic agenda'.

In the IMF's reckoning, the core agenda should cover four areas: tax revenues, with an emphasis on a wider and fairer system; revamping public-sector enterprises; energy reforms; and improving the national business climate.

Unsurprisingly, the IMF's formulation hews closely to the agenda it tried to implement via the three-year fund programme that will come to an end this year — a programme that has achieved very little beyond the macro stabilisation that has been embraced by the PML-N government.

Yet, simply because it is IMF advocacy does not make the prescription wrong. Mr Dar, too, was right when he suggested a charter of the economy — though drafting a meaningful charter would be extremely complicated given that economic policies cannot and should not be static.

Perhaps what the federal government could do, however, is begin to create the conditions that make taking up an economic charter easier in the years ahead.

At the moment, economic policy is too closely controlled by Mr Dar himself — even inside the PML-N. As de facto prime minister, Mr Dar has a veto over virtually all major economic decisions.

If that changes — if policies advocated by other ministries are allowed to be debated and their implementation not made conditional on Mr Dar's approval — it would contribute to the creation of a climate where the contours of overall policy can be shaped by policy experts and not be subject to the whims of one individual. That inclusive process could be extended to other major economic exercises, particularly the federal budget and longer-term frameworks within which the budgets are set.

Once again, the process is so tightly controlled by the finance ministry that parliament is often asked to sign off on numbers it has little understanding of. If parliament — meaning not just the elected government of the day, but opposition parties too — is made part of the decision-making process, trust can be built.

The tax system illustrates the problem well. In principle, the tax system is unfair and it needs to be restructured in favour of having a greater proportion of direct taxes. But while most political parties would agree that tax revenues need to be boosted, none have felt the need to embrace specific policy positions backed up reliable numbers. That leaves the details of tax reforms, the few that are attempted, to be worked out between the government of the day and (usually) the IMF. Drawing parliament into the budget process could help change that. What are the numbers and what are the options?

Ministerial transparency and openness with parliament could help encourage parliamentarians to think about economic policy as more than mere politics and put forward more responsible suggestions. The road will be a long one, but political trust is built slowly.

An economic charter will only be as useful as the political willingness to abide by it. As the charter of democracy has shown, repeated mistakes can lead to a willingness to change.

*Published in Dawn, April 11th, 2016*

## Is The Western Route of CPEC Dead? | Hurmat Ali Shah

There was a ruckus; every one jumped on the bandwagon. Political parties claiming to be defenders of small provinces tied their chariots to the wagon and joined in the symphony of a positive federation. The ruling party in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa came to its senses albeit very late and for that matter for a very short time. The leader of one ruling party in Balochistan took on a mysterious silence while other leaders of his party took to caring for his province rights. A few political statements and a few stunts of activism here and there and the political parties got tired. The ruling party at federal government, PML (N), was however tenacious. It started by outright denying any wrongdoing. Then they caved in to somewhat mounting pressure and admitted that there are two routes, but again lashed at the critics for blaming them of playing into hands of anti-state actors. Then came one trick after another from their bag – vilifying the critics, blaming them, mocking them, unleashing the cronies in media, sugar-coated threats and ploys meant to deceive.

What helped in sweeping the issue under the carpet? It should not be forgotten that the attention this issue received was the result of legitimate uproar created on social media by civil society activists and on-ground activism of intelligentsia of the smaller provinces. Political parties were late and were in only for political mileage or were dragged into it for the sake of face-saving. But alas! Social media activism has its lifespan and that's not very suitable for political movements, which require continuous vigilance, unnerving perseverance and intellectual capacity for debate and opening up new options and avenues for exploration for the sake of solving issues that have real-life consequences on the lives of tens of millions of people. Combine the peculiar nature of social media activism with the warning from the Chief. Army Chief in a strong-worded statement labelled the people demanding the due constitutional share in development projects for their provinces as detractors and enemies of the state followed by his unflinching resolve to handle them the way which is apt for such enemies of Pakistan.

Job done. Political parties had to cave in. Social media and civil society organizations don't count for much and don't stand a chance given the dual mammoth challenges of fighting the tricks of jaguars of ruling PML (N) and of a dissenting nod of the savior of the nation. Political parties got what they were in it for – face saved. They can now helplessly complain that they tried but the forces on the other side were too strong and they are victims and will continue to fight for rights of smaller provinces (but for some other issue, some other time.) This can dismantle the trends on social media other than

a sporting event, a girl going crazy, someone eating abnormally and other silly but entertaining stuff. Political activism for a cause and persistence in repeating the same old thing is boring and who has got energy and willpower to listen to the same old stuff and the tenacity to comment on and share the same story every other day? That's life on the go, social media life demands new goals, new targets each day. Successful completion of the previous ones is not to be pondered upon.

But what I have said about social media is perhaps also true for our political parties and our focus and dedication to issues that affect us for generations. Focus on political issues changes with the coverage in media. The electronic and social media drive their agenda. The discipline and will to fight a prolonged battle for rights of common man is absent. Political parties in Pakistan are not interested in taking issues at grassroots level and mount the required pressure on government to ensure safeguarding of rights of the people.

Western route of CPEC has also fallen victim to this very psyche and circle of political activism in Pakistan. In the given situation of Pakistan where civil society organizations are weak, only political parties have the capacity to take on such national issues and compel the government to accommodate dissenting voices. But the government was able to silence the opposition on piecemeal projects in name of western route, the detail of which I have presented previously. Those having vested interest, or those who were in the campaign for face-saving, may have got some consolation from hollow promises of Ahsan Iqbal, but thinking minds in small provinces are looking at these developments with apprehension. A few civil society organizations are firm in their stand and are not caving in despite lack of interest from political parties in opposition and from the ruling parties in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan.

Looking at the surface it may seem that people of the smaller provinces have forgotten about their due right in CPEC, but winds may disappear for sometime only to reappear with more power. The state of federation in Pakistan is not a balanced one, and such blatant disregard for rights and development of small provinces will only add to inter-provincial distrust and further weaken the federation. If western route of CPEC is part of history, its repercussions are part of future. And a future built on grievances and deprivations doesn't bode well for the country. It's still time to address grievances of smaller provinces and consider them equal parts of the country and develop them at par with the mainstream.

Source:<http://nation.com.pk/blogs/12-Apr-2016/is-the-western-route-of-cpec-dead>

## IFC Praises Pakistan's Economic Policies

WASHINGTON: The Executive Vice President of the International Finance Commission (IFC), Philippe Houerou, praised economic policies and financial discipline of the Pakistan government.

In a meeting with a Pakistani delegation led by Finance Secretary Dr Waqar Masood Khan, the IFC vice president appreciated improvement in macro indicators and growth rates of Pakistan.

Attributing the turnaround to economic policies and financial discipline of the government, Mr Houerou assured complete support from the IFC to Pakistan's financial and energy sectors. He also discussed with the delegation the issuance of rupee bonds in Pakistan.

Pakistan represents the IFC's second largest country exposure in the Middle East and North Africa.

Till September last year, the IFC had committed over \$5.2 billion to the country. During the next few years, the IFC may invest about \$500 million annually in Pakistan, with the focus on infrastructure projects, particularly renewable and low-cost power, financial markets, agribusiness, manufacturing, and services.

Dr Masood said that the improvement in macro indicators had led to increased presence of the World Bank group in Pakistan.

He invited the IFC to join other development partners like the ADB and China Development Bank in setting up the Pakistan Development Fund which would take infrastructure development in Pakistan to a higher level.

He shared with the IFC official the ambitious project of laying of gas pipelines to transport gas from Karachi to Lahore. In the first phase, an LNG line from Karachi to Lahore will be completed by the end of the current year.

Another line will be constructed with the help of Russia, and in the third phase, another line will be constructed to transport gas from Gwadar to Nawabshah.



Dr Masood said that in view of an improved investment climate, the IFC should set up a credit line for LNG and energy projects.

*Published in Dawn, April 18th, 2016*

Source: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1252776/ifc-praises-pakistans-economic-policies>

## Global Survey Paints Gloomy Picture of Pakistan Economy

LAHORE: Economic conditions remain uncertain in Pakistan despite businesses benefiting from a series of aggressive rate cuts since the late 2014, says the latest Global Economic Conditions Survey (GECS) 2016.

“In Pakistan, economic sentiment is being hurt by ongoing security problems, with business confidence in Q1 remaining low compared with most of last year and compared with its sub-continent neighbours,” says the GECS from the Association of Chartered Certified Accountants (ACCA) and Institute of Management Accountants (IMA).

However, Pakistan-based respondents point to an economic gain from the eventual implementation of the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), a bilateral project that would involve hefty Chinese investment into Pakistan’s infrastructure network.

Fieldwork for the Q1 2016 GECS took place between February 26 and March 15 and attracted more than 1,200 responses from ACCA and IMA members around the world, including more than 100 chief financial officers (CFOs). Nearly half of the respondents were from small and medium enterprises, with the rest working for large firms of more than 250 employees.

The GECS found that globally more than half of firms were either cutting or freezing employment while only 1pc were increasing investment in staff.

Almost half of global businesses reported a drop in income in Q1. As a result, every region except North America saw a jump in the number of businesses cutting capital expenditure. With emerging economies continuing to struggle with low commodity prices and many businesses on a spending lockdown, the outlook for the global economy is becoming increasingly gloomy.

Commenting on the GECS, the ACCA’s head of business focus Faye Chua said that it was the emerging markets suffering most from bottom lines being squeezed.

“Wages are rising rapidly in many parts of the world and businesses are finding it harder to cope as revenues come under increasing pressure. The sharp drop against the dollar experienced by many currencies will also have pushed up costs, making imports more expensive and raising the value of dollar-denominated debts, meaning that firms in

emerging-market economies are very pessimistic about their prospects,” said Chua while warning that global policymakers could be running low on ammunition in the fight to turn things around.

“In developed economies, governments have worked hard to stabilise their debt-to-GDP ratios. Will they want to reverse that good work and risk the wrath of bond investors? It’s highly unlikely. Instead, we’ll see the heavy lifting left to central banks in the main. The problem with this approach is there are serious doubts around their ability – or indeed inclination – to provide more support,” said Faye Chua while adding that pulling the global economy out of the doldrums was not going to be achieved in the short term.

“Once income begins to drop and businesses stop hiring, getting them to a point where they are confident enough to begin doing so again is difficult – but vital. The one positive is business confidence in non-OECD economies did pick up slightly in Q1, led by central and eastern Europe – and Russia in particular. Let’s hope that is a sign of more positive news to come,” said Faye Chua.

*Published in Dawn, April 20th, 2016*

Source:<http://www.dawn.com/news/1253181/global-survey-paints-gloomy-picture-of-pakistan-economy>

# WORLD

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## [A World Without Nuclear Weapons | Barack Obama](#)

Of all the threats to global security and peace, the most dangerous is the proliferation and potential use of nuclear weapons. That's why, seven years ago in Prague, I committed the United States to stopping the spread of nuclear weapons and to seeking a world without them. This vision builds on the policies of presidents before me, Democrat and Republican, including Ronald Reagan, who said "we seek the total elimination one day of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth."

Thursday in Washington, I'll welcome more than 50 world leaders to our fourth Nuclear Security Summit to advance a central pillar of our Prague Agenda: preventing terrorists from obtaining and using a nuclear weapon. We'll review our progress, such as successfully ridding more than a dozen countries of highly enriched uranium and plutonium. Nations, including the United States, will make new commitments, and we'll continue strengthening the international treaties and institutions that underpin nuclear security.

Given the continued threat posed by terrorist groups we call ISIL, or ISIS, we'll also join allies and partners in reviewing our counter-terrorism efforts, to prevent the world's most dangerous networks from obtaining the world's most dangerous weapons. Beyond preventing nuclear terrorism, we've made important progress toward the broader vision I outlined in Prague.

First, we're taking concrete steps toward a world without nuclear weapons. The United States and Russia remain on track to meet our New START Treaty obligations so that by 2018 the number of deployed American and Russian nuclear warheads will be at their lowest levels since the 1950s. Even as the United States maintains a safe, secure and effective nuclear arsenal to deter any adversary and ensure the security of our allies, I've reduced the number and role of nuclear weapons in our national security strategy. I also have ruled out developing new nuclear warheads and narrowed the contingencies under which the United States would ever use or threaten to use nuclear weapons.

Second, we're strengthening the global regime — including the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty — that prevents the spread of nuclear weapons. We've succeeded in uniting the international community against the spread of nuclear weapons, notably in Iran. A nuclear-armed Iran would have constituted an unacceptable threat to our national security and that of our allies and partners. It could have triggered a nuclear arms race in the Middle East and begun to unravel the global non-proliferation regime.

Third, we're pursuing a new framework for civil nuclear cooperation so countries that meet their responsibilities can have access to peaceful nuclear energy. The international fuel bank that I called for seven years ago is now being built in Kazakhstan. With it, countries will be able to realise the energy they seek without enriching uranium, which could be at risk of diversion or theft.

Our progress notwithstanding, I'm the first to acknowledge that we still have unfinished business. Given its violations of the INF Treaty, we continue to call on Russia to comply fully with its obligations. Along with our military leadership, I continue to believe that our massive Cold War nuclear arsenal is poorly suited to today's threats. The United States and Russia — which together hold more than 90 percent of the world's nuclear weapons — should negotiate to reduce our stockpiles further.

The international community must remain united in the face of North Korea's continued provocations, including its recent nuclear test and missile launches. The additional sanctions recently imposed on Pyongyang by the United Nations Security Council show that violations have consequences. The United States will continue working with allies and partners for the complete and verifiable denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula in a peaceful manner.

More broadly, the security of the world demands that nations — including the United States — ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and conclude a new treaty to end the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons once and for all. I said in Prague that achieving the security and peace of a world without nuclear weapons will not happen quickly, perhaps not in my lifetime. But we have begun. As the only nation ever to use nuclear weapons, the United States has a moral obligation to continue to lead the way in eliminating them. Still, no one nation can realise this vision alone. It must be the work of the world.

We're clear-eyed about the high hurdles ahead, but I believe that we must never resign ourselves to the fatalism that the spread of nuclear weapons is inevitable. Even as we

deal with the realities of the world as it is, we must continue to strive for our vision of the world, as it ought to be. Barack Obama is president of the United States.

— Courtesy: The Washington Post

## The Rise of Donald Trump is a Battle for the Soul of the Republican Party | Ben Jacobs

After Mitt Romney failed to beat a vulnerable Barack Obama in 2012, a chastened Republican Party arrived pretty quickly at the answer to their electability problem.

They were the party of old angry, white men, and in a much-heralded Washington DC press conference in March 2013, senior officials released an “autopsy report” concluding that to win back the White House, the party needed to appeal to young voters, women and minorities.

Three years later, Donald Trump, who is historically unpopular among every one of those demographics, is the frontrunner for the party’s nomination. To paraphrase David Byrne, how did the Republican Party get here?

In a series of interviews with party insiders, operatives and elected officials, the party’s predicament is clear – Trump is on the verge of completing a hostile takeover – but as top Republican consultant John Brabender said: “Everybody may have a small piece of the answer, but I’m not sure if anyone has the answer.”

With the next primary contest looming in Wisconsin on Tuesday, the two most plausible scenarios for the Republican convention in July are either that Trump is the nominee or that complete and total anarchy ensues – and no one knows which option will be more damaging at the general election in November or to the future of the party.

The reasons are complex, but the grassroots rage against the machine was clearly evident. Brabender, like many others, saw dissatisfaction with Barack Obama as a key impetus for the rise of Trump. Obama has long been a hate figure on the right and Trump’s coalition includes both diehard conservatives and disaffected blue collar Democrats.

Talented, electable Republicans were pushed aside in the midst of the Tea Party furor. But he also saw “an incredible distaste for Washington DC” going back to 2010 when the Republican grassroots responded strongly to right wing candidates who were prone to outrageous statements. Talented, electable Republicans were pushed aside in the midst of the Tea Party furor which had been touched off by rage at Obama’s economic stimulus and his ‘socialist’ health insurance reforms.

The anti-Washington fever within the party base wasn't diminished when Republicans regained control of the House in 2010. Instead, it was only further increased as Tea Partiers, anxious to undo key Obama initiatives, were dissatisfied with the pace of progress.

In 2012, Rick Santorum, whom Brabender worked for, was able to tap into some of the same reservoir of discontent that now fuels Trump.

"Mitt Romney should have won that [primary] going away," Brabender said. Instead, Santorum won 11 states and, since then, Brabender said "a lot of fuel has been added to that fire" as discontent grew with a Republican congress.

### Growing anger

Which issue do you want US election candidates to discuss?  
Read [more](#)  
Congressman Tom Massie, an ardent libertarian from Kentucky, argued that voters who hated "Big Government" were frustrated that "the Republican Party has been feckless at the job of stopping the expansion of government with Obama in office".

Republicans in the congressional leadership had also totally ignored the signs of discontent in the party's base. After Eric Cantor, the house majority leader, lost his 2014 primary in perhaps the most shocking upset in modern American political history, Massie said the growing anger was simply never talked about. He recalled that Cantor ran the weekly, members-only meeting of the Republican caucus. Then, after his primary loss, the Virginia Republican just wasn't there anymore. "Nobody ever talked about Cantor not being there. It was like he had a heart attack," Massie said.

After Mitt Romney failed to beat a vulnerable Barack Obama in 2012, the Republican Party concluded that it needed to appeal to young voters, women and minorities. Photograph: [Justin Sullivan/Getty Images](#)  
For party grandees, sticking their heads in the sand left them unable to cope with the tempest whipping up dissent. Rick Wilson, a prominent Republican consultant who has become a vocal Trump opponent, argued that much of the New York tycoon's outrage towards Washington was stoked by what he called "the entertainment wing of the Republican Party".

The trouble with Obama was that they couldn't defeat him, so they went after congressional Republicans



This group, which he described as consisting of “certain parts of the Fox News evening line up, talk radio hosts like Rush Limbaugh and Mark Levin ... and the fever swamp of the conservative message machine had spent years looking for the perfect villain”.

The trouble with identifying Obama as that villain was that they couldn't defeat him, so they turned upon their own and went after congressional Republicans in Washington because “they won't do everything perfect and won't commit to burning down the village”, Wilson said. The problem wasn't that congressional Republicans were ignoring the grassroots, it was that the Republican base had been “primed” to demand the impossible.

Wilson, however, has no love for the establishment and expressed frustration that the party needed to present a “forward-looking agenda that isn't the same old tax cuts and trade deals and all the official bullshit of official Washington”.

'A candidate of grievances'

But the increase in populist unrest within the Republican base isn't the only reason for Trump's rise. As Stuart Stevens, top strategist for Mitt Romney in 2012 said, there is also “the Guns of August theory” referencing the chain of events that led to the start of World War I. As he described it, “a theory of unintended consequences by miscalculations, cowardice and ineptitude”.

So, in a stressful economic time, Trump has emerged as “a candidate of grievances” and managed to slip through the many pitfalls and traps laid for outsider candidates in the Republican primary process.

The rules were specifically designed to aid an establishment candidate like Jeb Bush in 2016, but without the fundraising and political infrastructure normally required for a successful candidate, Trump's celebrity has overcome all obstacles. In fact, some of the changes, like the front-loading of earlier primary contests have rebounded to Trump's benefit, as the frontrunner has been able to escape prolonged scrutiny of political gaffes due to the constant churn of election nights.

To Stevens, people aren't “really focused on what Trump is saying except on a couple of issues”. For example, he didn't think “it's Trump's stance on immigration that is drawing voters with a lot of fervor, it's Trump's racist language”.

Brabender saw Trump as running ‘a protest campaign’ ... ‘people want radical change in some capacity’ Among his base constituency of older, less-educated and predominantly white voters, Trump has become a vehicle for a broader discontent with the vast economic changes over the past few decades that have seen the US shift from an industrial economy to a service-based economy.

Brabender saw Trump as running “a protest campaign”. He said “people have got to the point that they want radical change in some capacity and not even sure they know what those changes are, but they want them, and are willing to sacrifice their votes to make things happen.”

Supporters listen as Donald Trump speaks at a campaign rally in Wisconsin. Wisconsin voters go to the polls for the state’s primary on April 5. Photograph: Scott Olson/Getty Images

But the protest candidate is increasingly looking like the nominee. Stevens didn’t think Republican leaders had “a strategy to survive as a party with Trump” and noted the frontrunner’s calamitous week where he veered first from “full throated defense of violence against women” in the case of a reporter manhandled by his chief of staff, to an extreme call for punishing women who have abortions.

In Stevens’ eyes, “there’s not a national party that exists in America, not a regional party” that could support that platform, adding “you couldn’t get elected in Mississippi articulating that”. The native Mississippian then added: “You couldn’t get out of a bar defending violence against women.”

For some conservatives, the remark about abortion was not only damaging, it was exasperating proof that Trump was an imposter pretending to be a conservative, playing to the gallery with no grasp of what ardent pro-life campaigners really stood for.

Damage control  
For many top Republicans, the White House has already been written off for another four years. The goal now is to limit the damage.

Republican strategists privately fear that both the Senate and perhaps even the House could be lost if Trump is the Republican nominee. Swing voters and suburbanites and women will run away from the party, while Latino and African-American voters who may be unexcited by Hillary Clinton will be motivated to turn out and vote against a candidate whom they perceive to be a racist.

The question is what alternative is there to Trump? And even if he can be stopped from getting the majority of delegates he needs, the damage to the Republicans could be even worse than if he was the nominee. As the strategist Brabender noted “even non-Trump supporters will find it offensive” if there is “too much of an effort to prevent him from getting the nomination”. Congressman Massie used more blunt terms and described the scenario as “completely apocalyptic”.

Not all Republicans see doom and gloom if Trump is the nominee. Grover Norquist, the head of the influential conservative group Americans for Tax Reform, notes “the presidency is nice and important if you want to make progress” but it’s not essential. The veteran Republican operative sees a party still dominant in state legislatures and says “the people who focus only on presidential elections are getting distracted”.

Congressman Massie used more blunt terms and described the scenario as ‘completely apocalyptic’

“I am very happy with the cards that we have,” he said. “I wouldn’t trade this for the presidency.” Although Norquist added: “I’d like to have both.”

Republicans can also take some comfort from the cyclical nature of politics. In 1974, Democrats won big majorities in both houses of Congress against a Republican party dejected after the Watergate scandal. Yet, just six years later, Ronald Reagan was elected president.

There is still the possibility that Trump could win in November. Massie, a former Rand Paul supporter, is convinced that Trump, along with either of the two candidates still running, could beat Hillary Clinton.

Further, in some districts, the New York real estate mogul’s presence on the ballot could boost other Republicans. Stewart Mills, the Republican nominee in a blue collar corner of Minnesota near the Canadian border, didn’t see “any turmoil” among Republicans in his moderate district. Instead, he saw “a lot of energy” and felt confident in his message.

But not all Republicans are running in districts like Mills. Already, one incumbent Republican congressman, Carlos Curbelo, a conservative rising star from south Florida, has suggested he would vote for Hillary Clinton over Trump.

Wilson, the consultant, would also prefer President Clinton to Trump, though he would not vote for either. If the Republicans must lose, he sees the process as akin to “cutting

off a gangrenous limb ... it's going to hurt, take a long time to recover" but, if you do not act, it will kill you.

Source: [http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/apr/02/donald-trump-battle-for-the-soul-republican-party?CMP=fb\\_gu](http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/apr/02/donald-trump-battle-for-the-soul-republican-party?CMP=fb_gu)

## Southern Asia's Nuclear Powers | Eleanor Albert

Southern Asia is home to three nuclear powers—China, India, and Pakistan—that continue to expand and modernize their arms programs. Motivated by the need to address perceived security threats, each is seeking to expand ballistic missile and cruise missile-based nuclear delivery systems. Such nuclear competition is dangerous given mounting mistrust and a dearth of diplomatic measures in place to reduce risk of confrontation. Pakistan's chronic political instability, spotty nonproliferation record, and ongoing threats posed by militant forces have focused special concern on the safety of its nuclear materials.

### **What are China's nuclear capabilities?**

China is seeking to soon achieve a nuclear triad (land, air, and sea-based nuclear delivery capabilities). Analysts estimate that China's inventory is close to two hundred and fifty warheads. This includes short, intermediate, and long-range ballistic missiles. Some experts say China has as many as sixty long-range missiles with ranges between 4,350-9,320 miles. China's Central Military Commission oversees the country's nuclear weapons under the management (PDF) of the Second Artillery Force of the People's Liberation Army.

Beijing first pursued atomic weapons after the Korean War (1950–1953) and conducted its first nuclear test in 1964. The U.S. nuclear threat during the 1950s Taiwan Crisis incentivized China's strategic nuclear program. Since China's economic boom, Beijing has sought to modernize its nuclear forces to improve survivable second-strike capabilities, which would prevent the destruction of its entire arsenal in the event of a first-strike attack, securing the means for nuclear retaliation. Though historically driven by both U.S. and Soviet capabilities, the recent modernization of China's nuclear forces is primarily motivated (PDF) by existing and developing U.S. capabilities.

## Southern Asia Nuclear Forces, October 2015

COUNTRY	YEAR OF FIRST NUCLEAR TEST	TOTAL ARSENAL ESTIMATES
CHINA	1964	250
INDIA	1974	110-120
PAKISTAN	1998	110-130

\*All estimates are approximate because the three countries do not provide information about the size of their nuclear arsenals.

Source: SIPRI, FAS, Arms Control Association Credits: Eleanor Albert, Julia Ro

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In addition to increasing the size of its arsenal, China is also altering the composition of its nuclear forces to build up more mobile systems. The U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission’s 2014 annual report (PDF) said that China’s nuclear forces would grow considerably over the next five years, with the introduction of road-mobile nuclear missiles, ballistic missile submarines, and multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles. Meanwhile, some experts stress that the pace of growth is slow. Chinese missile accuracy has also significantly improved (PDF), according to a U.S. Department of Defense report.

China is investing in space and counter-space programs (\$11 billion in 2013), in part to counter advanced U.S. missile defense systems. Beijing’s 2007 anti-satellite missile test sparked concern among officials and analysts in Washington; those worries resurfaced in 2014 when President Xi Jinping’s called on China’s air force “to speed up air and space integration”, and when Beijing launched its third anti-missile test in July 2014.

What is China’s nuclear doctrine?

Beijing says its national defense policy is purely defensive in nature. Since its first nuclear test, China declared a no first use (NFU) nuclear doctrine, meaning that in the event of a conflict or crisis, it will not resort to the first use of nuclear weapons. In a 2010 national defense white paper, China's leadership said it adheres to a "self-defensive nuclear strategy, and will never enter into a nuclear arms race with any other country."

Yet some experts believe that Beijing's nuclear doctrine may be shifting. After the release of China's 2013 defense white paper, James Acton of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a Washington-based think tank, voiced alarm about the omission of Beijing's NFU pledge. However, others say that China's modernizing nuclear forces do not necessarily indicate a policy change, but rather a "broadening" of nuclear options. In April 2013, major general Yao Yunzhu, director of the Center on China-America Defense Relations at the Beijing-based Chinese Academy of Military Science, dismissed allegations of a possible change in Beijing's nuclear policy, saying "there is no sign that China is going to change a policy it has wisely adopted and persistently upheld for half a century."

Although originally a strong critic of the international nuclear order, Beijing has since joined international bodies as a nonproliferation advocate. China joined the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in 1998, acceded to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1992, and joined the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) in 2004. Beijing signed the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) in 1996 but has not yet ratified it.

"In the foreseeable future, the Asian reliance on nuclear weapons will increase."—  
Ashley J. Tellis, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

What are India's nuclear capabilities?

India possesses a developed strategic nuclear program and currently fields nuclear-capable aircraft and ballistic missiles controlled by a civilian command structure, the Nuclear Command Authority. New Delhi has an estimated stockpile of 110 to 120 warheads and is expanding its military nuclear capabilities. In 2011, New Delhi spent approximately \$4.9 billion (PDF) on nuclear weapons, up from \$4.1 billion the previous year, according to Global Zero, a nongovernmental disarmament movement. New Delhi has invested in a ballistic missile defense system, longer-range ballistic missiles, nuclear submarines, MIRVs (PDF), and ground-, air-, and sea-launched cruise missiles, among other systems.

Experts point to China's 1964 explosion as the impetus for the launch of India's strategic nuclear program. New Delhi's first nuclear fission device was tested in 1974 and was termed by the government a "peaceful nuclear explosion." India's test drew protest internationally and was condemned as a violation of the NPT, which had entered into force in 1970. The test spurred the creation of the NSG to prevent the misuse of technology from civilian nuclear energy cooperation for the development of weapons. New Delhi then waited until May 1998 to conduct five nuclear explosions.

The United States and India negotiated a landmark civil nuclear deal beginning in 2005, which was later signed into U.S. law in 2008. Washington saw the deal as a practical way to overcome barriers to cooperation and also because it believed "it would be better to have India inside the international nonproliferation tent than outside," says CFR's Alyssa Ayres. Other nuclear energy powers also boost India's civilian program: Tokyo pledged to negotiate a nuclear energy pact, a deal with Australia allows the export of uranium to India, and Russia has assisted India for years on the construction of reactors, with new deals in the works between the two countries.

While India remains outside the NPT and the CTBT, its civilian nuclear facilities are now under IAEA safeguards and India has signed and ratified the IAEA Additional Protocol. The U.S.-India deal has provided India with incentive to harmonize its export control regimes to meet the standards of various international nonproliferation guidelines, including the NSG, the Australia Group, the Missile Technology Control Regime, and the Wassenaar Arrangement.

What is India's nuclear doctrine?

New Delhi, like Beijing, pledges a NFU policy, as articulated in India's 2003 nuclear doctrine. The doctrine emphasizes that its nuclear program is intended to establish a robust but credible minimum deterrent. Moreover, the doctrine explicitly states that India's response to an external nuclear attack on its territory or armed forces anywhere would be "massive and designed to inflict unacceptable damage."

Security and political objectives motivate India's strategic nuclear program. New Delhi places considerable political value in its program as a means to improve its status: "India's civilian leaders have seen the bomb as a political rather than military instrument," says Michael Krepon, co-founder of the Washington-based Stimson Center. Historical tensions and high levels of distrust among its neighbors also pushed India to develop nuclear weapons to strengthen national security.



India views Chinese nuclear expansion as a security threat, experts say, and as a result New Delhi seeks capabilities to counter Beijing, including in the arena of space exploration. India's reading of Chinese nuclear activity is further colored by China's role in providing Pakistan with nuclear material and technology. Since coming to power in May 2014, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi has upheld his pledge that his ruling party will adhere to India's NFU arms policy.



What are Pakistan's nuclear capabilities?

Experts estimate that Pakistan has 110 to 130 warheads and two types of delivery vehicles (PDF): aircraft and surface-to-surface missiles. The Strategic Plans Division (SPD), a secretariat of the National Command Authority, is the primary overseer of Pakistan's nuclear policy and arsenal, and its head is a three-star general from the Pakistan Army, which experts say suggests that the body is a de facto military structure. Despite Pakistan's economic struggles, obtaining and modernizing nuclear weapons has long been a political and strategic tool to deter India's conventional power,

especially after the 1971 Indo-Pakistani War. Today, Pakistan has, by some measures, the fastest growing nuclear program in the world, according to a 2014 Council Special Report by George Mason University's Gregory Koblentz. Pakistan has nearly tripled the number of warheads it had a decade ago. In the next five to ten years, Pakistan's nuclear arsenal could be twice the size of India's and also exceed the arsenals of China, France, and the UK. That would give it the third-largest number of warheads behind the United States and Russia, according to an August 2015 report (PDF) by Toby Dalton and Michael Krepon of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Stimson Center.

Analysts say Pakistan is now bolstering its arsenal with tactical, short-range missiles with the ability to carry nuclear warheads. Islamabad first tested the Haft, a short-range ballistic missile, in April 2011 and the Ra'ad, a short-range air launched cruise missile, in August 2007. Pakistani officials and regional experts cite what they call India's limited war doctrine (PDF) (also known as the Cold Start doctrine) as the driving force behind Pakistan's tactical battlefield missiles. The doctrine, whose existence New Delhi denies, purportedly speeds up India's ability to mobilize conventional forces.

In 1965, Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto famously said that if India acquired a bomb, then "we will eat grass, even go hungry, but we will get one of our own." The end of the 1971 Indo-Pakistani War and the creation of Bangladesh precipitated the launch of Islamabad's nuclear bomb program; India's 1974 nuclear test only added more urgency.

In 1976, Bhutto put Abdul Qadeer Khan, a scientist who had worked at a nuclear research lab in the Netherlands, in control of Pakistan's uranium enrichment programs. Under Khan's direction, Pakistan expedited the militarization of its nuclear program with technology transfers from China and purchases of individual components and material from international suppliers. Following India's May 1998 nuclear tests, Pakistan responded with six explosions of its own a few weeks later. Experts cite the nuclear tests as one of the driving forces behind the 1999 Kargil War, an armed conflict between India and Pakistan in the Kargil district of Kashmir that some say cast doubts about the effectiveness of strategic deterrence.

Khan confessed in 2004 that the multinational network he had developed to boost Pakistan's program also sold sophisticated nuclear technology and material on the black market. Buyers included Iran, Libya, and North Korea. Pakistan's leadership fiercely rejects any knowledge of Khan's operations, but there is debate over the extent

of Khan's autonomy as well as reservations about whether his network has been disbanded.

Though detained and placed under virtual house arrest for five years, Khan was freed in 2009 when a high court ruled that he had not been involved in the sale of nuclear secrets. Khan is an international pariah but remains a national hero at home. Doubts in Washington about Pakistan's willingness or ability to curb proliferation contributed to the U.S.-India civil nuclear deal. Questions remain over whether Islamabad will play a role in the transfer nuclear capabilities to other countries, like Saudi Arabia.

"Nuclear competition in Southern Asia represents a classic conundrum of international relations: enormously high stakes, conflicting and entrenched interests, and at least in the near term, few realistic avenues for mitigating threats."—CFR's Daniel S. Markey

What is Pakistan's nuclear doctrine?

Pakistan is without an official nuclear doctrine, though national security authorities cite "restraint" and "responsibility" as pillars (PDF) of Islamabad's nuclear program. A report (PDF) by the U.S.-funded non-partisan Congressional Research Service says the Pakistani nuclear program's objectives include deterring "external aggression, counterforce strategies by securing strategic assets and threatening nuclear retaliation, and stabilizing strategic deterrence in South Asia." The Stimson Center's Krepon adds, "Pakistan is a disadvantaged state that tries to compensate for weaknesses with a serious reliance on nuclear weapons." Pakistan's security establishment steadfastly backs its strategic nuclear program.

The adversarial nature of the Indo-Pakistani relationship is a central driver for Pakistani nuclear development. As the smaller state, Pakistan sees nuclear weapons as a means to offset India's military and economic advantages. In a collection of papers published by the California-based Naval Postgraduate College in June 2014, retired Brigadier General Naeem Salik, former director of arms control and disarmament affairs in Pakistan's Strategic Plans Division, wrote that "Pakistan's security managers sought to achieve twin objectives (PDF) of deterring the threat of actual use of nuclear weapons by India while at the same time using its nuclear capability as an equalizer against India's conventional military." Despite disparities in other measures of national power, Pakistan has succeeded in competing with India in the nuclear arena, "in some respects outcompeting (PDF)" its rival, write Dalton and Krepon. As regional nuclear competition

continues, “the world the world must understand that nuclear weapons are part of Pakistan’s belief system,” says Islamabad-based nuclear expert Mansoor Ahmed

What is the future of Southern Asia’s nuclear competition?

Southern Asia’s nuclear competition is seen by experts as fundamentally unstable (PDF). Koblentz has identified the region as the “most at risk of a breakdown in strategic stability due to an explosive mixture of unresolved territorial disputes, cross-border terrorism, and growing nuclear arsenals.”

Domestic pressures add to the growing list of concerns about the region, especially in Pakistan, a country whose stability is challenged by militant groups. Despite repeated claims (PDF) by Pakistan that its nuclear facilities are secure, fears persist that a regional terrorist attack will escalate violence, prompting nuclear exchange, or that Pakistani-based or affiliated militants will acquire nuclear weapons. Experts warn of intensified nuclear risks, especially in an age in which non-state actors can develop cybersecurity (PDF) capabilities to exploit nuclear security.

There is no sign of nuclear modernization abating in China, India, or Pakistan. Expert Ashley J. Tellis writes that “in the foreseeable future, the Asian reliance (PDF) on nuclear weapons will increase.” Meanwhile, nuclear powers have limited tools at their disposal to influence nuclear expansion in Asia, particularly since India and Pakistan are outside the NPT. Nuclear risk reduction measures are few and far between across the region.

“Nuclear competition in Southern Asia represents a classic conundrum of international relations: enormously high stakes, conflicting and entrenched interests, and at least in the near term, few realistic avenues for mitigating threats, much less addressing them in a more permanent way,” says CFR’s Daniel S. Markey.

Source: <http://www.cfr.org/asia-and-pacific/southern-asias-nuclear-powers/p36215>

## How the World Reacted to 'Panama Papers' Leak

A year-long worldwide media investigation into a trove of 11.5 million documents, leaked from a Panama-based law firm with offices in 35 countries, exposed a tangle of offshore financial dealings by the elite, from Putin's aides to relatives of Chinese President Xi Jinping, sports celebrities and screen stars.

The vast stash of records from legal firm Mossack Fonseca, the so-called Panama Papers, was obtained from an anonymous source by German daily Sueddeutsche Zeitung and shared with more than 100 media groups by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ).

Here is a summary of who had what to say following the leaks:

White House prefers not to comment

The United States values greater transparency in international financial transactions, the White House said on Monday following the leak of the "Panama papers" revealing offshore financial arrangements of global politicians and public figures.

White House spokesman Josh Earnest said while he had no specific comment on the leaked papers from the Panamanian law firm, "greater transparency allows us to root out corruption," adding that the US Justice and Treasury Departments will continue to be focused on financial corruption.

Panama Papers: Secret accounts of the rich and powerful

Kremlin hits out

A furious Kremlin said it was the target of a plot to destabilise Russia after a massive leak of confidential documents fingered President Vladimir Putin's close associates in allegations of shady offshore financial dealings.

"Putin, Russia, our country, our stability and the upcoming elections are the main target, specifically to destabilise the situation," Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov, who himself figures in the leaked documents, told journalists in Moscow.

Peskov said the allegations contained nothing new, lacked details and were based on speculation. “We know this so-called journalist community,” he added. “There are a lot of journalists whose main profession is unlikely to be journalism: a lot of former officials from the (US) Department of State, the CIA and other special services.”

It would help boost tax revenues: French president

French President Francois Hollande said that the “Panama Papers” revelations about potential offshore tax evasion were good news that would help boost tax revenues.

“I can assure you that as the information emerges, investigations will be carried out, cases will be opened and trials will be held,” Hollande said on the sidelines of a visit to a company in Paris suburbs.

“These revelations are good news because they will increase tax revenues from those who commit fraud.”

Lionel Messi denies tax evasion allegations

The family of Lionel Messi denied that he was involved in tax evasion after the Barcelona star emerged as one of many personalities accused of shady offshore dealings in the Panama Papers scandal.

“The Messi family wants to make clear that Lionel Messi has not carried out any of the acts attributed to him, and accusations he created a...tax evasion plot, including a network of money-laundering, are false and insulting,” it said in a statement.

Ukrainian president defends his commitment to transparency

Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko defended his commitment to transparency on Monday after lawmakers called for an investigation into allegations contained in the so-called Panama Papers that he had used an offshore firm to avoid tax.

According to ICIJ, Poroshenko set up an offshore company to move his confectionery business, Roshen, to the British Virgin Islands in August 2014 during a peak in fighting between Ukraine and pro-Russian separatists.

In response, Poroshenko said he had handed over the management of his assets to consulting and law firms on taking office.

“I believe I might be the first top official in Ukraine who treats declaring of assets, paying taxes, conflict of interest issues seriously,” he tweeted.

Political opponents urge Argentine president to clarify position

Argentine President Mauricio Macri’s political opponents urged him Monday to clarify his links to a company named in the Panama Papers offshore finance scandal.

The conservative president, his father, and his brother Mariano were on the board of directors of Fleg Trading, an offshore company registered in the Bahamas, the newspaper La Nacion reported.

Several top members of the Renewal Front, a center-right alliance that forms part of the political opposition, called for Macri to explain his role.

“There must be no doubt over the president’s image. He should be on national television giving a very good explanation,” said Marco Lavagna, a senior Renewal Front lawmaker.

This combination of pictures shows (from L to R) Argentina’s football player Lionel Messi, British golf legend Nick Faldo, Chilean football star Ivan Zamorano, Argentinian defender Gabriel Heinze, UEFA President Michel Platini and former FIFA Secretary General Jerome Valcke, whose names are featured in the Panama leak. —AFP

Spain opens money laundering probe

Spanish prosecutors opened a money laundering probe following the Panama Papers, a judicial source said.

The clients in Spain include the family of Barcelona football star Lionel Messi, an aunt of Spain’s King Felipe VI, Pilar de Borbon, and Oscar-winning Spanish director Pedro Almodovar.

“We have opened an investigation for money laundering in relation to the law firm” Mossack Fonseca, said a judicial source at the National Court, Spain’s top criminal court.

## Indo-US Growing Military Cooperation | Editorial

THREE-day visit of the US Secretary of Defence Ash Carter to India, the second in one year, is significant in that it comes in the backdrop of ever-growing multi-dimensional relationship between the two countries with far-reaching repercussions and consequences for the region. There are reports that the two sides would announce something substantial including 'exciting new projects' at the conclusion of their bilateral discussions.

There can be no objection to cooperation between any two independent and sovereign countries as long as their relationship doesn't threaten interests of others. This is especially so in the case of military ties as India has a track record of aggression against its small neighbours and bullying them on different occasions on various pretexts. Seen in this background, the bullish diplomacy of the United States to sharpen military teeth of India is certainly a matter of concern to all countries of the region especially Pakistan, which has borne the brunt of Indian aggression and hostile posture during the last 68 years. The United States has strange and contradictory policies for the region as it has different yardsticks for different countries. It claims to be champion of non-proliferation but has entered into a long-term nuclear accord with India, which has opened floodgates of nuclear technology for a country whose peaceful credentials are disputable. It is not ready to accord the same treatment to Pakistan and instead, very often, makes suggestions for rollback of the programme or wants to put restrictions on its growth and development. Media reports say India was looking for a technologically new set of fighter aircraft both from the United States and Russia and it also seeks transfer of technology. This is in sharp contrast to Indian opposition to and propaganda campaign against sale of a few F-16s and helicopters to Pakistan. Though Americans claim to be boosting military capabilities of India to prepare it to assume the role of counter-weight to China but Pakistan has genuine reasons to feel insecure and go for moves to safeguard its interest. Unprovoked Indian firing at LoC ahead of Ash Carter's visit is a testimony to genuineness of Pakistani fears, which must be addressed by the United States.

Source:<http://pakobserver.net/2016/04/12/indo-us-growing-military-cooperation/>



## US Think Tank Ranks Indian Nuclear Programme as Unsafe

An independent US report has declared the Indian nuclear programme not only unsafe but also called for a satisfactory international oversight.

The recently released report by the Belfer Center at the Harvard Kennedy School identified problems arising from the gaps in the commitments that India made after the nuclear deal, and focused on India's separation plan, its Safeguards Agreement and Additional Protocol.

The report observes that India is currently running three streams that include: civilian safeguarded, civilian un-safeguarded, and military.

The Separation Plan did not extend safeguards to a number of nuclear facilities that serve civilian functions, and consequently these facilities may also be used in India's military programme.

The safeguards agreement also allows India to store, use, or process nuclear material subject to safeguards at a facility that is not under continuous safeguards. In addition, the agreement contains provisions for the substitution of unsafeguarded material for safeguarded material.

India negotiated with the IAEA a much more limited additional protocol: the reporting and access provisions of India's additional protocol are effectively restricted to India's export activities. Consequently, India's safeguards agreement and its additional protocol do not have any practical application to its uranium and thorium mines, heavy water production facilities, nuclear fuel cycle-related research activities, or plants where it manufactures equipment for its nuclear facilities.

Source:<http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2016/04/17/foreign/us-think-tank-ranks-indian-nuclear-programme-as-unsafe/>

## Saudi Arabia To Dump \$750 Billion In Assets If US Doesn't Kill 9/11 Bill

Saudi Arabia appears to be blackmailing the US, saying it would sell off American assets worth a 12-digit figure sum in dollars if Congress passes a bill allowing the Saudi government to be held responsible for the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

The warning was delivered by Saudi Foreign Minister Adel al-Jubeir last month during a visit to Washington, the New York Times reported. He said his country would sell up to \$750 billion in US treasury securities and other assets before the bill puts them in jeopardy.

The newspaper said Riyadh's resolve to actually deliver on the threat is dubious, since selling off those assets would be technically challenging and would damage the dollar, against which the Saudi national currency is pegged.

Under the current US law, foreign nations have a degree of immunity from being sued in American courts. The Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976 is one of the reasons why families of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks largely failed to bring to court the Saudi royal family and charities over suspicion of financially supporting the attacks.

The bill introduced in the Senate would waive the immunity for cases involving terrorist attacks that kill US citizens on US soil. Introduced by Republican Senator John Cornyn and Democrat Senator Chuck Schumer, it managed to overcome partisan divisions in the US legislation and passed without dissent through the Judiciary Committee in January.

"As our nation confronts new and expanding terror networks that are targeting our citizens, stopping the funding source for terrorists becomes even more important," Senator Cornyn said last month.

Possible links between the perpetrators of the attack and Saudi Arabia may be hiding in 28 classified pages of the 2002 congressional report on 9/11, which allegedly describe how Saudi Arabian nationals with links to the government financially assisted the 19 hijackers who flew airplanes into World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Many people, including the co-author of the redacted pages, former Florida Senator Bob Graham, have been campaigning for years to make them public.

The Obama administration is opposing the bill, saying it would make foreign nations retaliate by passing similar legislation and target American citizens and corporations in their national courts. Secretary of State John Kerry told a Senate panel in February that the bill, in its current form, would “expose the United States of America to lawsuits and take away our sovereign immunity and create a terrible precedent.”

Ironically, sovereign immunity didn't stop a US judge from last month ordering Iran to pay \$10.5 billion in damages to families of the 9/11 victims. The ruling was passed because Iran didn't defend itself against the allegations. These put the blame on Iran over its links with the Lebanese militant group Hezbollah, which, plaintiffs argued, aided Al-Qaeda (not a joke). The argument is based on the same congressional report, which also said no link between the hijackers and Iran had been found.

Source:<http://www.eurasiareview.com/18042016-saudi-arabia-to-dump-750-billion-in-assets-if-us-doesnt-kill-911-bill/>

## Donald Trump: Foreign Policy's Useful Idiot? – OpEd | John Feffer

He wants to cut back on U.S. military commitments overseas. He calls the Iraq War “one of the worst decisions ever made in the history of our country.” He promises to make deals with America’s adversaries. He’s comfortable with the détente with Cuba.

And he really pisses off the stuffed shirts at *The Washington Post*.  
So, what’s not to like about Donald Trump?

Well, a great deal, of course. The man is an incoherent, misogynistic bully. But his foreign policy vision, a kind of fun-house version of Reaganism, is upsetting Beltway mandarins, shaking up the Republican Party, and pointing to a potential rupture in the informal liberal-conservative consensus on foreign policy that has prevailed in Washington since the end of the Cold War.

It’s hard not to enjoy a frisson of *schadenfreude* watching Trump tear through the conservative mainstream like Jack the Ripper at a Heritage Foundation tea party. For all his earlier flirtations with the Democratic Party, the Donald is a product of the same right-wing extremism that has flushed moderates out of the Republican Party, reduced political discourse to a debate over the relative size of bank accounts and genitalia, and revealed “politically incorrect” talk to be naked racism, sexism, and xenophobia. Trump is a rogue elephant, and he might just lead the entire herd over the electoral cliff. It’s a drama that’s almost Shakespearian in its combination of low comedy and fratricidal bloodletting.

I was confident back in August that Trump could win the Republican primary, because his messages were perfectly tailored to 95 percent of self-identified Republican primary voters (i.e.: conservative white people). I suspected that he wouldn’t crash and burn because the more he pissed off those outside his core demographic, the more his supporters believed that he was an authentic truth-teller.

I am equally confident that Trump will go down in flames during the general election, even if the Democratic Party chooses neither Clinton nor Sanders but instead fields a toaster oven as a candidate.

When the neo-fascist Jean-Marie Le Pen won a surprising second-place finish in the first round of the French presidential elections in 2002 — capturing 16.86 percent of the vote to Jacques Chirac’s 19.88 percent — virtually all of French society came together

to defeat the monster. In the second round, Chirac racked up 82.2 percent of the vote to Le Pen's measly 17.7 percent.

The gap won't be nearly as large in a showdown with Trump. But whatever reservations people might have about Hillary Clinton's emails, Bernie Sanders's socialism, or the toaster oven's lack of sentience, the idea of Donald Trump controlling the nuclear football will send a clear majority of voters running screaming to the polls to cast their anti-Trump ballots. In addition, many Republicans will simply stick their heads in the sand on Election Day until, they hope and pray, the problem goes away.

The real question is: Will the problem go away even after Trump slinks back to his New York City penthouse?

According to one strain of thought, Trump will leave behind no mark on politics because he's a one-of-a-kind disrupter. American politics, bruised by the new low bar it had to shimmy under, will nevertheless return to its previous state of subservience to more predictable corporate and geopolitical interests.

But the mainstream is worried, and not just about the prospect of Trump turning the White House into just another jewel in his real-estate crown.

America's very leadership in the world is at stake, argues Fred Hiatt, who came away clearly shaken from a recent *Washington Post* editorial board meeting with the Republican Party candidate. The tradition of "U.S. leadership, beginning with presidents such as Truman and Kennedy, Reagan and Clinton...stands in danger today," Hiatt wrote this week. He was clearly not pleased to hear about Trump's preference to see the United States disengage, however modestly, from its overseas military commitments.

After all, it's not just Trump who is pummeling America's tradition of leadership, Hiatt argues. It's a one-two punch, with President Obama delivering the other blow. The so-called political center is worried that Trump is tapping into a much deeper sentiment that the president has also been cultivating of late: a desire to see America withdraw from the world.

### **Trump's Eye View**

It's amusing to read the transcript of the *Post's* confab with Trump. It could have been written by the recently departed Garry Shandling, the master of stand-up who brought

cringe comedy to the small screen with *It's Garry Shandling's Show* in the 1980s. Trump, with all his bloated self-importance, sounds like someone Shandling might have created solely for the purpose of skewering.

The *Post* staffers seemed as if they couldn't quite believe what they were hearing. They were thrown by the candidate's flagrant bombast and refusal to play by the rules of the game. The *Post* editors expected a round of bridge. Instead, Trump brought a Louisville Slugger to the game.

Consider, for example, this exchange on military bases. Trump points out that South Korea is a rich country and wonders why the United States is paying for military bases there. Charles Lane, the columnist, points out that South Korea covers 50 percent of the costs.

*TRUMP: 50 percent?*

*LANE: Yeah.*

*TRUMP: Why isn't it 100 percent?*

*HIATT: Well I guess the question is, does the United States gain anything by having bases?*

*TRUMP: Personally I don't think so. I personally don't think so. Look. I have great relationships with South Korea. I have buildings in South Korea. But that's a wealthy country. They make the ships, they make the televisions, they make the air conditioning. They make tremendous amounts of products. It's a huge, it's a massive industrial complex country. And —*

*HIATT: So you don't think the U.S. gains from being the force that sort of helps keep the peace in the Pacific?*

*TRUMP: I think that we are not in the position that we used to be. I think we were a very powerful, very wealthy country. And we're a poor country now. We're a debtor nation.*

Trump's description of the United States as a "poor country" elicited an immediate rebuke from Robert Samuelson, again in the *Post*. But Trump's essential point, that perhaps the United States can't quite afford to garrison the globe — when U.S. infrastructure is falling part and large communities are mired in poverty — remains an important one. He also wonders why the United States lavishes funds on Saudi Arabia, why European allies don't pay more for NATO, and why our adversaries are using our own weapons against us — all legitimate questions.

But it's the way he lays out his arguments that confounds his interlocutors. The fact that he has great relationships with South Korea is irrelevant. And he avoids any discussion of Asian security — probably because he can't tell a Dokdo from a Senkaku. As MSNBC's Andrea Mitchell points out, Trump's conversational gambits are designed to conceal his own vast ignorance. "When he doesn't know something, he just changes the subject, and makes it all about himself," she observes.

In this way, Trump is Chance the Gardener, but instead of gardening, he talks about himself. No one misinterprets this as profundity, as they do when Chance becomes a media celebrity in Jerzy Kozinski's novel *Being There*. But it's a strategy perfectly designed to throw opponents off guard and prevent them from challenging his positions. Trump doesn't even pretend to play the same game.

As the Donald might say, he's in a league of his own.

### **On Leadership**

But let's focus on the heart of the matter — Trump's challenge of the bipartisan consensus that the United States should lead the world.

Democrats and Republicans disagree about many things. But with a few exceptions they all support an enormous military budget, an expensive overseas expeditionary force, and unilateral acts of force when necessary to protect U.S. national interests (understood broadly).

It's an odd paradox that Trump, who blathers on about making America great again, departs from this consensus. Probably as president, he wouldn't. But he's decided that, as an electoral strategy, bringing the war dollars home to rebuild America is popular among those who have largely lost out during the tech booms, the real estate booms, the financial booms, and all the other economic bubbles that have helped redirect money from the struggling middle class and the working poor to wealthy professionals and a few magnates (like Trump himself). That voters support someone who so clearly doesn't represent their economic interests speaks not to their stupidity but to the obvious lack of anyone else in either party who actually cares about the interests of those left behind.

Bernie, you say? Yes, but he's only been a Democrat for a tiny percentage of his political career. Indeed, he made a name for himself in Vermont by opposing Democrats, and aligning himself with Republicans if necessary. Unions have dwindled in membership. Progressives command little respect within the Democratic Party. And the Republicans long ago became the party of oligarchy.

This is really what the political mainstream is worried about — not that Trump will win. Or that Hillary Clinton will decide somehow to pursue Obama’s legacy of disengaging from the Middle East, which he articulated in some detail in a set of interviews with *The Atlantic’s* Jeffrey Goldberg. Neither of these scenarios will play out. Trump will lose; Hillary firmly supports the foreign policy status quo.

No, the mainstream is worried that the political parties will realize that the “bring the war dollars home” message can win a national election and disrupt the comfortable revolving-door consensus. Perhaps Elizabeth Warren will run on this platform in 2020. Perhaps the Republican Party, which will fracture as a result of Trump’s current suicide bombing attempt, will reform around its older, more isolationist tradition.

Before that happens, of course, we’ll have to endure a very ugly election followed by four years of foreign policy as usual. The United States will continue its drone attacks, its selective interventions, its costly alliances. Meanwhile, America will continue to implode structurally, the population becoming even further polarized politically and economically. The essential choice — to refocus national energies on rebuilding the economy at home or to wage endless conflict overseas — will be put off until 2020.

Trump is a terrifying figure. But he may prove to be a useful idiot. It probably takes someone of Trump’s vapid visibility to drive home the point that “world’s policeman” is not a viable role for the United States to play. Eventually, someone with a bigger brain and a smaller ego will pick up this message, run with it, and win big at the polls.

The foreign policy mavens at the *Post* are right to be quaking in their boots.

**\*John Feffer** is the director of *Foreign Policy in Focus*.

Source:<http://www.eurasiareview.com/17042016-donald-trump-foreign-policys-useful-idiot-oped/>



## A new leader for the UN – OpEd | Tribune

Something of a quiet revolution is in progress at the UN, but it is making few headlines. The term of the current secretary general of the UN, Ban Ki-moon, is almost over and the selection of his successor is underway — but not in the same way as it has been historically. How the UN selects its secretary general has never been entirely transparent. Even the candidates may not all be publicly declared. But in an age when the world demands transparency in all things, such secrecy is no longer sustainable. The UN recently took a step into the unknown, allowing all countries to question the eight candidates for the post. All members of the General Assembly are able to ask the candidates — who for the first time include women — on matters as diverse as just how they would resist pressure from the most powerful nations to how they would handle allegations of sex abuse by UN peacekeeping forces.

Under the UN Charter, the secretary general is chosen by the 193-member General Assembly on the recommendation of the 15-member Security Council (SC), which in practice means that the five permanent members of the SC effectively have a veto over who gets the top job. Let us not be deceived into thinking that there is an outbreak of democracy at the UN. The result is just as likely to be stitched up in a backroom deal by the five permanent members of the SC much as it has been for the last 70-odd years, but it does seem that there is a chink in the SC armour for the first time. The Q&A sessions are being billed as a potential game changer and that may be so if there develops a critical mass of countries that are lining up behind a single candidate. In that

event, it may be difficult for the SC to sideline them and impose its own choice. Traditionally the post rotates by region, and the east European nations are arguing that it is 'their turn.' Watch this space, goes the saying.

*Published in The Express Tribune, April 20th, 2016.*

Source:<http://tribune.com.pk/story/1087819/a-new-leader-for-the-un/>

## Why Obama is visiting a different Saudi Arabia this time | Faisal J. Abbas

It's amazing how much can change in two years, and it is more amazing when we talk about a country where change has been historically slow, which has always been the case in Saudi Arabia. However, a changed kingdom is exactly what US President Barack Obama is going to witness upon arriving in Riyadh this week.

In March 2014, President Obama visited the late King Abdullah. At the time, the ailing monarch's health condition was suffering, and the same applied to the otherwise extremely healthy Saudi-US relations.

What was poisoning the waters between Riyadh and Washington at the time were the latter's insistence on backing Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood (a group classified as a terrorist organization by the Saudis and most GCC countries), the mishandling of the crisis in Syria particularly after Mr. Obama's U-turn on punishing the Assad regime for using chemical weapons and most notably, the US administration's fondness of Iran which, a few months later, materialized into a controversial nuclear deal. The agreement has left the regime in Tehran (which Obama himself described as a state sponsor of terror) unshackled for the first time in over 30 years.

Furthermore, there were serious questions at the time relating to the succession in Saudi Arabia, as well as severe tensions between the Gulf allies themselves (namely with the State of Qatar) and in the region as a whole which was still suffering from the turbulence caused by the 2011 Arab Spring. However, there was no resource-exhausting war in Yemen and oil was still selling at over \$100 per barrel; so the kingdom was in an excellent shape economically.

Much has happened since King Abdullah passed away and King Salman ascended to the throne at a time when oil prices fell to less than half of what they were selling at prior to his demise. The Houthi militia overthrew the legitimate government of President Abdrabbu Mansour Hadi in Yemen and threatened the southern border of Saudi Arabia, which led to a war which remains ongoing.

This certainly hasn't been the first time ties between Washington and Riyadh have been put to the test. This alliance – which has always been built on mutual interests, respect and a similar determination to bring peace and prosperity to the region – will endure

*Faisal J. Abbas*

Meanwhile, the threats imposed by ISIS intensified and despite the fact that this terrorist group has attacked the kingdom repeatedly, many critics absurdly would like us to believe that Riyadh is secretly supporting the same group which seeks to eradicate it. Furthermore, unlike what Obama had hoped, Iran didn't show any sign of changing its destabilizing behavior in the region as a result of the nuclear deal.

The outcome of all these challenging conditions, as well as a number of wrong decisions and lack of proper external communication, has seen Riyadh suffering from severely negative international media coverage which didn't only bring criticism to the table, but even doubts that the country itself could remain intact.

However, not only did the kingdom withstand the storm, but it came out much stronger. Of course, this was mainly due to the fact that much of the pessimism was manufactured and speculative. However, one can't ignore that it is also due to the incredible stamina and willingness to take the plunge, which was and still is being displayed by the new breed of Saudi policymakers, namely Deputy Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman — who is the king's son, the country's defense minister and the head of its Council of Economic and Development Affairs (CEDA).

Indeed, of all that has been accomplished by King Salman since January 2015, the one thing that has had a tremendous impact on this fresh, new vibe in the Kingdom was his determination to settle the issue of succession and empower the youth once and for all.

The result? Well, President Obama arrives to Riyadh to attend a GCC meeting that has transcended most of the rifts of the past. He is also arriving to a capital city which is now home to an unprecedented military alliance of more than 30 Muslim countries which are actively cooperating to combat terrorism, eradicate its funding and present a counterterrorism ideological narrative.

Just a few days ago, the Saudi cabinet issued new regulations which now prevent the kingdom's Commission of Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice (commonly referred to as the "religious police") from pursuing and detaining people; a decision that has resulted in much praise both internally and even externally from extremely critical bodies, such as Human Rights Watch.

Furthermore, observers tend to forget that it's within the past 18 months that women were allowed to vote and participate in municipality elections for the first time ever. The Kingdom's Shoura Council has revisited the controversial ban on women driving. In addition, Saudi markets are now open to foreign investment and, as revealed by HRH

the Deputy Crown Prince in his recent Economist interview, the investment opportunity will eventually also include the “crown jewel:” Saudi Aramco.

‘Damned if you do, damned if you don’t’

It is sad, however, that Riyadh seems to always be in a “damned if you do, damned if you don’t” situation. Indeed, one can’t help but ridicule recent reports which have labeled all of the above (and the many more) achievements of the new Saudi government as merely a nationwide “face-lift” prior to Obama’s upcoming visit.

First of all, this will be Mr. Obama’s last scheduled visit to Saudi Arabia as US President and the time he has left in the White House is too little to expect any major changes in policy or attitude. Now, while relations with the current administration might have had its ups and downs, this certainly hasn’t been the first time ties between Washington and Riyadh have been put to the test. The reality is that this alliance – which has always been built on mutual interests, respect and a similar determination to bring peace and prosperity to the region – will endure.

But most importantly, and as will clearly emerge when the Saudi government announces its vision for the future on April 25, the reforms were done – and will always be done – for no reason other than to ensure the sustained prosperity and wellbeing of the country’s citizens and residents.

Indeed, one doesn’t set a long-term plan to rid the nation of its dependence on oil, to diversify the economy and create new job and investment opportunities for a nation that is predominantly young and ambitious, merely to serve a PR strategy. Nor will these policies deny the fact that there is much work that still needs to be done in terms of women rights, judicial reforms, media and labor issues.

The truth is that Saudi Arabia is undergoing a transformation, and whoever becomes the next US president will certainly have the advantage of working with a young, dynamic, outward-looking government that is determined to succeed and is truly leading the region once again.

Source:<http://english.alarabiya.net/en/views/news/middle-east/2016/04/19/Why-Obama-is-visiting-a-different-Saudi-Arabia-this-time-.html>

## SCO: A Game Changer | Sehar Kamran

‘We are aware that regional economic development is a necessary prerequisite to peace and stability. [...] I have no doubt in my mind that our region is capable of taking a quantum leap into an uncharted future – a future of unlimited opportunity, a future of infinite hope.’—Mohtarma Shaheed Benazir Bhutto, 14th March 1995.

In the recent years we have witnessed an astronomical increase in the phenomenon of ‘regionalism’ and ‘regional organisations’. The ability to transform the socio-economic conditions of its people by a regional organization has been best demonstrated by the undeniable success of the European Union in the last two decades, and today we see it in the form of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).

It is no secret that the SCO has been a game changing organisation for our region. Established in 2001, the premiere organisation stands just two months away from the Tashkent Conference (to be held in June 2016) where the formal admission of the two ascending states will be completed for the first time since its inception, making Pakistan a full member of the SCO.

The inclusion of new members is a reflection of the changing geo-political and geo-strategic environment of the world in general and this region in particular. Over the past decade, an increasing trend of international maneuvering and manipulation has become visible, highlighting external objectives aimed at destabilizing the region and isolating regional powers, and rapidly transforming a bad dream into a dangerous reality.

It has become evident particularly in the aftermath of the War on Terror (WoT), that this part of the globe once again finds itself left to reckon with the consequences of an imported war, and to pick up the pieces of societies and structures that have been shattered by over a decade of conflict.

All SCO member states hold vast untapped potential to facilitate the reconstruction process of this ravaged region, and with each new member that potential and strength will increase. There is no doubt that Pakistan’s inclusion will infuse new strength into the organisation. The country’s entry will open doors of opportunity for all SCO member states. It will boost the organisation’s appeal and influence within the international arena, and strengthen its future development, setting it on the path to becoming a premier regional cooperation organisation.

Amongst the many positives that Pakistan brings to this table, the foremost is connectivity. Given its geostrategic location, the country will open doors to new linkages across the entire region through road links and sea routes. It will open up economic connectivity for all SCO members, with not only our region but neighboring ones as well, through ease of access. It will be the best conduit between SCO countries and the South Asian region, providing the shortest possible trade routes between Central Asia and Iran on the one hand, and the Russian, Chinese and Indian markets on the other. And it will enhance trade itself by tying the region together with new energy corridors. In the current environment of enhanced regional economic cooperation, and the SCO's newly reiterated emphasis on this aspect, Pakistan will act as the 'zipper' bringing the region together, both physically and economically.

As a leader within the Muslim world, Pakistan can open many new doors for SCO member states, for economic connectivity as well as other avenues of cooperation. It should be remembered that connectivity with Pakistan is not just connectivity with a single country, but effectively a stronger link with all its partners as well. And with this newfound connectivity comes a revitalisation of trade and economic growth, which will bring peace and prosperity to the region.

Another key benefit for the SCO members is, Pakistan's role and experience as a frontline state in combating terrorism and extremism, which can be an asset to the Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) and the Regional Counter Terrorism Structure (RCTS). With the addition of Pakistan, the collective efforts by member states to counter terrorism and violent extremism will attain an important ally, as we have been effectively countering this menace for over a decade now. The internationally lauded Operation Zarb-e-Azb, which has reclaimed our national space from terrorists, is a prime example of the successes achieved by Pakistan in this context.

The prospect of full permanent membership of the SCO is also a very promising development for Pakistan. The entry will further strengthen Pakistan's traditionally close relationship with China, as well as significantly enhance its increasing ties with Russia and the Central Asian Republics. The ascension process alone has also already hugely facilitated the improvement the political atmosphere of Islamabad's relations with its regional neighbors and partners.

It would not be wrong to state that for the resolution of the lingering disputes between Pakistan and India, the SCO provides both an opportunity and an appropriate platform; and given its effective track record of conflict resolution, also creates hope for the

possibility of a productive outcome as well as prevention of any possible future escalations.

Today, great importance is being placed on the role of civil society, public diplomacy and Track II initiatives in strengthening and facilitating the SCO expansion process. We must not only acknowledge but also emphasize just how vital Track II initiatives are for strengthening people-to-people contact, and thereby sustainable, long-term partnerships between states. It is only in solidifying this bond that we can consolidate the link between the people of this region, and by extension the state parties, unifying them into a force to be reckoned with.

We must take the first collective step towards diminishing the distances and misunderstandings between us, and work towards the betterment and prosperity of entire region. Let us remember that together, we stand stronger.

The article is an excerpt from Senator Sehar Kamran's speech delivered at the International Forum "On the Second Track: The Role of Civil Society and Public Diplomacy in the Further Development and Expansion of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization", held in Sochi, Russia from 19-20th April, 2016.

Source:<http://nation.com.pk/columns/27-Apr-2016/sco-a-game-changer>



