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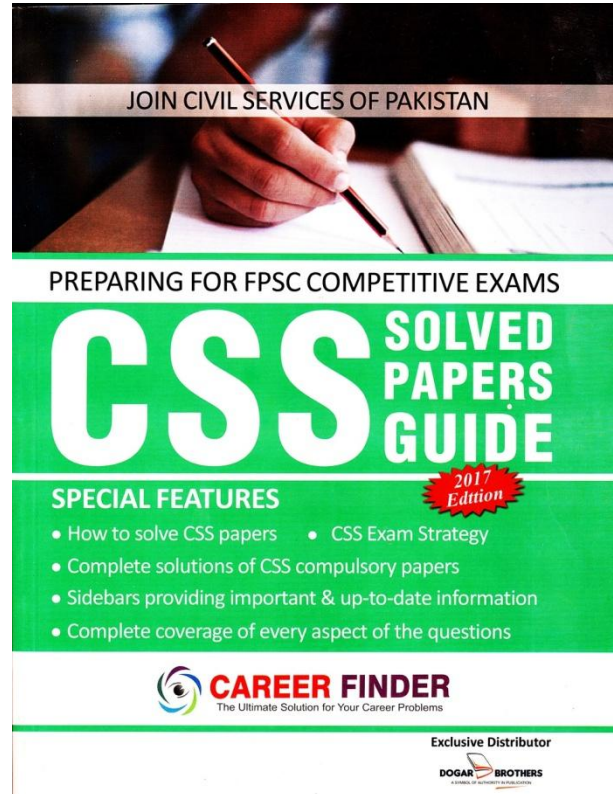
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# PAKISTAN

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## THE NUCLEAR AND MISSILE RACE BY TALAT MASOOD

Pakistan and India are once again in news for testing their advanced missile capabilities. Pakistan made a qualitative jump in defence technology by testing its first prototype medium-range, surface-to-surface ballistic missile. What was unique about it was that it carries multiple warheads and has a maximum range of 2,200 km. This will strengthen our nuclear capability, as it will qualitatively improve prospects of survivability- a crucial element in nuclear deterrence. This is no mean achievement considering that it does make the adversary's defence more problematic and is a forward step in the race to keep pace with India. Especially considering that only US, Russia, China, Britain, France and India possess this technology. But this is an unending race because India tries to match China's nuclear build-up and Beijing has its eyes primarily focused on the US and on Russia. If we go by President Trump's statements during the election campaign that he has an ambitious plan to modernise the nuclear arsenal. And who knows with such uncertainty surrounding President Trump's policies he may well revoke some of the nuclear bedrock treaties and agreements with Russia.

We also cannot ignore the reality that when it comes to India's nuclear prowess the world powers turn a blind eye. India recently tested the 5,000-km range ballistic missile and the US had no problem with it as it is supposed to counter China's missile development. In contrast, the US government's and media's response to Pakistan's testing of the submarine launched cruise missile Babar-3 was very negative. Although the rationale for Pakistan is to develop a second strike capability. It would, however, take a decade before Pakistan's triad capability would be operationalised. The main objective of Pakistan developing Babar-3 is to possess a credible second-strike capability (and fortify its first strike capability) that is sea based, somewhat similar what other major nuclear powers have done in the past. Of course, it is an expensive affair to maintain a triad but Pakistan as in the past has sacrificed a lot to maintain a credible defence against India and likely to do so in the foreseeable future.

Whilst India is being encouraged to develop and operationalise its triad for Pakistan there is clearly a different yardstick. For the US it is primarily a part of its global strategy to build India's nuclear and conventional capability to partially offset China's growing strategic power. It is with full blessing and support of the US that India last year was able to join the Missile Technology Control Regime. The same motivation to build India against China is also true for Japan, Britain and most of the Western countries. In sharp contrast, Pakistan's request for joining the MTCR continues to be denied on one pretext or the other. India by being a member of the MTCR enjoys the benefit of having access to high-end technology and will be able to buy components for its missile programme. The fact that China is not a member of the MTCR there was no opposition to

India's membership. India's defence minister last year stated that it would be in the country's interest to abandon the policy of No First Use. By developing a fairly comprehensive Ballistic Missile Defence system in which it had considerable help from Israel and tacit support of Washington it feels confident that it need not pursue the doctrine of NFU. In any case Pakistan has never taken India's stance on NFU seriously, as it was liable to be altered any time by those in power.

China by design is discreet and keeps silent about India's nuclear programme. The pressure by the US and the West in general is directed essentially on Pakistan. The line of argument advanced is that Pakistan is not internally stable and the militant outfits like the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, Lashkar-e-Tayaba and TTP pose a danger to the safety and security of its nuclear arsenal. Pakistan has taken very stringent measures to ensure the safety of its arsenal and is taking very positive steps to neutralise these forces. However, if India continues to brutally crush the genuine indigenous Kashmir resistance movement then despite Pakistan's best of intentions incidents could occur. Several incidents in the recent past have taken place in India-held Kashmir that were totally indigenous in nature and Indian security forces failed to prevent them. The answer clearly lies in a political dialogue between India and Pakistan and between the Kashmiris and the Indian government.

It was a long awaited but a right decision to ban the organisations that have militant wings and promote insurgency in Kashmir particularly the Jamaat-ud-Dawa and arrest its top leadership. After these actions there is no justification on the part of India to refuse dialogue. Failing to engage enhances the danger of a conflict between the two nuclear neighbours. Moreover, by not talking to Pakistan, India raises the profile of the radical forces in and outside Kashmir. What is most worrying that another terrorist attack irrespective of its origin could lead to a dangerous confrontation and forceful retaliation with its attendant hazards. The US strategic community and the West deliberately or otherwise overlook this aspect.

We have to wait and see what policy does the new Trump administration takes on Pakistan's nuclear issues. In all likelihood it would be more a continuation of the past policies with minor changes in emphasis. In any case India will not accept any role of the US in the Kashmir dispute. South Asia currently does not seem to be high on the priority list of President Trump.

But President Trump is keen on engaging in a nuclear arms race and had suggested during his election campaign that he would like Japan and other allies develop their own nuclear capability.

On the one hand President Trump wants to improve relations with Russia and does not consider it a threat and on the other plans to keep strengthening US nuclear capability. May be it is directed towards China and also to please the defence establishment that supported him during elections.

## CHALLENGES INDIA AND PAKISTAN NEED TO CONFRONT BY RUSTAM SHAH MOHMAND

India and Pakistan have not been able to live in peaceful coexistence since partition of the sub-continent. Perhaps if the founders of the new country had realised that separation would lead to a perpetual, eternal and costly stand-off between the two countries at the expense of the teeming millions of impoverished masses, they would have had second thoughts on the option of parting ways.

But nearly 70 years into partition the two nuclear-armed neighbours have hardly shown any inclination to combat the problems of poverty, environmental degradation, and gross social inequalities that they jointly face .

For one fifth of humanity (population of India and Pakistan) issues like multi-dimensional poverty, illiteracy, disease and lack of access to basic facilities like sanitation, clean water, drainage, unemployment assume greater importance than issues that are supposed to divide the two countries like Kashmir, Siachin, etc .

More than 440 million people in India live below poverty line — ie, on less than \$1.5 a day

In absolute terms more than 42 per cent of India's population earns less than 78 pence a day. More than 24 per cent Pakistanis share the same fate.

A United Nations report on global poverty reveals 53.7 per cent Indians and 49 per cent Pakistanis suffer from multi-dimensional poverty — a term that incorporates such other factors as schooling, child mortality, nutrition, access to electricity, toilets, drinking water and hygienic living conditions.

Pakistan adopted a new poverty line last year according to which 60 million Pakistanis live below poverty line.

Geography would dictate a common approach, based on respect for each other's rightful share of water in the distribution of water from rivers which emanate from Indian territory and flow through Pakistan .Water sharing is a matter for life and death for both countries. Pakistan is on its way to becoming a water stressed country very soon .The forecasts are alarming .India faces a somewhat similar prospect.

According to the Indus Waters Treaty of 1960 — brokered by the World Bank — India was granted exclusive rights over the three eastern rivers — the Sutlej, the Beas and the Ravi — and their tributaries before the point where the rivers enter Pakistan while Pakistan won the rights



over the waters of the Western rivers — the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab and their tributaries. Pakistan's share of the total Indus system is over 80 per cent which makes India a beneficiary of less than 20 per cent.

But controversies over construction of storage reservoirs upstream continue to sour relations. As water quantity dwindles and the demand — largely because of population growth — increases the water sharing would pose many problems. Perhaps this would emerge as an explosive issue that could lead to a conflict or war between the two countries.

As the Himalayan glaciers begin to melt and global warming takes hold, with alarming consequences for both countries, the issue of climate change would assume crucial relevance because soil erosion, prolonged droughts, drying up of aquifers — all would severely impact lives of humans and livestock.

The issue is not only a fairer distribution of water. It goes much beyond that objective. The two countries are mandated by fate and destiny to collaborate and coordinate efforts — at all levels to deal with the menace of ecological looming disasters. Because nature has so shaped the environment — the physical terrain, the rivers, the mountains that only joint, well-coordinated endeavours could contribute to the objective of protecting the environment and avoiding a precipitous collapse of the fragile eco-balance that looms on the horizon.

The key issues that both countries face and are imminent: loss of biodiversity, high population density, limited access to potable water urbanisation, prevalence of water-borne diseases, weak urban infrastructure, water pollution that also gravely affects fish industry, industrial soil degradation, deforestation, etc.

These are issues that would seriously undermine the myriad government initiatives in the sectors of education, health, agriculture, fishing, industry and economy.

For obvious reasons and because of physical connectivity these menaces could only be addressed by undertaking collective efforts with a view to saving lives and safeguarding the natural treasures of water, forests and trying to restore — to the extent possible, the ecological balance that is under assault .

By a joint strategy that excludes considerations of hegemony, control or monopoly, the two countries can achieve the full potential of their enormous resources. The Indus river basin has a potential of producing 34,000 megawatts of electricity. India has already been able to generate more than 11,000 mw of electricity through projects on utilisation of the Indus river potential. Many more projects are in the pipeline. But these projects could be designed in consultation with

Pakistan in a spirit of understanding and accommodation that takes into account the legitimate interests of the people of the two countries.

That can only happen when there is an environment conducive to mutual trust.

As relations remain sour and hostility drives the policies and perceptions of both countries, there is no hope for a future that would bring economic prosperity and help save the environment from the imminent danger of destruction of the eco system.

When so much is at stake is it prudent or rational to continue on a belligerent path that promotes more hatred and breeds more acrimony? Only because the issue of Kashmir remains unresolved .While the issue of Kashmir must be addressed and resolved, is it fair to bind the destinies of 1.4 billion people with the question of autonomy for 12 million?

Islamabad must understand that a country of the size of India would never agree to the changing of the borders. Musharraf conceded this in his four-point formula. That leaves us with the only other option of helping the Kashmiris to seek greater autonomy within the existing international frontiers.

Presumably India would not be averse to such a solution.

Any alteration in the boundaries would create a chain reaction with potentially catastrophic implications for India and the whole region. Pakistan must factor this reality into its calculations while trying to champion the cause of Kashmiris.

For millions of the poor, destitute people of the sub-continent the issues of economic survival, of education, of drinking water, of electricity, of jobs, of healthcare and housing are more pressing, more real than “more autonomy” for Kashmir, although the issue of autonomy can not be relegated to the background. The status quo in Kashmir is no longer an option.

Published in The Express Tribune, February 3rd, 2017.

Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1315298/challenges-india-pakistan-need-confront/>

## PAK-US RELATIONS AND BEYOND BY RIZWAN GHANI

THE statement of the White House that travel ban is not being extended to Pakistan is a positive development. Both Islamabad and Washington should lay the ground to develop a strong working relationship with a Republican government that could possibly be in power for next eight years. After Trump's anti-Iran stand, mostly due to Israel, it is clear that Pakistan is back in Afghan equation. The Obama government had improved relations with Iran, which was a very positive development for the region. But it India used it to expand its anti-development policy in the region including its efforts to derail CPEC.

Tehran's move to give rail and port access to India through Iran to Afghanistan did not go well in the region. As a sovereign country, Iran has every right to make its policies, it is hoped that Tehran will focus more on coming onboard CPEC. Iran is keen to join CPEC and Pakistan already welcomed Iran and Saudi Arabia's desire to join the economic and infrastructure development initiative. With Iran coming on board, Islamabad should press Trump to use his close relations with Modi to end Indian meddling in Afghanistan. Delhi should be convinced to scrap its intelligence setup in Afghanistan to bring an end to anti-state activities in Balochistan whose detail has already been provided to the UN. In this regard, it is hoped that Washington send a clear message to Delhi and Trump also raises the issue with Modi during their meeting or telephonic conversations to protect US interest in the region.

In this regard, Washington needs to be cognizant of the fact that within the region, both Beijing and Moscow support Islamabad's Pak-Afghan policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the neighbouring countries, but it is Delhi that is persistently derailing every effort aimed at developing cooperation and peace in Afghanistan and in turn in the region. Trump as part of his policy of "good fences make good neighbours", should ask Modi to support the public of India, Pakistan and Afghanistan to live as peaceful neighbours a part of "live and let live" policy and support efforts in these countries to cooperate with each other to end poverty, disease, illiteracy, corporatisation, corruption, drugs and unemployment. These are the real challenges in fight against growing intolerance, disdain for democracy, globalisation and anti-immigration wave. Washington needs to end free aid to Afghanistan.

Reportedly, Afghanistan has been given more aid than the amount spent to rebuild Europe under US Marshall Plan after World War 2. The recent reports have shown that corruption has grown in Afghanistan. The successive Afghan governments have failed to spend the aid and funds allocated for infrastructure and economic development. They are either unwilling or corrupt. Reportedly, billions of dollars have either been stolen or siphoned off to overseas tax havens. Due to these corrupt politicians, the majority of Afghan population has been forced to live as refugees. It is now their third generation since the Soviet invasion that is condemned to live sub-human life, with almost no education and permanent job prospects. Kabul is dragging its feet on

the return of one million Afghan refugees from Pakistan. Kabul is not ready to secure the Pak-Afghan border and observe international immigration and border rules, including establishment of border check posts, passports and identity documents. Similarly, Washington should help Kabul initiate a meaningful dialogue between all the stakeholders in Afghanistan to reach a political consensus so that people of Afghanistan can return to their normal life. Trump needs to put its foot down on these issues with a clear message to Delhi so that anti-state elements do not thwart this window of opportunity. A clear US-Afghan policy will help better Pak-US relations. Gulf States can play a positive role in US-Afghan policy. UAE has signed a \$75bn infrastructure development agreement with India. It is part of strategic US-China policy.

The fundamental issue that all the stakeholders need to keep in mind is that Afghanistan holds key to peace and stability in the region. Dubai cannot support Delhi if Modi continues runs with the hare and hunts with the hounds. The agreement should be linked to India's assurances of supporting peace and stability in the region. Needless to say that Pakistan can always count on Saudi Arabia to help convince UAE and America so that Gulf States, India and Pakistan can enjoy the benefits of CPEC while American can look after its interests in the region.

Finally, Afghanistan is a trivial issue in the high stakes game. The China's "one-belt, one road" project is just the beginning of economic growth. With 31 percent of world economy in the region, and scrapping of TPP another 54 percent is up for grab under Regional Cooperation Pacts. America and Gulf States need to send India a strong message to support peace in Afghanistan. Kabul should put its house in order and make the country a viable state. Pakistan has played its role and it is headed for a better future. Gulf States need to support the region and cooperate with Pakistan to secure their post-oil era future. Now all eyes are on Trump.

—The writer is senior political analyst based in Islamabad.

Email:sadcat44@hotmail.com

Source: <http://pakobserver.net/pak-us-relations-and-beyond/>

## THE THREAT OF ISOLATION | EDITORIAL

A report compiled by a basket of American think tanks and submitted to the Trump administration has received little attention, but it should. It will be recalled that the Indians have been trying to play the diplomatic isolation card over the last nine months — and signally failed to achieve anything. It now appears that America is playing the same card and potentially with rather more effect. The Trump administration has yet to spell out its policy towards Pakistan other than saying that there was no immediate plan to add us to the list of states that are temporarily barred from having their citizens enter the USA. That can change, but the nub of the report that is now under consideration is that for the first year of Trump rule it would be unwise to designate Pakistan as a state sponsor of terrorism — but that after that year the gloves would be off.

The report recommends that the US government should review the intelligence on Pakistan involvement in providing support for what are seen as terrorist groups or individuals, and that review should be more critical than previous reviews that are seen as being soft in areas where they should have been hard. Future relations with Pakistan must be based on a ‘realistic appraisal’ of our policies, aspirations and worldview. It is not difficult to see where this is headed. There is going to be a hardening of attitudes in the US State Department and the somewhat slippery relationship each has with the other is going to get altogether spikier.

Core to the report — and core to Pakistan — is the recognition that Pakistan is not going to shift its position, especially on Kashmir, by means of inducements alone. Such a belief is judged to be a ‘mirage’ and that ‘tougher means’ will need to be deployed down the line. If — and it is a big if — Pakistan cooperates with the USA then all well and good. Failure to cooperate is going to have dire consequences. The likelihood is that the report will be accepted and actioned. Truly do we live in interesting times.

Published in The Express Tribune, February 9th, 2017.

Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1320974/the-threat-of-isolation/>

## BRINGING SAARC BACK | EDITORIAL

Pakistan and Sri Lanka have come together and called for breaking the stalemate in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), and emphasised that the forum should be kept intact despite the ongoing differences. A logical and peaceful demand, in the face of an aggressive India, whose refusal to attend the last SAARC conference in Pakistan last year has made the SAARC almost redundant.

A panel discussion on “SAARC: Its Impediments and Way Forward”, was organised by the High Commission of Pakistan in Sri Lanka and the premier national security think tank, Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL), where workable solutions to longstanding issues such as the conflict between Pakistan and India on Kashmir were discussed.

Pakistan has time and again displayed goodwill on its part and expressed its desire to initiate dialogue. Last month, Pakistan sent back an Indian soldier who crossed the Line of Control, on humanitarian grounds. India has responded to this kind gesture by indulging in unprovoked cross border firing, violating the LoC despite our protests, killing an innocent man belonging from the Khairatta sector. Pakistan’s Ministry of Foreign affairs said in a statement, “Despite Indian belligerence, Pakistan believes in peaceful neighbourhood and rejects all actions aimed at undermining regional peace and security”, and India’s provocations are on display for the international community, no matter the rhetoric it cooks up in its media.

As an organisation, SAARC does not tackle the bilateral issues of India and Pakistan, a condition built into its charter, making it a non-threatening forum for regional trade and peace. Indian resistance to meeting Pakistan at SAARC is petty and selfish. India maybe prepared to throw it all away to appease a political party of extremists, but other member states should realise the benefits of the forum as a non-controversial platform to erect some semblance of good will upon.

Source: <http://nation.com.pk/editorials/10-Feb-2017/bringing-saarc-back>

## US-PAKISTAN RELATIONS UNDER TRUMP BY SHAHID M AMIN

DONALD Trump mostly acts like the proverbial bull in a china shop. He wants to act strong without understanding the complexities of issues. During the Presidential campaign, he kept making outrageous comments on sensitive subjects that reflected his deep prejudices and misconceived conclusions. Trump ranted against Latinos, blacks, Chinese, and even women. He painted Muslims as potential terrorists and threatened to ban their entry in USA. While liberal opinion in USA rejected Trump's extremist views, he was applauded by white supremacists that evidently constitute a majority in the country.

During the campaign, Trump also expressed concerns about Pakistan's nuclear weapons, fearing that they might fall into wrong hands. He received support from American voters of Indian origin who liked his tough anti-terrorist, anti-Muslim views and pro-business policies. More than once, Trump promised to be "the best friend in the White House India ever had." Some pro-India US Congressmen have been advocating that Washington should declare Pakistan as a 'terrorist state' and place it under severe sanctions. Islamabad should take serious notice of a report published in February 2017 by a leading think tank consisting of military figures, experts and former government officials (including ex-Pakistani envoy to USA Hussain Haqqani), which urged President Trump to carry out a 'harsher review of ties' with Pakistan. It has advised Trump to adopt tougher measures towards Islamabad, with the caveat "don't abandon it, but stop treating it as an ally".

The report is entitled "A new US approach to Pakistan: enforcing aid conditions without cutting ties". It wants US engagement with Pakistan to be based on "a realistic appraisal of Pakistan's policies, aspirations and worldview. The US must stop chasing the mirage of securing change in Pakistan's strategic direction by giving it additional aid or military equipment. It must be acknowledged that Pakistan is unlikely to change its current policies through inducements alone." The report lists measures such as tying military aid and reimbursements to specific counter-terrorism goals and working more with the civilian leadership in Pakistan.

However, some top-ranking officials in the Trump administration have expressed more balanced views towards Pakistan. In a telephone conversation on February 9 with General Bajwa, the Pakistan army chief, US Defence Secretary General Mattis commended the sacrifices of the people and armed forces of Pakistan. He appreciated Pakistan Army's role in battling scourge of terrorism. Both reaffirmed their countries' commitment towards the common goal of peace and stability in the region, and agreed on continued engagement at multiple levels. Gen Mattis served for several years in Afghanistan and is familiar with our area.

Last month, during his confirmation hearing in the Senate, he said Pakistan had suffered badly from terrorism and he praised Pakistani army for its counter-insurgency efforts. He had stressed



need for building mutual trust and evolving an ‘effective partnership.’ He would ‘incentivize’ Pakistan’s cooperation so that it denies sanctuary to extremist forces. In a similar strain, General Nicholson, the US military commander in Afghanistan, told a hearing in the US Senate on February 9 that there was a need for a ‘holistic review of America’s complex relationship with Pakistan’, which would be his priority in discussions with his superiors. Finally, it is notable that the Trump administration did not include Pakistan among the seven Muslim countries whose nationals were banned entry in the USA.

This relatively conciliatory stance is due to Washington’s need to seek Pakistan’s cooperation for a settlement in Afghanistan, and keeping open the transit route for military supplies to that country. In fact, any rational analysis by experts in US govt departments would bring conclusion that Pakistan cannot be ignored because of its key geostrategic location, its nuclear capability, its close ties with China and its role, for better or for worse, in war against terror, particularly in Afghanistan.

Note should also be taken of President-elect Trump’s telephone conversation with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, which indicated that Trump had good personal associations with Pakistanis over a period of time. He had called Pakistanis as ‘one of the most intelligent, exceptional and fantastic people’. Trump had assured Sharif of his help in finding solution of outstanding problems. While Islamabad’s ill-advised decision to make this conversation public did not go well with Trump, his liking for Pakistani people can be seen as something quite positive. It is possible that Islamabad’s recent decision to detain Hafiz Saeed, dubbed as a terrorist by the US and the UN, was done to forestall any negative step by the Trump administration. But this step was overdue due to our international obligations. The fact of the matter is that Pakistan’s reputation has been hurt due to allegations by several countries that outlawed groups like those of Hafiz Saeed were using sanctuaries in Pakistan to launch terrorist operations in other countries. A positive message is also going out from the current naval exercise being conducted by Pakistan in the Arabian Sea off the coast of Karachi, in which more than 35 countries are taking part, including navies of 12 countries: Australia, China, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Maldives, Pakistan, Russia, Sri Lanka, Turkey, UK and USA, while envoys from 31 countries will observe the exercise. The purpose of this multinational exercise is to strengthen naval capacity against piracy and terrorism. The fact that so many countries have joined Pakistan in naval exercise debunks Indian claims of having isolated Pakistan due to its alleged involvement with terrorism.

It is still early days in Trump’s presidency and it would be prudent to wait before drawing conclusions. But the old saying holds good, namely, governments come and go but interests are permanent. Pakistan has its own importance which is likely to grow with the expected implementation of CPEC. It will not be in US national interest to ignore or alienate Pakistan. However, we must also come to terms with the reality that the US strategic ties with India will



continue to grow due to its global interests. Nor should we forget another reality viz. Pakistan must eradicate the curse of terrorism for its own survival as well as for improving ties with neighbours and other countries.

— The writer served as Pakistan's Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, the ex-Soviet Union, France, Nigeria and Libya.

Email:shahid\_m\_amin@hotmail.com

Source: <http://pakobserver.net/us-pakistan-relations-under-trump/>

## PAKISTAN IS NOT AT ALL ISOLATED! BY MOHAMMAD JAMIL

Before discussing the conspiracies to isolate Pakistan, it is pertinent to mention about the four-day exercise, with 37 countries taking part including the US, Russia and China with the theme ‘Together for peace’. On opening ceremony of naval exercise at Karachi Dockyard, flags of 37 participating countries were hoisted, which is reflective of the trust in Pakistan’s role to fight terrorism and efforts for peace. Yet, anti-Pakistan lobbies are at work; a report compiled by American think tanks has been submitted to the Trump administration advising it to use isolation threat and hardening Washington’s stance towards Pakistan if it does not stop the use of terrorism in Afghanistan and India. In fact, India has been trying hard to isolate Pakistan for the last one year, and now a few American think tanks also appear to have stepped up their efforts in this regard.

The report recommends that “future relations with Pakistan must be based on a ‘realistic appraisal’ of our policies, aspirations and worldview.” The report has been co-authored by Lisa Curtis from The Heritage Foundation and Husain Haqqani, the former Pakistan Ambassador to the US. Among its recommendations are a review of whether Pakistan fits the criteria for designation as a state that sponsors terrorism, and a ban in travel to the US of Pakistani military and Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) officials. Signatories to the report include Lisa Curtis of Heritage Foundation, Bruce Riedel of Brookings Institution, Christine Fair of Georgetown University, and Husain Haqqani and Aparna Pande of Hudson Institute. They are compulsive Pakistan-haters and would not let any opportunity go to denigrate Pakistan. Anyhow, Indo-US efforts to isolate Pakistan have failed, and Pakistan is far from isolated. In other words, it is not isolated at all.

It enjoys a very close strategic relationship with its neighbor China — the emerging superpower. Relations with Iran were excellent during Shah of Iran’s era; however after the revolution in Iran, the relations remained somewhat strained but not hostile. Of course, Pakistan’s relations with Saudi Arabia, the GCC countries and Turkey remain friendly despite some misunderstandings and differences over the nuances over 34-countries Saudi-led coalition. Last month, Defence Minister Khawaja Asif assured the National Assembly that Pakistan under no circumstances would join a military alliance against Iran, contrary to speculations about country’s support for a Saudi-led coalition aimed at curtailing the spread of extremism and terrorism in the region. After his policy statement, speculation should be put to rest. Pakistan is an important member of the international community. It has been contributing to international peace and remains one of the largest contributors to the UN peace keeping missions. Some commentators insist that Pakistan is isolated because its relations with three of its four immediate neighbours are hostile.

Others passed the judgment that Pakistan was isolated because apart from India other three SAARC members were not ready to attend the SAARC summit. But it is not difficult to

understand why Bangladesh and Afghanistan join hands with India. Relations between India and Pakistan have never been cordial or normal because of Kashmir dispute. As regards Afghanistan, it was the only country that had voted against Pakistan's entry into the UN after partition of India. None of the Afghan governments in the past was willing to accept the Durand Line as a permanent border between Pakistan and Afghanistan; not even the Taliban. Yet efforts are made to paint Pakistan, its military and agencies in ignoble shade by American think tanks and sometimes US officials.

There is a perception that the ultimate objective of the US is to completely neutralize Pakistan's nuclear and missile program with a view to making Pakistan subservient to India. In these circumstances, Pakistan had no choice but to seek China's cooperation, which is a sour in rivaling eyes, especially after the announcement of the CPEC. Once, Pakistan was a staunch ally of the US and the West. The threat to Pakistan's security from India might have been a cogent and genuine reason for joining Baghdad Pact, Cento, Seato and entering into bilateral agreements with the US, but prospects to achieve this objective were obscured with the 'clause' that the US and western countries would help Pakistan only in case of Communist aggression. The people of Pakistan, however, understood about the meaninglessness of these pacts when during two wars with India in 1965 and 1971 our allies became 'non-aligned'. Instead of helping, they stopped not only military but also economic aid to Pakistan.

In early 1960s, Pakistan had had even a close brush of being bombed back into Stone Age by an enraged Soviet Union after its military downed an American U-2 reconnaissance plane flying on its Central Asian republics. American military aircraft had taken off from Badaber, an American base near Peshawar lent out by our hierarchs, which American military had been using clandestinely to eavesdrop on Soviet satellite launching and missile-testing activities. Badaber was a no go area even for president of Pakistan. After shooting down the plane, the Soviets encircled Peshawar in bold red and threatened of severe consequences. And what we got in return from American lords for imperiling our security so perilously for their sake -a snap embargo on all US military supplies, including spare parts for our military the moment Indo-Pak war broke out in 1965.

In 1980, General Ziaul Haq exploiting the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and to curry favour with the western countries wished to foster the same relationship with them that had existed from 1950s to beginning 1970s. Pakistan was a frontline state in, what was said, jihad against former Soviet Russia. After Soviet forces' withdrawal and demise of the Soviet Union, the US left the region in a lurch. After 9/11, Pakistan was coerced into joining the war on terror and suffered a colossal loss in men and treasure. Yet Pakistan is accused of providing safe havens to the militants especially Haqqani group. The question is why the Taliban or Haqqani fighters would need safe haven in Pakistan when they have control over large swathes of land in Afghanistan. Having all said, Indo-US nexus has failed to isolate Pakistan.

## NEW FOREIGN SECRETARY | EDITORIAL

Ms Tehmina Janjua has been assigned the role of Pakistan's new foreign secretary as Pakistan adds to its list of women in government and leadership roles. A congratulatory note must be made in that Ms Janjua, who attaches two master's degrees to her name, is the country's first female foreign secretary — a top post with the Foreign Office and thus quite the achievement. This is a person who seems fitting for the role with over three decades of experience in diplomacy and foreign relations as well as her involvement with the United Nations as Pakistan's representative. The changes she might bring to the table given her history will be positive for the country.

Ms Janjua's exposure to different peoples and cultures should be a prerequisite for any post with the Foreign Office. Pakistan holds an important geopolitical position with interest shown from various parts of the world. Being in the public eye, albeit perhaps not as much as our pride encourages us to believe, it is important to have officials that can acknowledge where the other side is coming from with keen acumen for understanding how to move things forward. Although she has faced some criticism for not being more proactive during her UN appointment, she should be afforded a chance in her new role, which will require her to work with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and engage in policymaking at an exciting time when Pakistan is enhancing relations with major world players, including China and the United States — although we sit on the edge of our seats with erratic President Donald Trump now in power. This is an early part of a new chapter Pakistan is opening and it must meticulously formulate policies that will be in its best interest and not for the benefit of only those in power or for the foreign nations it is involved with. We welcome Ms Janjua in her new role but hold her to the same pedestal as a male counterpart and challenge her to perform at her level best.

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Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1326896/new-foreign-secretary/>

## EVOLVING GEOPOLITICAL ANGLES BY MUHAMMAD OMAR IFTIKHAR

The South Asian region has been a bone of contention for the West — in particular to the US — because of the presence of Pakistan, India, and Afghanistan, three most significant and influential countries of the region. Where Afghanistan's relationship with Washington turned sour following the 9/11 attacks, Pakistan and India have been part of the US foreign policy narrative for decades. Where the US enjoys relatively smooth bilateral ties with India, its ties with Pakistan have been in danger for quite some time. Also part of this region is China — the elephant in the room for the US and India. For the US, China presents an economic challenge by becoming a rising economy and spreading its trade potential over the eastern hemisphere. On the other hand, China's close friendship with Pakistan has irked India. It will continue to do so now that the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a reality.

Afghanistan's future remains bleak as time will tell if Afghanistan's peace process shifts gears and the country witnesses peace and economic growth. Even though the US troops withdrew from Afghanistan during former US President Barack Obama's tenure, it seems Washington wants to send another wave of soldiers to the country. Recently, the commander of the American-led international military force in Afghanistan, General John Nicholson, while addressing to the Senate Armed Services Committee told the need to deploy a few thousand troops in Afghanistan to train Afghan soldiers. Deploying US troops in Afghanistan will create tension in the region and especially between Afghanistan-Pakistan and US-Pakistan ties now that the new foreign policy under President Donald Trump will be stringent and tough than before.

Where India and the US fostered their ties by signing The Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement in August 2016, it seems President Trump's restriction on providing Visa to Indian nationals entering the US for the purpose of work may create a tussle in Washington-New Delhi ties. This may affect the technology and IT industry of the US as many Indians are employed in this sector while the CEOs of two major US tech companies at present are Indian nationals. Despite Visa restrictions, India-US ties are becoming stronger hence making Russia vary of this closeness. Perhaps, as a countermeasure, Russia has been becoming diplomatically close to Pakistan. However, China is becoming close to Russia — signaling a new diplomatic alliance in the making — that will annoy India and the US. Moscow and Beijing have already joined forces to raise their voice against the US missile shield deployment plans in South Korea while expressing their apprehensions over the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) anti-missile system in South Korea to counter North Korea — considering it an endeavor to weaken their ties with Washington. Moreover, China-Russia alliance may also prevent Western hands from playing their cards in South Asian and Asia. Furthermore, Russia and Pakistan conducting joint military exercises in September 2016 was enough proof of the brighter future the two countries aspire to achieve. However, the US will have its reservations over this growing

intimacy especially after Russia's indirect involvement in the resignation of Trump's National Security Advisor, Michael Flynn.

In December 2016, Russia-China-Pakistan held talks in Moscow to discuss the security and peace situation in Afghanistan. This rise of the new bloc, perhaps, also signaled to the US the formation of an alliance in South Asia that will strengthen through time as all three countries see India as a common denominator. However, it is still unclear what direct or indirect role will Russia play in CPEC for it will reshape the diplomatic fabric of South Asia.

Furthermore, China's inclination to support and develop Pakistan's nuclear missiles program will further escalate the tensions between Pakistan-India and China-India. As noted in an editorial of Global Times, China's newspaper, "If the Western countries accept India as a nuclear country and are indifferent to the nuclear race between India and Pakistan, China will not stand out and stick rigidly to those nuclear rules as necessary. At this time, Pakistan should have those privileges in nuclear development that India has."

This sums up China's objective to keep Pakistan at par with India's nuclear progression and equip it with every and any technology to counter India's nuclear desires. With the US, Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, China and Russia clearing up their intentions and associations with each other while putting forth their reservations and concerns over diplomatic, trade and security issues, South Asian nations' relations with each other and vis-à-vis the US will reorganize the regional geopolitical structure and perhaps increase qualms and instability which could only lessen through dialogue.

The writer is an author and a columnist focusing on geopolitical affairs of South Asia

Source: <http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/23-Feb-17/evolving-geopolitical-angles>

## KASHMIR: AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW BY TOUQIR HUSSAIN

Burhan Wani is dead but a new Kashmir is being born. What is happening there is not a revolt but a revolution. Not a protest but a movement. Not by a few but many. Not by politicians but by the people who have taken their destiny in their own hands and finally decided enough is enough. They are saying loud and clear. ‘We want azadi, nothing but azadi’.

Earlier this month, a senior BJP leader and former Foreign Minister, Yashwant Sinha, who led fact-finding missions to the Valley last fall, published a report on Kashmir entitled “Crisis of acknowledgment of the Kashmir problem.” According to the report, there is an increasing lack of fear in the youngsters — or so they claim — in confronting the security forces. They say they take death in their stride. Hatred towards India has grown. The vocabulary of the youth has also changed, as has their psychological attitude towards India. They talk of curfew, hartals, martyrdom and Burhan (Wani).

The fact is Kashmir stands at an historical moment. The youth of today have grown restless and are dissatisfied with the options currently available for them. They represent the third generation of Kashmiri freedom fighters. Hizbul Mujahideen (HM) has never been so popular. Kashmiris have finally started viewing it as both homegrown and as part of the Kashmiri society. HM has succeeded at using social media and internet to appeal to the youth. Additionally, the group has been steadily getting funds from Kashmiris globally.

India knows that on the ground its occupation has been rejected by the Kashmiris. Its massive military presence in Kashmir may have helped her control the territory but has invalidated its claim to it. If the territory were really an integral part of India, then you would not need to keep 700,000 military and security forces there. But if you do, surely that means it is not yours; you are keeping it by force. And that is what India is bent on continuing doing for as long as it can.

India knows that the success of the Kashmir cause depends on two facts — the strength of the insurgency and Pakistan’s support to the Kashmir cause. Kashmiris would not come thus far without Pakistan’s help. So it is not just Kashmiris that stand in India’s way, Pakistan does too. So the Indian strategy is twofold: on the one hand, unleash extreme repressive measures to bludgeon the Kashmiris into suppression and on the other launch a campaign of isolating and defaming Pakistan and put it on the defensive and off balance. The broader theme is to marginalise Pakistan to make it irrelevant in the dispute and then as a consequence weaken the Kashmiris and impose India’s will on them.

Indian plan has been helped by its rising economic profile and geo-political value, as a balancer to the resurgent China, and by the post-9/11 anti-Muslim bias and erosion of Pakistan’s own image. India has used its influence in Washington to harm US relations with Pakistan and by

extension the causes it espouses. A legacy the present Administration is going to follow. So don't expect any help from Washington in solving the Kashmir dispute. Even China and the Islamic world pay but only lip service.

There is a sad irony here. Kashmiris' struggle has never been so energised in its entire history and the rejection of Indian occupation never so loud and clear. But in contrast to it the international community's silence has never been so deafening, and the big powers apathy never so morally appalling. And Pakistan has never been so much at a disadvantage in helping the Kashmiris. The rise of their struggle is thus out of synch with the external support.

That means the entire burden of realising the aspirations of Kashmiris fall on the shoulders of Kashmiris and Pakistan alone. And that basically means Kashmiris because Pakistan's ability to fight for them has diminished not just because of India's clout and its negative campaign but also because of Pakistan's own mistakes, Kargil being the most egregious.

The question is how can Pakistan help? Or can it really help? The answer requires some reality check. Here is the core reality. The only way Pakistan can help the Kashmiris is through a dialogue with India as military option is unthinkable. But India does not want a dialogue. Even if India agreed to a dialogue Pakistan would be entering into it with a weak hand as Pakistan has little leverage. Or whatever leverage it has or has had is a double-edged sword and is not employable. We have seen what the Jihadis have done to Pakistan. And denial of trade and transit rights to India, the other option, does not hurt India as much as Pakistan thinks. In fact it hurts Pakistan more. The equation therefore, at least for now — not good for Pakistan, not good for Kashmir.

So where do we go from here? My advice to the Kashmiris, please consider all these limitations and raise the level of your resistance. Energise and organise the Kashmiri diaspora abroad specially in the US. Learn from other resistance movements. And Pakistan can help wherever it can.

For Pakistan the important point to consider is that Kashmir is embedded in Pakistan's history, identity and moral purpose. It should therefore continue to support the Kashmir cause diplomatically, morally and politically. But that is all it can and should do. Nothing more nothing less. It is not enough but is necessary. Beyond that it is up to the Kashmiris.

While there are obvious limits to what to how much Pakistan can it should never abandon the Kashmir cause. Kashmir should remain on the agenda of India-Pakistan issues. No economic or strategic benefit Pakistan may get from India as a pay off for backing away from Kashmir would be worth the betrayal of the Kashmir cause. But Pakistan must not gamble its own future over Kashmir. Then there will be nobody to help the Kashmiris.



What is required is a great balancing act. And for that you need not only great diplomacy but also focus on Pakistan's central priority — to strengthen itself first. Good diplomacy and national strength go hand in hand, always.

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Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1336002/kashmir-alternative-view/>

## SECURING PAKISTAN? BY FARHAN BOKHARI

MEMBERS of Pakistan's strategic community were jubilant earlier this year with the launch of the first ever submarine-based nuclear-capable ballistic missile followed by a long-range missile capable of carrying multiple nuclear bombs. The two events were characterised by some as nothing short of historic.

And yet, a spate of recent terrorist bombings, notably the carnage at the historic Lal Shahbaz Qalandar shrine in Sehwan Sharif in Sindh, have exposed an uncomfortable truth — that securing Pakistan internally has become a bigger challenge than the country's external front.

The idea that Pakistan will be able to launch a 'second nuclear strike' following one by India in a future war, has cemented Pakistan's ability to forestall such a devastating future exchange, goes the argument in support of the submarine-based missile. And yet, the recent tests and other similar events don't have the capacity to forestall Pakistan's downhill slide, amid a continuing crisis of governance, political disarray and a selective narrow economic uplift surrounded by weak prospects all around. In brief, Pakistan remains as insecure as it was before the missile tests in January.

Even the attainment of a nuclear 'triad' — the ability to launch nuclear weapons via air, land and sea — cannot overcome Pakistan's deepening security challenges. Though the democratic framework is set to remain in place barring unexpected developments, there is plenty more at stake beyond the matter of who gets to rule Pakistan after the next elections in 2018.

Missile tests won't forestall our downhill slide.

The Sehwan Sharif attack has been quickly followed by claims, with considerable justification of such attacks emanating from elements in Afghanistan. And yet, the major internal gaps in governing Pakistan cannot be detached from the way Pakistan's ability to defend itself has systematically weakened over time.

Since last year, the sorry saga of the Panama leaks and its focus on Nawaz Sharif's three children, says much about a wider malaise. Though it's impossible to predict the outcome of an ongoing legal battle in the Supreme Court, what's happening outside in the political arena is very telling.

The PML-N has lost no opportunity to link their leader's future over this saga to the future of democracy. In a country with a chequered political history torn between emerging civilian rule and military interventions, it's all the more vital for the prime minister to quickly and decisively put this issue to rest.

And for mainstream Pakistanis, there is no equally convincing way than a public disclosure of the full documentary evidence surrounding the sources of the family's wealth that led to the purchase of property on London's very exclusive Park Lane.

Meanwhile, Pakistan's real-life challenges have continued to evolve as never before with little evidence in sight for a dramatic uplift of the country's outlook. Though surrounded by an escalating security challenge for more than 15 years since the 9/11 attacks forced Pakistan to join the US-led war on terrorism, the political mainstream, notably the federal and provincial legislatures have yet to sign off on a comprehensive new national security policy. Once evolved, the next goal of selling it to the Pakistani public will pose what could rightly be described as the biggest political challenge in the nation's history.

And while getting the public on board remains a major challenge, other equally daunting tasks are those of tackling Pakistan's crisis of governance and gaps on the economic front.

In the aftermath of the Sehwan bombing, gaps in the security fabric such as reports of ineffective walk-through gates and far too few policemen on duty are alarming but not surprising. Over time, Pakistan has become a state which primarily caters to the well-endowed linked to the ruling structure. The crisis of governance hits those at the grass roots, be it in matters of dealing with the police or the municipal authorities or another branch of government. And while the finance minister has pronounced that Pakistan's economy has emerged from the woods, nothing could be further from the truth.

Tweaking numbers of poverty-stricken Pakistanis or playing around with definitions of what is poverty or not, simply will not change the reality. During the current prime minister's tenure, Pakistan's large employers of labour — agriculture and industry — have suffered badly. While the former has suffered from an unprecedented fall in commodity prices, the latter has borne the brunt of sluggish exports and continuing challenges such as electricity shortages.

And for those who choose to celebrate matters like the rise of the stock market and growing car sales, mainstream Pakistan remains unimpressed. The succession of recent terror attacks leading to Sehwan Sharif has exposed a terrible truth — Pakistan is slipping internally even if it has been secured externally.

The writer is an Islamabad-based journalist.

farhanbokhari@gmail.com

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## RE-EVALUATING PAKISTAN-NATO RELATIONS BY KHURRAM MINHAS

Nations trapped in historical baggage limit their options of growth and stability. Pakistan had been remained trapped into two regional and ideological alliances, expecting for betterment of the region and Muslim Ummah. However, after three decades of its inception, South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is paralyzed due to Indian hegemonic behaviour and Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is still plagued with Saudi-Iran rivalry. The two organizations had limited Pakistan's options of cooperation and growth with other military, economic political and regional alliances. However, there is a new dawn of alliances and bilateral relationship is emerging at Pakistan's foreign policy horizon. In past few years, Pakistan's search for new horizons of economic and security cooperation with other regional alliances apart from SAARC and OIC has led Pakistan to a new era of strategic importance with unlimited choices and benefits.

Rejuvenating relations with resurging Russia, revamping relations with Iran, entering into Chinese One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative, repudiating meddling in Yemen/Middle East and entrance into Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) are some major indicators of Pakistan's foreign policy shift. Efforts to hold upcoming Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) summit in Islamabad is also string of this new diplomatic pearl. In this backdrop, Pakistan also needs to find new political alliances beyond Indian Ocean. Perhaps extending hand of bilateral cooperation with North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) can serve Pakistan's interest in national and regional security spheres of the country.

NATO and Pakistan have a decade long history of fluctuated relationship. The cooperation emerged in the wake of the US led NATO invasion in Afghanistan. Pakistan and NATO led International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) found common grounds of bilateral security cooperation along Pakistan-Afghanistan border region. In 2005, Deputy Assistant Secretary General of NATO Ambassador Alessandro Minu to Rizzo visited Pakistan. Since Pakistan always viewed NATO with the US prism, hence cooperation between Pakistan and NATO could not develop significantly.

Short era of limited cooperation started between Pakistan and NATO after latter's generous response to 2005 devastating earthquake. NATO had launched an airlift of urgently needed supplies and deployed its engineers, medical units and specialist equipment to Pakistan. In order to facilitate the relief efforts, NATO had established a massive air-bridge, in addition to utilizing the assets of the NATO Response Force (NRF). During that period, NATO had supplied almost 3500 tons of food and medical supplies. The air-bridge helped shifting over 7600 people to safe places and more than 8000 patients were treated under NATO medical staff. In addition NATO helped Pakistan Army in clearing roads of the affected area.

NATO's generous response reciprocated Pakistan by initiating political dialogue with former in 2006. The initiative of political response helped starting military training courses for Pakistani military officers and establishment of high level military and political contacts between the two. A milestone of cooperation was achieved in 2007, when Pakistan and NATO had established Joint Intelligence Operations Centre (JIOC) at ISAF Head Quarters in Kabul. The center has facilitated for numerous intelligence operations along Pakistan-Afghanistan border region against terrorists. However, the incremental cooperation between the two dented due to NATO's attack on Salala check post killing 24 soldiers of Pakistan Army. In result, Pakistan closed ground communication lines for ISAF transit, which increased cost of NATO's stay in Afghanistan.

NATO's draw down from Afghanistan and Pakistan's efforts for Afghan national reconciliation has increased former's importance in the region. The work of the Tripartite Commission, a joint forum on military and security issues that brings together representatives from the NATO-led ISAF, Afghanistan and Pakistan, reflects the importance of NATO-Pakistan military-to-military cooperation in the context of Afghanistan.

Pakistan and NATO have common objective of countering-terrorism with different approaches, which restrained both to enter into a deeper and broader cooperation on issues such as security and stability in Afghanistan, anti-narcotics campaign along Pakistan-Afghanistan border region and repatriation of Afghan refugees. Intelligence sharing, border security, countering improvised explosive devices (IEDs) along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border region, narcotics smuggling are offering prospects of bilateral cooperation. By establishing deeper, wider and effective cooperation with NATO, Pakistan can also dismantle Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) safe havens in Afghanistan. In this glaring era of Pakistan's flexible approach to regional and international situation, deeper and wider cooperation with NATO is inexorable, which will not only serve Pakistan's interests of national security but also will help establishing stability in Afghanistan.

The writer works for IPRI, a think tank based in Islamabad

Source: <http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/26-Feb-17/re-evaluating-pakistan-nato-relations>

## INDIA'S WATER STRATEGY BY SAMAN HAMID

Indus Water Treaty It is dubbed as one of the most successful treaties having stood the test of three wars between India and Pakistan. Indus Water Treaty was brokered by the World Bank in 1960. The treaty though suffers from shortfalls which have only begun to fully surface now as the population of both countries has brought water scarcity to threatening levels 330 million people in India alone face acute water shortage. In Pakistan the per capita availability of water unfortunately has fallen to 1032 cubic meter (2016) which is more than 4000 cubic meters in 65 years! According to United Nations India, China, Nepal, Bangladesh and Pakistan, alone account for nearly half the world's total groundwater use. And this resource is facing rapid depletion.

The global water scarcity threshold is 1000 cubic meters; Pakistan faces the threat within the next three years. As a lower riparian country and dependency on water cannot be emphasized by anything more than the fact that our agricultural sector's contribution towards GDP is 20.9% it employs 40% of the work force. As tensions escalated on their borders since last year; post Kashmir's intifada in July India as resorted to threaten Pakistan's water supply. The irony of the situation is accentuated by the fact that India has built around 33 hydro projects since 1970 directly or indirectly effecting Pakistan' water supply some 150 are planned along the Kashmir and northern rivers. Kishanganga, Rattle are the two dams currently in the news, being challenged in the International Court of Arbitration by Pakistan.

Kishanganga is \$869 Million investment, 330MW that directly affects the Neelum-Jhelum power project commenced since 1989. Indian side is brining the "non-consumptive" clause into the argument, ignoring the 20Pc effect on the water flow. This comes in addition to Uri-1 and Uri-II on Jhelum River. Similarly the Rattle power project is 850MW power project built on Chenab River. Earlier the Dalhasti hydropower project of 330MWs, Baglihar of 450MWs, in case of Baglihar Indians committed gross violation by not filling the dam in stipulated time frame in Marla Headworks. The cascading effects of this violation alone led to closure of Marala-Ravi Link (MRL) Canal, resulting in non-availability of irrigation water for paddy crops in Marala Command Canals area covering over 10,000,000 acres of land. This also led to less water for Mangla Dam leading to an acute shortage of water for Rabi (autumn/ winter) crops in Pakistan. With all projects under construction India clearly aims to gain access to water flow of Pakistan.

Kalabagh Dam and many other projects await execution or replacement in Pakistan's case. Other than Mangla and Tarbela and now Neelum-Jhelum, Pakistan has been unable to come up with major projects of her own. With a "friendly" neighbourhood this is a strategy that so far identifies our general psyche towards everything; waiting for a savoir. There has of course been a fair share of controversies as well, Jamaat Ali Shah, former Indus Water Commissioner has been accused of criminal negligence while India built its major power projects. The need of hour is to

recognize fact that nearly 10% of Pakistanis do not have access to safe drinking water. We are a nation that faces climate change issues that in words of Dr Qamar-uz-Zaman Ch, presently International Climate Change Specialist at Asian Development Bank is a bigger threat than terrorism. Water conservation is a concept alien to us; we needed to develop reservoirs to safeguard underwater tables. Water pollution is another major threat that threatens our lives and livelihoods; not only do we not look at our sources of pollutants but we are getting unsafe water from Indians as well.

As Kristalina Georgieva visits Pakistan and PM Nawaz Sharif issues statements questioning our status on IWT and India's rapid progress in building dams we need to realize that this is a crisis that needs to be addressed on war footing. Not only do we need better professionals to safeguard our arbitration interests but we need to come up with mechanisms that educate on water conservation as well as research facilities to utilize the current resources of water, we have currently 210 Million Acre Feet (MAF) water out of which 100MAF, (47%) is wasted due to unlined canals alone. We need to stop looking for saviours from outside and cultivate responsible visionary individuals from within who can drag the nation out of the deep troves of negligence that threatens everything. At the end of the day there is desperation across border as well where water has become a point in election agenda of the elected party.

— The writer is freelance columnist based in Peshawar Cantt. Email: samanh1@gmail.com

Source: <http://pakobserver.net/indias-water-strategy/>

## ELECTORAL REFORMS BILL | EDITORIAL

### A step in the right direction

The Electoral reforms bill is a significant step towards improving the electoral system and the working of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP). After having been cleared by the Parliamentary Committee for Electoral Reforms by a majority, the bill has been endorsed by the cabinet also. It is expected to be presented to Parliament next month. One hopes that vital suggestions from the Parliamentarians would be given due consideration before the enactment of the bill.

Foremost among the positive recommendations is the empowerment of the ECP. It was widely understood that the absence of sufficient autonomy allowed ruling parties to interfere in the working of the Commission to have electoral results of their choice. With ECP given financial, administrative and functional autonomy and authorised to take disciplinary action against officials deputed from government departments and ministries for election duties, it is time for the Commission to redeem its reputation. Most of the required regulations are already there in the Code of Conduct. What has been lacking is the will to enforce the Code, as the scandalous expenses incurred by rival candidates in NA- 122 in October 2015 amply prove.

Two provisions in the bill aim at increasing women participation in the electoral process. Political parties have traditionally joined hands in certain constituencies to discourage women voters from casting votes in the name of local custom. To stop the malpractice the bill requires fresh voting in case of a difference of more than 10 percent in the number of male and female votes cast. Another provision of the bill requires political parties to issue 5 pc tickets to female candidates on general seats.

Thanks the confrontation between the PMLN and PTI the Parliamentary Committee for Electoral Reforms failed to evolve a consensus on striking down Articles 62 and 63 or removing the vagueness in them that can lead to their misuse. The two provisions would continue to act as constitutional booby traps. There was y still no agreement on allowing overseas Pakistanis to cast their vote which is regrettable.

Source: <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2017/02/09/electoral-reforms-bill/>



## IMPROVING TIES WITH NEIGHBOURS | EDITORIAL

### **The need to win friends and influence people in Trump era**

Before an unpredictable Trump starts creating problems for Pakistan, the country needs to concentrate on removing its differences with the countries in the region. What Ahsan Iqbal said about trying to engage India after its provincial elections is encouraging. Pakistan should meanwhile try to settle differences with Afghanistan from where positive signals are coming after a long time. A senior Afghan High Peace Council member has visited Islamabad. Pakistan's parliamentarians and media persons are reportedly being invited to Kabul. Afghan ambassador Zakhilwal explained to the Afghan media that the diplomat at Afghanistan's Karachi Consulate had been killed by an Afghan guard to ensure that the incident was not used by interested lobbies in his country to fan sentiments against Pakistan.

The Chinese government is playing an important role in bringing Pakistan and Afghanistan together. On Monday Chinese Special Envoy for Afghanistan Deng Xijun called on Ashraf Ghani to remove Kabul's apprehensions. He explained that the Chinese government had advised the Taliban to enter into negotiations with Ghani administration which Beijing considered the legitimate government in Kabul. China had also told the Taliban that recourse to violence on their part had created favourable conditions for ISIS' entry in the region. Also that China could ask Pakistan to revive the quadrilateral dialogue if this suited Kabul.

Terrorism remains at the centre stage of Pakistan's intercourse with close friends, possible allies and opponents. China considers terrorism a threat to its unity. So does Russia. China's Commissioner for Counter Terrorism and Security is currently on a three-day visit to Pakistan. He has already met NSA Janjua and PM's Special Assistant Tariq Fatemi. The later assured the Chinese official that Islamabad firmly opposes any attempt to undermine China's sovereignty. Further that Pakistan will continue to support China's efforts to combat the three evils of terrorism, extremism and separatism. Pakistan army and civil law enforcement agencies have played a historic role in dislodging the terrorist networks from the country. There is a need now to take on their remnants effectively.

Source: <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2017/02/07/improving-ties-with-neighbours/>

# ECONOMY

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## WORLD BANK REPORT | EDITORIAL

IN its latest World Development Report, the World Bank has selectively cited a work of a duo of Pakistani economists to highlight “policy capture” by elites, specifically on the politicised allocation of credit from public-sector banks being able to undermine growth. The citation comes in the middle of a long discussion on how governments can distort growth with their intervention, either through “failed development programmes”, the political grant of import licences, creating regulatory barriers for the entry of new players into the competitive field, or through outright ‘clientelism’ in public investment. The entire discussion sounds so obsolete that one is pressed to double-check the date of the publication to ensure that one is not reading a document from the early 1980s.

Take the Pakistan example that is invoked by the authors. The research they cite was conducted in 2005 on a dataset that ran from 1998 till 2002, and looked at how political connections helped firms obtain credit from public-sector banks. But most of Pakistan’s banking sector was privatised from that year on, and went on to see a period of rich liquidity growth as a result of 9/11-related inflows from 2002 onwards. In another paper, published in 2008, the same authors looked at how effectively the privatised banks were able to utilise that liquidity to increase lending to firms. Their conclusion was that access to credit in a period of abundant liquidity was not constrained by the state, whether through political interference or regulatory distortions, but because of a backward-looking creditworthiness test that banks used widely, “based primarily on firms’ pledgeable assets and historical cash flows”. In short, following privatisation, the market created other barriers and distortionary mechanisms to impede access to credit beyond a select membership, which had substantial consequences for growth. In another study, the same authors found that membership, and location, in the right social network played a crucial role in determining a firm’s access to credit, especially in difficult times. Briefly, in the years after 2002, access to credit was not distorted through state intervention as much as by social networks and incapacity to deal with risk. The world of politicised credit and import licences belongs to the past. The World Bank would be better off dwelling on the distortionary mechanisms that the market creates, and on how developing country policies can be framed to help tackle the issue.

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## TRADE FOR A MORE INCLUSIVE PAKISTAN BY ARANCHA GONZALEZ

As I begin my first official visit to Pakistan as Executive Director of the International Trade Centre, the country is emerging as a relatively bright spot in a global economy clouded by volatility and uncertainty. On the back of macroeconomic reforms, reduced electricity shortages, and an improved security situation, the country is poised to register growth above five per cent for the first time in nearly a decade.

Yet these advances are not sufficient for Pakistan to meet its ambitious development goals of becoming the next ‘Asian tiger’ economy, exploiting its demographic dividend of educated and English-speaking youth, and reaching upper-middle-income status by 2025. As the Planning Commission has observed, this will require substantial productivity increases, greater diversification and improved competitiveness.

Trade could help Pakistan advance on all three fronts, while driving job creation and poverty reduction. Pakistan’s exports of goods and services total just over 10 per cent of GDP. The average for countries at its income level is over 20 per cent, suggesting considerable room to improve. Indeed, Vision 2025 targets a six-fold increase in exports, from \$25 billion in 2014 to \$150 billion by 2025. There remains large scope to trade with traditional markets such as the European Union, whose GSP+ offers important untapped potential, as well as newer markets such as Korea or the United Arab Emirates.

The emphasis on trade is deliberate. First, increased exports would take pressure off Pakistan’s balance of payments. More fundamentally, trade could help accelerate the country’s shift towards greater value addition. In developing economies, because tradable activities tend to be more sophisticated than the rest of the economy, getting people and resources out of subsistence work and into firms dealing in goods and services for the larger global marketplace tends to make for a more productive economy overall.

Ramping up Pakistan’s integration into the global economy will require investments in hard and soft infrastructure, as well as, crucially, in tying the two together. In the world of 2017, while better roads, ports, electricity, and broadband internet access remain a prerequisite for international competitiveness, the gains are far greater if they work in tandem with a more supportive policy environment, a deeper regional integration, lower trading costs, and institutional support for businesses to overcome obstacles keeping them from accessing digital and physical markets.

Swiftly implementing the World Trade Organisation’s Trade Facilitation Agreement would simplify border procedures and reduce customs clearance times and costs. This would enable Pakistani traders — especially the smaller enterprises that are disproportionately weighed down

by expensive trading costs — to reap the full gains of the country’s investments in ports and highways. Upgrading the country’s truck fleet, expediting transit procedures and improving the efficiency of logistics services would enable Pakistan to capitalise on its role as a transit country for goods from Central Asia en route to Arabian Sea ports, using in particular the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor.

But improved trade performance is only a means to a higher end. That end is inclusive growth. To achieve it, two groups will be critical: small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) and women. SMEs account for the vast majority of jobs in Pakistan. When these firms are equipped to become more competitive and connect to overseas markets, it translates into higher incomes spread over larger sections of society. Yet growth cannot be inclusive so long as half the population is relegated to second-class economic status. Discrimination against women diminishes families’ well-being, companies’ competitiveness, and countries’ economic performance. The International Monetary Fund estimates that closing the gender gap in Pakistan could boost GDP by as much as 30 per cent, which would be a massive step towards the country’s aspirations.

Women’s economic empowerment is not a matter for policy, business action or social change alone. All have a role to play. That is why the International Trade Centre has launched “SheTrades”, a global initiative to connect one million women entrepreneurs to global markets by 2020. The initiative spells out seven areas in which governments, the private sector and civil society groups can pledge to remove obstacles holding back women-owned businesses. From repealing discriminatory laws and sourcing more from women-owned businesses to ensuring that they can access credit and connect to foreign buyers, these are just some of the important actions that could be taken.

The SheTrades initiative in Pakistan enjoys enthusiastic support from the government. Pakistani women entrepreneurs can already download the app and sign up at SheTrades.com to share information about their companies, expand their networks, and connect to buyers around the world.

As Pakistan looks beyond its 70th independence anniversary to a more prosperous future, ITC stands ready to support its quest.

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Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1314190/trade-inclusive-pakistan/>

## BOOMING ECONOMY | EDITORIAL

The International Trade Centre chief's first-ever visit to Pakistan is another sign of the positive trajectory that the country's economy seems to be taking. In her comments Director Arancha Gonzalez said Pakistan's economy has managed to achieve stability. She also spoke about the new infrastructure coming in with new road and communication networks developing across Pakistan. Good news and positive notes on the economic front keep coming from various sides. Economic growth reached an eight-year high of nearly 5% in the past financial year and the stock exchange keeps reaching new highs and breaking old records. Over the past 12 months, the benchmark index soared over 61%, making Pakistan's stock exchange one of the world's top performing indexes. In fact in late January, it touched the 50,000 barrier for the first time in history.

Just some weeks ago, in an index in The Economist magazine Pakistan was termed the fifth growing economy in the world. And more recently, in an article published by The Wall Street Journal, Pakistan's middle class was said to be on the rise, leading to greater interest of international companies. Although according to the World Bank, poverty has also reduced, Pakistan needs more equitable growth. Housing and access to basic necessities remains a very crucial problem. While property market is soaring, reliable and secure housing is out of reach for a majority of people. While we celebrate our successes, it is also important not to forget how far ahead our neighbours are from us. While things are moving forward for Pakistan, India and China are light years ahead. We should not only compare our circumstances from our past selves, but care to come on a par with countries with whom we share borders and a common history. It is hoped that Pakistan will not only be satisfied with current-and short-term numbers and gains, but look ahead to the future with long-term and pro-poor stability in mind.

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Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1317043/booming-economy/>

## GEO-POLITICAL ALIGNMENTS IN ASIA BY S SADIA KAZMI

CHINA rightfully maintains that the basic purpose of CPEC is to bring about regional integrity through generating economic activity. However India doesn't seem to be too convinced and claims that CPEC violates the territorial integrity and sovereignty of India as it plans to pass through Jammu and Kashmir, which it claims to be India's territory. Nor does India look eager to join any setup which has Pakistan at the center stage. This doesn't seem to be a very positive trajectory of relations for China and India to move along.

In addition to this, another traditional ally Russia is increasingly warming up to China. Russia, feeling a great discomfiture at the hands of US-India growing closeness, feels naturally upset. This could very well be one of the possible reasons as to why Russia is showing interest in establishing closer ties with Pakistan. The regional and global reshufflings are shaping up the broader shifts in the strategic outlook of the states.

Russia's concerns despite being the close ally of India sometimes have been over looked and India's self interests with the US generally have taken the lead.

Now since China apparently has found a new ally in Russia, where both have joined hands to reap economic benefits from joint collaborative ventures, another common objective is to block Western influence and interests regionally as well as globally. This might be a reason as to why one doesn't see any active support from Russia for India's allegations against China's intents behind CPEC. India claims that China is bent upon bringing infrastructural development and self sufficiency into Pakistan and ultimately letting it have inroads into Indian claimed territory of Kashmir. India views the CPEC as an insidious attempt by China and an attempt to change the ground realities.

The Chinese offer to India to join CPEC has been met with a question from Indian counterpart about how China would feel if the same situation arises in Tibet. Nonetheless China believes that India joining the CPEC would "boost its export and slash its trade deficit with China" and "the northern part of India bordering Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir will gain more economic growth momentum". Mehbooba Mufti's statement about opening up trans Kashmir trade routes as a supplement to CPEC, further give a hard blow to India's territorial claims over Jammu and Kashmir. The wise move today as is being interpreted by many states is to embrace the CPEC not just to make it into a reality but because it promises huge benefits to all the participant states. Hence it serves everyone's interests.

Simultaneously Russia and Pakistan have once again embarked upon the renewal of their bilateral ties after a long gap. The two held their first joint military exercise in September last year, succeeded by their first bilateral consultation on regional issues. Although the arms

embargo was lifted back in 2014, it will be this year that Russia plans to deliver four Russian-made Mi-35M attack helicopters to Pakistan. The news is also doing the rounds that Russia might merge Eurasian Economic Union with CPEC.

China's refusal to grant a membership status to India in the NSG has further caused deterioration of relations between the two. One cannot rule out the possibility that testing of long range ballistic missiles Agni IV and V is India's way of showing annoyance. However that led to an inevitable reaction from Pakistan in the form of testing its first sea cruise missile that could be eventually launched from a Pakistani submarine. In addition to this China has expressed the willingness to help Pakistan increase the range of its nuclear missiles. As per the editorial section in China's Global Times, "If the Western countries accept India as a nuclear country and are indifferent to the nuclear race between India and Pakistan, China will not stand out and stick rigidly to those nuclear rules as necessary. At this time, Pakistan should have those privileges in nuclear development that India has."

India however is not just banking on Russia or China but is simultaneously strengthening its partnerships with countries like United States, Japan, Australia and Vietnam. Not only is it resorting to increasing its nuclear capabilities on regular basis, but has also fortified its military along the Chinese border. While the presence of nuclear weapons serve the purpose of assuring regional deterrent guarantees, the shifting geopolitical alignments in Asia could lead to growing tensions in the Indian subcontinent and might add to the volatility.

— The writer is a Senior Research Associate at Strategic Vision Institute, a think-tank based in Islamabad.

Email:sadia.kazmi.svi@gmail.com

Source: <http://pakobserver.net/geo-political-alignments-in-asia/>



## BRINGING FDI TO PAKISTAN BY UMAR ZIA KHAN

It has been a dry spell for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Pakistan. The country had received a meager amount in 2015. Pakistan has traversed through turbulent times especially owing to uncertain political situation, law and order and above all relatively unstable exchange rate. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan needs an innovative and unique strategy to attract FDI especially in the wake of CPEC. The economic cooperation between China and Pakistan is a means to progress and prosperity, it does not promise long-term benefits to the economy without identifying and capitalising on the opportunities arising from its implementation.

In addition to the long list of academic factors attracting FDI, Pakistan has to develop capacity-training labor with different vocational/technical skills and identity, and formalise, regulate commodity supply chain and opening up mineral mines to foreign and domestic investors. Some issue that can impact this are listed below.

### Pakistan's private and state assets

Chinese companies are showing keen interest in broad range of assets in Pakistan. Biggest of them so far is a proposed acquisition of 66% stakes of K-Electric with a price tag of a whopping US\$1.7 Billion. PSX has also sold 40% of stakes to a Chinese consortium. Chinese state companies are actively pursuing infrastructure upgradation of railway tracks with planned investment of US\$ 5.8 Billion. The Government of Pakistan is charting a fresh framework for privatisation of state owned assets. An Iran based consortium is showing interest in Pakistan Steel Mills (PSM). Addition to the above, Chinese investors are keen in investing/purchasing assets of various private groups in Pakistan. Executed carefully, state asset sale will fetch US\$ 40-50 Billion in the next three years.

### Developing human capacity

Capacity building will create more jobs and safeguard the brain drain from Pakistan. At present, Baluchistan holds a population of eight million with a low literacy rate. Skilled labor will play very important role in bringing FDI to any country.

### Commodities alignment with CPEC

A conservative estimate of the value of Pakistan's minerals is approximately over one trillion dollars. These minerals include sulfur, coal, coal, chromite, barytes, marble, limestone, quartzite and iron ore, gas and oil. The Provincial Government of Baluchistan is actively pursuing bids from local and international players to bid for exploration rights for up to 99 years of lease. At



current price levels, chromite has an estimated market of US\$23 Billion annually. Cumulatively, the value of raw minerals reserves at current price levels is around US\$ 300 Billion annually.

### Looking beyond Pakistan's boundaries

The Economic Corridor will connect China and Central Asian States with the Middle East and Africa. Cumulatively both these sectors (the Middle East and Africa) represent 1.3 billion humans with an average growth rate of 5%. Better understanding of these regions will help Pakistan's economy optimally capitalise on opportunities arising from CPEC.

The Middle East has eighty million people with a higher per capita income (US \$41,000 approximately). The region is rich in hydrocarbon reserves but has food security concerns. Based on better affordability and purchasing power, it is currently importing over 90 percent of food products from EU, UK and the Americas. Arab Governments are actively investing in agriculture regions to secure their food supply for foreseeable times. Mostly investors are purchasing land in African countries due to red tape and infrastructure issues in Pakistan. If CPEC is executed effectively, it will definitely create investment avenues in the agriculture sector. Pakistan provides an ideal hub (soil quality, weather conditions and geo-strategic advantage) for agriculture businesses (both production and value added products).

Prices of food commodities are on the rising trend due to higher population (estimated nine billion by 2050) and rise of urbanisation is forcing agri-land shrinkage.

Africa has 58 countries, mostly poor nations of the world, and has over 1.2 billion people to serve. China has been playing very pivotal role in developing the continent's infrastructure. China sees Africa as the largest export market by 2050. Much of the trade between Africa and China is currently being routined through the South China-Indonesia route (17,000 Km).

With CPEC fully functional, the distance between South-East China and heart of Africa will be reduced to 9,000 Kms.

### Steps for Pakistan Government to

capitalise on CPEC

Following policy guideline is necessary

1. Steady Exchange Rate and low interest rates
2. Law and Order (Much improved already)

3. Energy Capacity and Infrastructure
4. Establishment and promotion of export/trade zones
  - a. Mineral Processing Zones – For Chinese Buyers
  - b. Agriculture Processing Zones- For Middle Eastern Buyers/Investors
5. Developing Human Capacity
6. Financial Inclusion – Enhancing banks liquidity to self-finance projects

Things are moving in right direction and macro-economic indicators are showing positive progress. Corporations are sitting on piles of cash with relatively younger management and above average risk appetite. I believe Pakistan is in a take-off position and such a geo-strategic advantage has never been witnessed in the history of mankind where one nation is about to reap fruits as a result of its location.

Source: <http://nation.com.pk/columns/07-Feb-2017/bringing-fdi-to-pakistan>

## TRUMP'S ECONOMIC POLICIES BY FAROOQ HASSAN

The first few weeks have been hyperactive for US President Donald Trump. Win some, lose some. The immigration policy has become a public relations disaster. So far we have heard very little on 'Defence Policy'. Trump should remember Eisenhower's 1952 lament that the military industrial complex is the most powerful grouping in the US. It is so even today. The Department of Defense (DoD) has a budget of US\$ 800 billion. The State Department has a budget of US\$ 70 billion (2016 figures). The military chiefs call the final shots. The military chiefs wish the wars to continue (Afghanistan, Libya, Iraq, etc). It's good business for the armament companies. Perhaps Iran next?

The contours of Trump's economic policies are emerging. First, his economic team. At cabinet level he has Steve Mnuchin at Treasury (from Goldman Sachs). Wilbur Ross will head Commerce. Ross is an investor and bankruptcy lawyer from the Wall Street. The State Department will be led by Rex Tillerson, an oil man (Exxon). Other cabinet level positions (not the cabinet itself) include Robert Lighthizer at Trade Department, Gary Cohn as chair of the national economic council. Cohn was the President of Goldman Sachs. To round off the economic team, the regulatory czar is Carl Icahn. This team reeks of the Wall Street, hard capitalism and Big Bucks.

Trump's economic policy, as gleaned so far, is based on the following five principles:

Tax amnesty (repatriation of profits held abroad by MNCs);

Lowering tax rate;

Infrastructure spending;

Deregulation;

Renegotiating (or liquidating) trade deals.

Lets do a brief analysis of each:

Tax amnesty

American multinationals have more than one trillion dollars parked offshore due to tax inversion. The Information Technology companies have US\$ 850 billion. Healthcare US\$ 460 billion. Industrials US\$ 270 billion. Consumer staples US\$ 240 billion. Financials US\$ 215 billion. If a Trump campaign proposal regarding untaxed foreign earnings becomes law, a flood of US\$ one

trillion or more could come back to the US. It would be used for dividends, share buybacks and acquisitions. All thus, combined, could add 1.5% to the GDP.

**Lowering tax rate** The current rate of corporate tax is 35%. But there is a loophole: if a company leaves foreign earnings abroad, the money is exempt from the US tax until it is returned to the parent company as repatriated income. The Trump team is weighing options to bring down corporate tax to 15-20 %.

**Infrastructure spending** The US has a woefully inadequate infrastructure. Scandinavia, Germany and Japan are all ahead. Roads, bridges, ports, dams, etc, all have to be built or upgraded. This may require an outlay of US\$ 2 trillion over the next three years. This programme may create up to one million jobs (but who will man them? The Mexicans and other immigrants are being stopped at the border).

**Deregulation** After the financial meltdown of 2008, the US government over reacted. Perhaps, justifiably so. US\$ 14 trillion was wiped out from the stock markets of the world, led by the US. "Too big to fail" institutions collapsed like a house of cards. There was universal rage against the Wall Street. Main street cried out for sanity, accountability and regulation. The two acts, the Sarbanes-Oxley and the Dodd-Frank, were duly enacted, to protect the consumers, investors and corporations. The Trump's team wants to abolish the two acts. It may be back to the casino culture again.

**Trade deals** During the election campaign, Trump promised to scrap, or renegotiate the previous trade deals. He has already moved on the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). China loves this; now China will have a free hand. America's two most important relationships are with Mexico and Canada. If NAFTA is scrapped both Canada and Mexico shall react very strongly. The other trade deals, especially with the EU, may have a severe impact on the already fragile economies in Europe.

(The writer is the Former Executive Director of the Management Association of Pakistan. The views expressed in this article are not necessarily those of the newspaper)

Source: <http://fp.brecorder.com/2017/02/20170209139370/>

## CPEC FOR PEACE BY ADNAN ADIL

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is largely viewed as a significant Chinese investment that will infuse a new life into Pakistan's economy, but this project bears much wider strategic significance and has the potential of uniting the countries of the region in a relationship of mutual economic benefit and thereby creating dependencies that promote peace.

The strategic significance of CPEC lies in the fact that the revival and expansion of the old Silk Road gives more economic choices not only to Pakistan but also to other countries of the region, reducing their dependence on the maritime trade routes controlled by the US.

The British Empire had vigorously built oceanic trade routes and regimes over the two centuries. On replacing the British Empire as the key player, the US did not disturb these routes but took command of all of them. The US's interest requires that maximum international trade is carried out through the oceans it controls.

China has created an alternative to the existing maritime order for moving goods across continents through its 'One Belt One Road' initiative. Trade conducted through the Silk Route is likely to reduce the ability of the US to control international trade.

The 3,000-km long CPEC consisting of highways, railways and pipelines connects China's landlocked north-western province of Xinjiang to Pakistan's Gwadar Port. CPEC is not restricted to Pakistan. It is a project under the Chinese vision of 'One Belt One Road' that will link 64 countries including Pakistan.

The warm water port of Gwadar near the Persian Gulf is the entry point to CPEC where Pakistan and China have developed close naval cooperation. On the other end, the Chinese province of Xinjiang is Eurasia's axle that borders Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Kazakhstan, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan. Xinjiang's capital Urumqi is emerging as a hub for China-Europe cargo trains. During the last two years, more than 328 freight trains left Urumqi to Europe and Central Asia.

This land-link is the outcome of the plan envisaged in the 1950s by Mao Zedong and Joseph Stalin. They had agreed to build rail bridges between Xinjiang and Central Asia, but after Stalin's death it was put on the backburner. Under the 'One-Belt, One Road' policy, China accelerated the plan and completed the rail link with Central Asia. China also redrew its plans for the 'One Belt One Road' to Central Asia to include Pakistan.

China's Ambassador to Pakistan Sun Weidong said his country "is looking forward to enhancing its cooperation with Iran through CPEC" and welcomed the road joining Gwadar to Chabahar in

Iran. Iran wants Gwadar to be a 'sister' port to Chabahar. The Chabahar Port will be linked via road to four major cities of Afghanistan – Herat, Kandahar, Kabul and Mazar-e-Sharif. Turkmenistan and other Central Asian states have expressed interest in the Gwadar Port which will be a nodal point for trade through Pakistan to China.

CPEC is the revival and expansion of the ancient Silk Route that was made redundant by the British rulers in India. Traditionally, the Indian Subcontinent had two openings into Xinjiang. The first was the 600-mile-long Ladakh route that runs from Kashgar to Yarkand and then over the Karakoram Pass to Leh. The other was the 460-mile long land route from Kashgar to Gilgit.

After Partition, Gilgit became a part of Azad Kashmir, which cut off Ladakh's links with Central Asia. Thus, India can trade with Central Asia only through sea routes. If India joins CPEC, as was offered by Commander Southern Command Lt General Amir Riaz on December 20, 2016 the land route between India and Central Asia will be re-established.

Speaking at an awards ceremony at the Balochistan Frontier Constabulary Headquarters in Quetta, General Riaz told India, "Join CPEC and share the fruits of future development by shelving your anti-Pakistan activities and subversion". General Riaz's invitation to India to join CPEC is conditional on India abandoning its Afghan proxies launched to disrupt CPEC.

A few days after this offer, the Chinese foreign ministry called the offer a "goodwill gesture", urging India to accept it. If India joins CPEC, it will facilitate \$70 billion worth of bilateral trade between India and China. Not long ago, Saarc had considered Pakistan a "median" territory allowing trade routes.

Afghanistan too is becoming a nodal point for China's land route to Iran. The Chinese often term Afghanistan as the 'Heart of Asia'. Trains are already running from China to Uzbekistan and then across the Amu Darya into Afghanistan. China has shown an interest in connecting Afghanistan with Balochistan.

In the words of a noted Chinese academic, Li Xiguang, "CPEC could unlock Kashmir and make it a part of a much grander regional transportation network, with Srinagar as one of its important nodes. Remember, in earlier times, Kashmir used to be the terminal of the Silk Road – it was part of the route pursued by diplomats, connecting Central Asia, Kashgar, Ladakh and Delhi".

A soft border between the two parts of Kashmir held by Pakistan and India and between Pakistan and Afghanistan will boost trade in the region through CPEC – the new Silk Road. In the days of Gen Pervez Musharraf, cross-border trade was initiated between the two parts of Jammu and Kashmir, but the process did not go beyond initial measures.

If the soft-border approach is fully adopted in the region, it will lead to the emergence of a grand trade route from Central Asia to Afghanistan, from where cargo can go to Iran through Herat. Another route can be developed to Kashgar in China via both parts of Kashmir concluding in Gwadar.

If India, Pakistan and Afghanistan can overcome their differences and agree on establishing soft borders, uniting all of Asia can become possible. The countries will be tied in trade and economic activity, and have more stakes in preventing war and maintaining peace in the region.

Email: [adnanadilzaidi@gmail.com](mailto:adnanadilzaidi@gmail.com)

Source: <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/185252-CPEC-for-peace>

## PAK-AFGHAN COOPERATION POLICY BY AMMARA FAROOQ MALIK

For now, there is an uneasy silence in the Pak-Afghan business community circles that would otherwise exchange ideas about regional trade cooperation and progress. There really can be no ‘business as usual’ or trade cooperation or objective discussions on the Afghanistan-Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement, unless both sides are open to sincere discussion and dialogue on all ancillary matters, including cross-border terrorism. The Pak-Afghan history is a complex mix of border disputes over the Durand Line, refugee influx in Pakistan and decades of informal trade at the porous 2,430km border. Afghanistan depends on foreign aid to boost its young generation that is trying to emerge from a war torn economy and counter the influence of informal trade through the cultivation and sale of drugs that account for more than 50% of illegal trade in Afghanistan which incidentally also directly funds terrorist networks in the tribal belt.

Pakistan needs a working relationship with Afghanistan to ensure that a number of common issues, with terrorism topping the list, can be effectively addressed. However, will cracking down on ‘terrorists’ overnight after deadly attacks in Pakistan really be able to avert a regrouping of terrorists both inside and across the border of Pakistan to flourish? Or does another parallel methodology need to be adopted?

It is a tricky question to ask whether the state is ‘doing enough’ because the state seems to be in a quagmire. The National Action Plan and Zarb-e-Azb will not be enough because there is a robust support network available for terrorist outfits in Pakistan. No foreign spy agencies can flourish with their agendas unless we provide them with the playing ground on our own land. Disunity, poverty, extremism, a clash of ideologies and disillusionment with the state are factors that help provide the deadly support network needed for that lone suicide bomber to calmly walk through a crowded shrine in Sehwan or a busy road such as Charing Cross right under the Safe City cameras, to get away with their agenda of killing almost 100 people combined. This support network must be broken to nip the evil in the bud. The state needs decades of good policies to counter the aftermath of 40 odd years of bad policies of the past. The reality is that the world is stuck in a vicious cycle of terrorism through which we will not be pulled out in a few days, months or even years. The same Daesh that claimed responsibility for the recent attacks in Pakistan also recently killed more than 50 people in Iraq. There are therefore no simple one-sided solutions.

It would be pragmatic for the state to conduct its due diligence to identify all avenues of support that it can generate to unify the people of Pakistan in this fight against terrorism.

We need to move away from the ‘Pakistani big brother’ rhetoric in the Pakistan-Afghanistan relationship, to speak as equals, if we expect the Afghans to take the Pakistani Government’s formal requests of regional intelligence cooperation seriously. But in turn, Afghanistan must also



realise the importance of its relations with Pakistan, a neighbour that has been there to support it in the past, rather than demonstrate an obvious shift towards India.

The army's job is to protect the land and the civil society's to keep hope alive for humanity. The new Pakistan needs to move away from the image of the 'resilient nation' in the region to the 'progressive nation' and to that end, every small input or effort whether coming from bilateral trade, joint innovative social enterprise ventures, joint regional media campaigns to inform ordinary people about the complexities of the ground realities or the role of civil society to combat extremism, must be welcomed, rather than sidelined or silenced, as the much-needed parallel diplomacy for regional cooperation to pave the way for sustained regional peace and prosperity.

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Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1333507/pak-afghan-cooperation-policy/>

## WHY INDIA IS OPPOSING CPEC? BY MUHAMMAD HANIF

Since the start of global war on terror by the US and coalition forces in Afghanistan in 2001, India has been struggling to propagate that Pakistan was an epicentre of terrorism in the region. India has been doing that with two main objectives. One, to antagonise the US and European major powers with Pakistan anticipating that ultimately Pakistan will be penalised by the US in the ways to undermine its nuclear capability to give a clear edge to India in South Asia.

Second, by trying to equate the indigenous freedom struggle of the Kashmiris' as terrorism, India wanted that the western countries should not support the resolution of the Kashmir dispute. However, to India's disappointment, while Pakistan became a part of the coalition to fight the war on terror, the US and other western powers also witnessed that Pakistan's role in fighting war on terror was of central value and therefore they did not buy India's false propaganda against Pakistan.

Nevertheless, after becoming a strategic partner of the US and having been declared by the US as a lynchpin of its Asia pivot policy, aimed at containing rising China, India was feeling much elevated and privileged. In this backdrop, in the changed post withdrawal scenario (from Afghanistan), India had become further encouraged to note that the US was tending to favour India over Pakistan in South Asia and its support for the Kashmir issue was looking to be eroding.

In 2015, to India's utter surprise, Pakistan-China signed an agreement to construct the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Gwadar port planned to connect China and Pakistan with other regional/and extra-regional countries and vice versa. India was extremely dismayed to learn that the CPEC project involving Chinese investment of US \$ 46 billion in Pakistan, was going to be a game changer for transforming Pakistan's economy in a major way.

Because of huge projected economic benefits of CPEC to Pakistan and its very deeply evolving strategic partnership with China, India has become much frustrated and it has started a propaganda campaign opposing the CPEC and diplomatically isolating Pakistan to deny CPEC's economic and strategic advantages to Pakistan and China instead of choosing to join this mega project to reap related economic benefits for its people and to create peaceful and friendly environment in South Asia by resolving disputes with Pakistan through negotiations rather than pursuing policies of antagonism and militarism.

But it is not going to happen as Indian policy makers are desiring. If India thinks that the US will continue to provide it all the required strategic military support to make it a major world power and prefers it over Pakistan in South Asia even if it refuses to cooperate with the US in its Asia pivot strategy to limit Chinese and Russian influence in Asia, it cannot happen that way. In this

context, India seems to be guided by Ashley Tellis's recently stated over ambitious hypothesis, (The News, Jan 22, 2017) in which he advocates that the US should continue to support India without expecting any reciprocity. This means that even if India continues to pursue its independent foreign policy, as it did by not supporting the US against Russia over Ukraine crises, in its sanctions against Iran and in the Syrian conflict, the US should continue to consider it as its major strategic and defence partner.

In fact, in the long run such a one sided game cannot survive. But even if India really becomes a part of the Asia pivot policy of the US, for peace in Afghanistan the US will continue to maintain good relations with Pakistan as well and India will not be able to isolate Pakistan. This is more so when China and Pakistan are now deeply connected through the CPEC project and Russia is aspiring to build good relations with Pakistan to cooperate on Afghanistan. Moreover, India has also seen that many countries like Russia, Iran and UK have already expressed their desire to join the CPEC. Hence, since it is not now possible to dent the CPEC project and isolate Pakistan, it is more logical for India to resolve its outstanding disputes with Pakistan through dialogue and join the CPEC to reap connected economic benefits rather than opposing it.

— The writer, a retired Col, is Research Fellow at Islamabad Policy Research Institute, a think-tank based in Islamabad.

Email: hanifsardar@hotmail.com

Source: <http://pakobserver.net/why-india-is-opposing-cpec/>

## WHAT TRUMP GETS WRONG ABOUT THE WTO BY JEFFREY KUCIK AND RAJAN MENON

During his presidential campaign, Donald Trump had a consistent message for American workers: You have been betrayed by elites mesmerized by globalization and multilateralism. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), and the World Trade Organization (WTO) are the problems, he said, not the solutions to stagnant wages and unemployment. Trump promised to bring back jobs by adopting an “America First” economic nationalism. That fiery message helped get him elected. But now Trump faces a problem: His solutions won’t work, and his supporters will soon realize that they’ve been had.

Few would reject Trump’s goals. He wants to ensure that American firms remain competitive and that the country’s trade partners do not discriminate against U.S. producers. But no matter how fervently he and his supporters believe it, Trump’s trade policies won’t help reestablish America’s once-commanding positions in such industries as steel, textiles, coal, or automotives. For starters, protectionist moves, such as slapping a 45 percent tariff on Chinese goods or penalizing China, Japan, and Germany for supposedly manipulating their currencies, will invite countermeasures. And that certainly won’t help American exports or create jobs.

Likewise, levying a border tax on the components that American firms import from their overseas subsidiaries will increase prices for consumers, effectively imposing a tax on consumers. That will not hurt the rich, who can better absorb the added costs, but rather the working-class people whose cause Trump claims to champion.

Then there’s Trump’s far-reaching attack on multilateral trade agreements. He insists that they are stacked against American firms, favor big exporters such as China, and encourage the flight of jobs to other countries. This diagnosis lacks nuance—unsurprising from a president who once crassly likened the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) to “a continuing rape of our country.” Worse, it flies in the face of the facts.

For one, the United States largely wrote the international trade laws, beginning with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and culminating in the current WTO, that Trump savages. American negotiators made sure to include many provisions, such as the right to subsidize agriculture and to protect certain manufactured goods from “dumping.” These provisions offer targeted protection to American producers. Furthermore, the United States, along with the EU, sequenced negotiations on trade liberalization to benefit economic sectors in which it has enjoyed a comparative advantage, such as high-end services and agriculture. The Doha Round of WTO negotiations has been stalled for more than a decade in part because the United States (and EU) refused to dismantle agricultural subsidies.

Thus contrary to Trump's claim that trade agreements amount to handcuffs, the United States remains the world's leading user of non-tariff barriers to protect domestic producers. It also spends vast sums on subsidies; the agricultural sector alone receives \$20 billion. So the United States isn't haplessly playing the global economic game by someone else's rules.

That doesn't mean the international trading system is perfect. Trump is certainly right that, in spite of America's role in designing the game, U.S. firms sometimes lose matches. Not only is the country sued more than any other is under the WTO's Dispute Settlement Understanding, but it also loses a great many cases.

But some caveats are in order. The United States gets sued a lot because it protects its interests aggressively, often using means that violate WTO rules, for instance through an aggressive application of the anti-dumping rules. It isn't that the WTO constrains Washington. It's that Washington has been willing to risk sanctions when shirking its commitments. And that's because the United States itself uses the system to sue trade partners it believes are violating the agreement. Moreover, Washington doesn't lose at a higher rate than other WTO members do; 95 percent of all complainants lose whether they are taking action against big or small countries, rich or poor. A case in point: the United States has sued China, Trump's favorite target on the trade front, more than 20 times since 2001, and the United States won most of those cases, including disputes over Chinese steel and raw materials.

Of course, the WTO's enforcement record is imperfect. Winning a case is different from inducing compliance. Still, the right to sue when the rules are breached pushes countries to cooperate more than one might expect. During the 22 years since its creation, the WTO has helped clarify and enforce international trade law for all the major market economies. Indeed, the Dispute Settlement Understanding is held up as an example from which other organizations can learn.

If Trump really wants to renegotiate the WTO, he might be surprised to learn about the number of countries that line up to redress their grievances against America. Just ask Southeast Asian fishers and textiles manufacturers, Indian drug and energy companies, or African raw materials exporters.

Ultimately, Trump misses the point on trade deals. They aren't just about liberalizing the marketplace. They are also about devising rules that lend stability to what would otherwise be a chaotic, volatile global economy. Moreover, the United States has a vested interest in shaping global regulations in crucial areas such as labor rights, environmental standards, and intellectual property laws. These and other rules serve the economic interests of American firms and workers by helping ensure that countries comply with standards that make doing business easier. One

common criticism of the WTO has been that in areas such as intellectual property rights, its rules favor Big Pharma in advanced industrialized countries.

In Trump's world, abandoning or revamping multilateral trade agreements will benefit the American workers. But that's a naïve view. The plight of the Rust Belt and other economically distressed parts of the country can't be chalked up to unfair trade agreements or the machinations of foreign governments engaged in currency manipulation and other such shenanigans. There are larger forces at work on the home front: a zip code-shaped school system that fosters disparities in income and diminishes the prospects for social mobility; the decades-long stagnation of wages of much of the working class; widespread automation that has reduced, even eliminated, the need for human labor across significant portions of the manufacturing sector; and growing economic inequality, the magnitude of which cannot be accounted for by pointing to variation in productivity.

Making these problems part of the conversation would complicate Trump's tidy narrative. It would put on the table a host of issues about the distribution of power and wealth in the United States and the policies that underpin those asymmetries. In short, it would mean shifting the focus from the foreign to the domestic, something many politicians are loath to do. And that includes Trump. He presents himself as the consummate outsider who will fight for the country's workers. In fact, meaningful policy solutions to unemployment and economic inequality will require sacrifices by the economic class from which he hails and that dominates the President's Strategic and Policy Forum. Better, then, to continue bashing other countries for supposedly killing American jobs.

Source: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2017-03-08/what-trump-gets-wrong-about-wto>

## THE EU FACING ONE OF ITS MOST CHALLENGING YEARS – ANALYSIS BY SALVADOR LLAUDES

The year 2016 is a thing of the past, a historic (not in the good sense of the word) one for the process of integration: for the first time, and as a consequence of the referendum of 23 June, a member has decided to leave the club. This was when British voters decided not to confront globalisation in the company of the continent. They preferred to isolate themselves. The year 2016 also saw other referendums in the EU, which followed the same pattern of rejection: in the Netherlands on the Association Agreement with Ukraine and in Hungary in relation to the compulsory nature of refugee quotas. Last year also consolidated the about-turn in EU priorities, placing security (terrorism, the refugee crisis, management of borders and conflicts abroad) at the top of the political agenda, while at the same time strengthening the intergovernmental vision of the EU, given the increasingly prominent role of the European Council, not least in the period of reflection following Brexit.

The new year is even more challenging for the EU. Adding to concerns about terrorism, the handling of the refugee crisis and existing economic risks, there is the delicate management of the UK's departure, the unpredictability of the new US President and, above all, an electoral calendar that offers no let-up. Elections are set to be held in at least the Czech Republic and three of the EU's founding states (the Netherlands, France and Germany, which may be joined by an Italy embroiled in an internal crisis following Matteo Renzi's resignation), to a large extent determining where the EU heads next. Especially important is the case of France, where all the polls suggest that the National Front candidate, Marine Le Pen, will make it through to the second round of the presidential elections. If she emerges as the winner, the blow to the EU could be mortal. Nor are the consequences that could stem from strong showings by Geert Wilders in the Netherlands or the AfD in Germany exactly negligible, although in both cases it is hard to imagine a scenario in which such populist and Eurosceptical forces could take the reins of power.

Over the course of 2017 a close eye will need to be kept on the process of reflection begun by the member states in the wake of the British referendum and launched with the Bratislava Declaration, after a summer break full of meetings; the leaders present at Bratislava reiterated their commitment to establishing clear red lines with the UK, which would henceforth include not embarking upon withdrawal negotiations until Theresa May chooses to trigger Article 50 of the EU Treaty (something she has promised to do before the end of March), and the indissoluble nature of the EU's four basic freedoms, including the free movement of workers. These negotiations will undoubtedly be followed extremely closely in Spain, not only because of the importance of the bilateral relationship in purely economic terms but because of the considerable ties that join the two countries together (the unresolved dispute over Gibraltar notwithstanding).

Nor should it be forgotten that the procedure known as the ‘Rule of Law Mechanism’, triggered last year by the European Commission in an attempt to control the illiberal direction that Poland is taking, remains in force. The Commission’s recommendation from last summer was joined by a complementary recommendation in December that gives the Polish government two months to respond. If it fails to do so, activation of Article 7 of the Treaty of the EU, which may even lead to Poland losing its voting rights on the Council, cannot be ruled out. Moreover, 2017 will once again see attempts to make headway on the effective handling of the refugee crisis, after a year in which perhaps the most notable events were the controversial agreement with Turkey –which sought to close off the Aegean migration route (something it achieved, given that the number of undocumented immigrants fell 72%, although at the same time the indices of mortality in the Mediterranean climbed by an alarming 38%)– and the agreement to create the European Border and Coast Guard Agency. The success of both projects will fundamentally rely on the member states’ commitment to European values.

Other matters will similarly take on importance in 2017. The advent of Donald Trump as US President imbues relations between the US and the EU with uncertainty, and the NATO framework too. The great initiative that the two trading powers have embarked upon in recent years is the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). Trump’s criticisms of American trade policy (together with the doubts expressed by European civil society) make it unlikely that the agreement will be sealed. In any case the EU should take advantage of Trump’s arrival to make headway in the security and defence arena that makes it less dependent on its American partners, while simultaneously turning the new context into a real opportunity to get the most out of the EU Global Strategy, recently endorsed under the leadership of the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Federica Mogherini.

In foreign affairs it is important not to overlook the policy of enlarging the EU, where there has been a foreseeable lack of major developments recently, with the exception of the recommendation to start negotiations with Albania. The withdrawal of the British, traditional supporters of EU enlargement, could complicate the prospects of the Balkan states even further. There are risks here however for the EU too, which must handle the situation deftly, given Russia’s interests in the region and the demonstration that it will not hesitate to try to destabilise European interests in places such as Montenegro, Serbia and Bosnia. Meanwhile Turkey’s prospects of joining the club become more fraught by the minute, even more so after the failed coup d’état that led to the further radicalisation of President Erdoğan, who has gone so far as to talk about a possible reintroduction of the death penalty. If this should happen, it would lead almost automatically to Turkey leaving the accession process.

For all the reasons set out above, the EU confronts in 2017 one of the most challenging times it has faced, coinciding with events to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome. Both internal challenges (managing Brexit, administering the Rule of Law Mechanism on one of its



members, a round of elections characterised by the hopeful prospects of Eurosceptics and a process of uncertain reflection on the future of integration) and external challenges (redefining the transatlantic relationship following Trump's victory, the growing assertiveness of Putin's Russia, not least in the Balkans, and the handling of the refugee crisis, including the much-needed end to the war in Syria and cooperation with Turkey to stem migrant flows) will probably mark a 'before' and 'after' in the process of integration. Up to now, albeit with difficulties, the EU has been able to surmount its hurdles. Those of 2017 will not be any less high.

About the author:

\*Salvador Llaudes, Analyst, Elcano Royal Institute | @sllaudes

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# EDUCATION

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## THE CSS AND SEA BLINDNESS BY SANA SAGHIR

The first Central Superior Services (CSS) examination under revised syllabus was conducted earlier this year. Only 202 out of 9643 candidates qualified the written examination. These successful few will now undergo medical and psychological tests which are likely to cause further screening. In terms of percentage, the success rate in written examination shows a depressing 2.09. While the result puts the country's education system in poor light, the purpose of this discourse is the want of a crucial yet missing aspect in revised curriculum of the CSS examination which is the National Maritime Sector.

For instance, the national maritime sector encompassing both, economic and military dimension and developments in the Asia-Pacific region are little known subjects across Pakistan. Had it not been for CPEC, the name "Gawadar" may not have found even a mention in the mainstream political discourse much less in electronic media. The country still does not have a "maritime vision" while the subject is all together missing from the manifestos of every major political party. Terms like CPEC, Gawadar, Arabian Sea, maritime security etc have frequently appeared in the print media over the past one year or so. Even then, a great percentage of public office holders would surely be found less than familiar with what 'sea' or 'maritime commerce' means for Pakistan.

Despite being a current issue of discussion in most world capitals, the geopolitical trends in the Asia-Pacific find only a fleeting reference in the syllabus of CSS (IR contemporary issues). There is no gainsaying that the region of Asia-Pacific has, and continues to fuel economic growth in larger Asia. It has precipitated a shift in the global economic centre of gravity from Atlantic to this region. The critical need to protect sea lines of communication and scamper to grab sea based resources through claims and counter claims over wider sea expanse has concurrently given rise to friction. It has drawn in more naval and maritime forces than at any other time in contemporary history. The US, China, India, Australia and Pakistan are all understandably concentrating their naval power and focusing strategies in the region.

A new era of geo-politics, cooperation and contest is underway in the region. This is manifest in flexing of naval muscle, expanding alliances and establishing a toehold in the Indian Ocean Islands in furtherance of strategic maritime interests. An ever expanding network of joint USN-IN operations in Indo-Pacific, operational integration of Arihant, India's first nuclear submarine with Indian navy, establishment of first overseas military base by India in the Island of Seychelles, a New Delhi's first tri-services command in Andaman-Nicobar Island are only some

of the striking developments. These will have a definitive and cumulative impact in shaping the region's maritime security environment and larger world in future.

On November 14, the first Chinese cargo ship docked at Gawadar. A day earlier, the prime minister, accompanied by chief of the army staff and chief of the naval staff inaugurated the port of Gawadar. The inauguration marked the operationalisation and opening of commercial activities at the port. As CPEC matures, the national maritime security will increasingly define the economic fate of Pakistan. The success of CPEC will hinge on a fully functional port of Gawadar, the hub of all commercial activity. It will as much depend on safety and security provided to the maritime commerce of China, Pakistan and other countries travelling through sea lines of the Indian Ocean. Needless to mention, CPEC will add up to the predominant part of Pakistan's trade already shipped through the sea.

The unraveling geo-politics and maritime security, the impact of maritime sector on Pakistan's national economy as well as significance of Gawadar-CPEC are all too important issues to be ignored in any major prospective national decision making process. Yet like several other countries, Pakistan remains mired in what is termed as, "sea blindness"- also "maritime blindness". It refers to a state where large segments of population are ignorant or unmindful of oceans and attendant matters. For reasons some of which are cited here, most of Asia is turning towards sea.

Both India and United States view CPEC as inimical to their strategic interests in the region. Wary of China's presence in the Indian Ocean, the US and India have already reached a momentous accord, the Logistic Sharing Agreement (LSA) which virtually amounts to war pact. The agreement will provide ease of operations and improve sustainability of the US navy. With CPEC advancing, China is also tipped to become a two ocean navy. It has already set a foothold in the Arabian Sea.

Adding to such developments is the change of guard in Washington. The newly elected US President Trump has already declared that Hindus and India will be "America's best friends". Just what the duo of two extreme right wing leaders in Trump-Modi could do to undermine Pakistan's interests and security cannot be over-emphasised. India's far-right ultra-nationalist Hindu Sena outfit is jubilant over the success of Mr. Trump. An emboldened government in New Delhi is meanwhile aggressively shifting to war mode with Pakistan.

Over the past two decades and as part of its corporate responsibility, Pakistan Navy has made concerted efforts to expand its national outreach. This has included consequential initiatives like moving Pakistan Navy War College from Karachi to Lahore, holding large-scale multinational naval exercises, increased interaction with academia, especially in Punjab, instituting joint seminars in collaboration with public sector universities etc. A revised National Maritime Policy

and Strategy is understood to have been finalized by the Naval Headquarters/Ministry of Defence. The first Maritime Doctrine of Pakistan is also anticipated to be published in due course. The doctrine will provide an overarching view of Pakistan's maritime sector, maritime security and peace/war time roles expected of Pakistan Navy.

Given the progressing developments and its importance for Pakistan, the present and future public office bearers owe a responsibility to the nation. They must ensure that maritime domain does not escape their attention. Its inclusion in the CSS examination syllabus and institution of appropriate module in the training at the civil services academy is an indispensable and urgent national need. It is time to adopt novel approach and inject new thinking in our national psyche that has for long remained land centric. It can gain considerable momentum if juvenile brains are prepared in time for what is going to be the real battle ground in twenty first century-the Indo-Pacific region. The verse of national poet Iqbal resonates fittingly:

Source: <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2017/02/15/the-css-and-sea-blindness/>

## COURT ORDERS FPSC TO CONDUCT CSS EXAM IN URDU NEXT YEAR

LAHORE: The Lahore High Court directed the Federal Public Service Commission (FPSC) on Tuesday to conduct Central Superior Services (CSS) examination in the Urdu language next year.

The Supreme Court had passed a similar judgement in 2015.

On Tuesday, Justice Atir Mahmood took up a petition filed by Advocate Saifur Rehman who has applied for appearing in the examination. The petition said that the FPSC advertisement announcing the examination did not mention which language the examination would be conducted in. The petitioner requested the court to order the commission to comply with the directive issued earlier by the Supreme Court.

ADVERTISEMENT The judge turned down his plea to ensure that this year's examination was conducted in Urdu, citing paucity of time.

The counsel for the commission told the court that the FPSC was making arrangements to switch over from English to Urdu. A committee had been constituted to prepare recommendations in this regard and the matter had also been taken up with the Higher Education Commission, he said.

Justice Mahmood said that since this year's examination would be held at the end of the current month, the court was not inclined to issue an order for immediate implementation of the SC judgement.

He dismissed the petition with the directive to the FPSC to ensure that the examination in 2018 was held in accordance with the dictum laid down by the apex court.

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Source: <http://www.dawn.com/news/1314850/court-orders-fpsc-to-conduct-css-exam-in-urdu-next-year>

## THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN BY HANNAN RIFAAT HUSSAIN

Equal access to quality education, has been a long-standing challenge for Pakistan. Out of an estimated population of 191 million, nearly 25 million children between years 5-16, are deprived of schooling. Moreover, increasing urban-rural population divides have given strength to massive income disparities, which have made education a privilege for the wealthy, and a distant dream for the nation's rural populace. To meet these challenges, it is essential to integrate educational equity, scalable technology and progressive lesson planning, into one far-reaching strategy. UnitedWeREACH promises just that.

UnitedWeREACH, founded in 2008, is a US-based, non-profit organisation which provides scholarships and financial aid to underprivileged children. One of its programs geared towards educational equity in Pakistan, is a need-based scholarship initiative, for undergraduate engineering students at NUST. Annual financial aid worth \$2200 per student – to nearly 100 students – guarantees a place for meritorious candidates in the academic system, regardless of their financial backgrounds. Additionally, its vocational training initiative with the institute accommodates over 200 engineers from various mechanical and electrical disciplines, in an effort to enrich their technical skill sets for better market accommodation. In view of an academic system loaded with engineering majors, these programs couldn't have arrived at a better time.

Moreover, scalable technology – in the form of e-tablets – attempts to revolutionise the teaching experience in Pakistani schools. Each teacher is handed an electronic tablet, and is able to access detailed “lesson plans” for every subject, at a single touch. These lesson scripts are the electronic equivalent of text books, tailored by a team of US experts, to meet the difficulty levels of each student in the domain of mathematics, science, English, and so on. Technology-based learning eliminates the need for teachers, especially under qualified instructors in remote villages, to undergo rigorous training. Instead, readily prepared lesson plans leverage a teacher's basic ability to read and write, in order to effectively communicate tasks to students; an astonishing formula.

Furthermore, UnitedWeREACH's partnerships with a series of schools under the Punjab Education Foundation help deconstruct an important misconception in the country. The belief that development of infrastructure is the key to resolving educational inequalities in Pakistan is not necessarily true. Partner schools such as the Amal School in Tulspura, and the Light of Hope School in Forman Christian College, employ progressive teaching methodologies in existing infrastructure, to obtain optimum impact. Teachers also enjoy full access to a digital library, equipped with books and resource material used by leading schools and universities, world-over.

Interestingly, each of these teacher tablets is connected to a central server, which uses the latest analytics systems to maintain full accountability of teacher/student attendance, measure the level of progress on lesson plans, etc. Acquired feedback is used to improve teaching practices, foster student learning outcomes, and discover new, dynamic ways of presenting information to pupils.

Considerable long-term returns constitute a remarkable aspect of scalable technology. For starters, schools enjoy striking relief from manual checks and balance mechanisms, sizeable administration and management personnel, high text book prices, and static academic curriculums. But more importantly, a fully equipped teacher tablet – which caters to the entire strength of a class – costs only \$35. Likewise, lab tablets cost \$80 each. Since the tuition expenses of each student is included within the fixed cost of the tablets, an “increase” in student enrolment, would result in “decreasing” per-head costs. With nearly 74.5 million people living below the national poverty line, more than one-third of the population can gain access to affordable, quality education. Imagine the possibilities for the people.

As Pakistanis, we must also realise that some of the most successful education systems in the world, have adopted similar measures. Finland and Hong Kong, for instance, reduced the “cost” aspects of education to render it a social welfare commodity, meant for all individuals. The local standards of education in these nations continue to take their cues from the national curriculum, which is composed of theoretical core subjects (such as English, numeracy, science, arts), as well as practical activities, such as critical thinking problems and interactive team-play. Much like UnitedWeREACH, both Hong Kong and Finland, revise their curriculums on an annual basis, to meet the changing demands of pupils’, and broaden their framework of understanding.

To conclude, the use of proven technology and progressive lesson planning would certainly brighten the future of education in Pakistan. As the nation spends \$5.2 billion in real estate construction, and UNESCO identifying 25 million children out of school, it will take less than 0.4% to educate the whole of Pakistan. Hence, a shift in perspective could unveil a bright, new future for education in the country.

Source: <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2017/02/09/the-future-of-education-in-pakistan/>

## EDUCATION: BULWARK OF A NATION BY RAMEEZ ALI MAHESAR

EDMUND Burke had regarded the education as a cheap defence of a nation. Also one of the most prominent personalities Nelson Mandela had said that “education is the most powerful too which you can use to change the world”. In addition, it is deemed as one of the fundamental rights of human. It is a universal fact that one’s Life can be refurbished through education. These are the undeniable facts that identify the significance and robust power of the education. Different views over education are discrepant with one another but the collective body of these total views is structured as a defence and bulwark of a nation. As much it is spread as suffocates the neck of the issues frequently and bitterly. It is likely to inhale something pleasant and exhale something unpleasant frequently. In a similar manner, Victor Hugo had professed same idea that “He, who opens the door of school, closes the prison”. It is decipher that if a child goes to school to learn the socialization of school life and many more including ethics of life through books, friends and teachers then at least he becomes unable to commit something wrong that can be a cheap source of sending him into the prison. Getting him involved in school activities is really a giving wide birth to the wet blankets’ company who lure him towards misdeeds.

History is imbued with myriads of examples that today’s developed nations had their days of their slavery to those of the dominant ones in their time of yore but, when they succeeded in understanding the necessity, importance, significance and the power of education they started to grab it firmly and in a gradual pace they stood in the row of the world’s meliorated nations. That was the education that transformed their life of slavery into influential. The utmost and indispensable purpose of the education in words of Malcolm Forbes is to replace an empty mind with open one. Empty mind is just like a skeleton but opened mind is just like an opened room by the door but imbued with a huge material such as knowledge, skills, spirit, patience, kindness and pleasure. Another example is that the education makes a mind opened that always welcomes more and more things which it get through observations and experiences too. This process is naturally a kind of creativity. Professor M. S. dwarkin writes that the education is comprised of three things, first, mental i.e. Social education and spiritual, second, physical education that includes the military training and third, technical or vocational education which welcomes the concerned people to the very common principles of all the processes of canalization and at the same time offers the children with practical information in terms of the use of many of the different useful tools.

It has many of the components like spiritual, mental, vocational, technical, physical, social, practical and aesthetic education for leisure, home life, and citizenship. These all the components collectively stand as a defense and bulwark against threats of terrorism, social problems (like poverty and health) and many more around the nations. These all the aspects of education being a bulwark hamper the issues to get people problem smitten on the ways to nations.



Beyond the shadow of doubt, education is now universally recognized as a prerequisite for the national integrity, sovereignty, prosperity and peace. In general, it is a germination of the development. In today's age, all the countries of the world have started to bat their eyelid at improving education. All the developed countries now possess 100 percent literacy rate. Sri Lanka and Korea are also having their greater literacy rate nearly to 75 percent. It means that they have known the importance and significance of education in bringing out social development, safeguarding the peace, carrying national sovereignty, national integrity, prosperity, peace, unity, power and social change too in their nations.

Significantly, the developed countries have succeeded in setting up their projects to spread education and raising literacy rate by universalizing primary education, providing out of schools children with non-formal education facilities at primary basis, projecting country wide programs for the adults, involving many of the social groups, public and willing organizations, local communities and also commercial firms and business ones. These are the enterprising steps that developed nations have taken to enhance their development within their domains.

As for our country Pakistan, education is bad. Gender inequality in jobs and in education, faulty institutions, least training centers even on private basis but expensive too, vocational and technical training centers are also least in counting, teachers and parents of children have their least collaboration with each other in ameliorating the quality of their children's education, low budget, no check in balance in the attendance and stability of schooling environments and many more issues too are left behind unsolved. Excluding description of every snag in the aforesaid statement else is needed to be chocked bitterly as soon as possible. — The writer is freelance columnist based in Hyderabad.

Email:rameezalimahesar@gmail.com

Source: <http://pakobserver.net/education-bulwark-of-a-nation/>

# WORLD

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## TRUMPS INITIAL FOREIGN POLICY BY M A NIAZI

New US President Donald Trumps flurry of activity on assuming office has been focused on foreign policy.

This reflects the reality that he might have been elected because of the economic woes faced by many Americans, but those woes have been translated into a xenophobia that has meant the intrusion of the Great Unwashed into the rarefied corridors of diplomacy, from which they had been carefully excluded.

The USA has always been uncomfortable with the art of diplomacy, because it has always meant the exclusion of the populace. One major difficulty has been the need to accommodate the will of the people. Diplomacy has been about accommodating the will and wishes of the various monarchs heading the various countries. The USA was the first intruder into this world, trying to bring the will, not of its president, but also of the people he was elected by, into this small world.

This dichotomy was somewhat balanced by the emergence of other European colonies as independent countries, but as republics. The monarchies have not all disappeared, but many have, and monarchs personal conduct of diplomacy has virtually ended, and the US model of the popular will is now the dominant one. As a result, trade and other economic issues have emerged to the fore in diplomacy.

It therefore made sense for trump to campaign on the basis of not just transforming economic policy, but also foreign policy. His slogan of Making America Great Again should not be seen solely as triumphalism, but also exceptionalism: that the world owes the USA a living, not because it has a better product to sell, but because it is what it is.

Trump has a programme so radical that many commentators expressed the hope that the responsibilities of the office would force a certain moderation on him.

This did not include just supporters, but opponents who felt his programme was too radical to be executed. It is telling that one of the main criticisms of Trump during the election campaign had to do with his conduct of foreign policy: that he was unfit to be in control of the nuclear codes. This criticism was made not just by his opponent, Hilary Clinton, but by US President Barack Obama. Obama not just had current responsibility for those codes, and Clinton, who had been his

Secretary of State, was not just one of his advisers about their potential use, but as Bill Clinton's First Lady, had also got a unique perspective on their use.

It should be noted that the initial steps taken by Trump contain nothing that he had not promised repeatedly. They have been dismissed as placating his electorate, but this is to force an examination of what else he has promised. It is also worth noting that he has not really taken any of the steps he promised to revive the economy, which is not only the plank on his platform which attracted him the most votes, but the driver of the xenophobia that he is practicing.

As promised, he has ordered the building of a wall on the US-Mexican border, though it is not clear how he will make Mexico pay for it; he has also issued orders that refugees are not to be admitted to the USA, that visas are not to be issued to applicants from seven countries (Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Sudan, Yemen, and Somalia) with Muslim populations, that visa applications from other Muslim countries are to be scrutinized more aggressively. Such countries as Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, Indonesia and Pakistan, which have been long-standing US allies, are now waiting to have their visa applications banned.

Apparently, this move is economic, to stop refugees and other Muslims from coming to the USA and taking away jobs from native Americans. However, the motivation is racist. Native Americans also face a lack of consideration for their rights, with one of Trump's initial steps being to allow the Keystone XL pipeline to go ahead, after it was stopped because its construction would have destroyed certain Native American burial sites. The objection is not so much to foreigners taking jobs that would have gone to Americans, as non-whites coming and taking jobs that would have gone to whites.

However, the objection to people of a darker hue than whites like Trump extends to dark people born in the USA, specifically blacks, who have mostly been not just born in the USA, but who can trace their ancestry to people forcibly brought over at least longer ago than Trump's German-immigrant grandparents came over themselves. The USA has not recovered from its slavery experience, but Trump seems to represent a whiplash, an attempt by the white majority to put back the clock while it is still in a majority.

The experience of having had a black President does not seem to have helped, even though that President, Barack Obama, had several important aspects to differentiate him. He had a white mother. He had no contact with the slave experience, being the son of a Kenyan, and not the descendant of a slave. He was Harvard-educated, and was personally not exposed to the kind of inner-city poverty that produces some of the worst aspects of the black experience, and which is exploited and propagated so assiduously by whites, who coincidentally also support Trump. It is almost as if Trump is circling in on African Americans by first targeting Muslims.

It should be noted that many Africans, particularly in the areas from where slaves were taken, are Muslim, and there is even one African country (Somalia) on the list of banned countries. Thus the people brought over included a large proportion of Muslims. This religion was harshly suppressed by slave-owners, and it seems that that atavistic impulse has once again gripped American whites. Then there are still memories of the Black Muslim movement of 50 years ago, and the charismatic Malcom X.

The whole sale sacking of US envoys, coupled with the walkout of the State Departments top management, may be exaggerated by the normal turnover because of a change of party, but it is also probably a reaction to Trumps initial foreign policy moves. It is not so much a protest as a walkout by professionals who cannot see their way to implementing the new policy.

This bodes ill for Pakistan, not just because it is a Muslim country, but because there is a preponderance of Trumps inclination towards India. Pakistan had hoped for better treatment from a Republican President, but his inclination towards India was celebrated there by fundamentalists, who found Trumps anti-Muslim campaign rhetoric coinciding with theirs. Hindu supremacists would also find Trump less likely to criticize their human rights violations in Held Kashmir. Considering his congruence with Narendra Modis pro-growth promises, Trump is likelier to help him pursue his agenda.

It should be remembered that Pakistani policymakers, who have always been pro-American, may have painted themselves into a corner by their pro-Chinese stance, especially with Trump poised to turn China into the USAs primary rival. It remains to be seen how he reconciles that with drawing closer to Russia, which is cosyng up to China. That balancing act should provide pointers to Pakistan on maintaining both the US and Chinese relationships.

The writer is a veteran journalist and founding member as well as executive editor of The Nation.

maniaz@nation. com. pk

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## A NEW ASIAN CENTURY BY RAASHID WALI JANJUA

A new Asian century heralds the tectonic shift in the economic power matrix of the globe. With the trumping of Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) by the new US President, the decks have been cleared for the new kid on the Asian block, i.e. China. The recent revocation of TPP would go a long way in cementing China's leadership role in the new regional economic and trade partnership emerging in the Asia-Pacific region sans America. Some specious arguments and the election campaign mentality have resulted in the desultory promptitude in Trump's fatal pronouncement on the TPP, an economic vehicle that promised to anchor USA's economic interests deep enough in a region towards which the economic centre of the gravity of the world's economy is gravitating slowly but surely.

The six million manufacturing jobs lost to North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) weighed heavily enough on the job deprived habitués of the rust belt over whose discontentment Trump slid into power, disallowing a contrarian view on the global trade alignments. There was no time for a cold and rational calculation of the cost-benefit implications of the new economic Monroe's doctrine embraced by the new Republican administration as long as a prompt libation was offered to propitiate the fear demons of Trump voters. Little thought was given to the fact that the decision to relocate the manufacturing bases overseas by the US firms was a conscious decision by prudent corporate strategists to keep the US industrial products competitive in a global market going awry in the wake of the international financial crisis of 2008.

Decisions taken on the spur of the moment without due diligence would always boomerang in the shape of unanticipated consequences. At a time when the Asia-Pacific region needed US engagement and solid leadership, the withdrawal message has sent a signal for the economic parvenus in the Asia-Pacific to look for a Chinese umbrella. In order to understand the significance of TPP and the impact of US disengagement from it, a bit of background information is apposite. TPP was a global and regional economic partnership tying the USA into a multilateral Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with other Asian countries besides China, Japan, Republic of Korea, Australia, New Zealand, and India. The precursor to TPP ie Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) agreement had failed to deliver despite remaining in force for long. There was a need felt on the part of the USA to stitch up a new trade agreement tapping the economic potential of the Asia-Pacific region.

The US decision to engage with TPP was twofold, one to boost own exports in East Asia and the other to contain the rise of China. The decision was to benefit USA more than the other economies of the region as the proportion of the emerging economies in the global wealth had increased to 37 percent, reducing the developed countries' share to 63 percent. The emerging markets were showing promise with 70 per cent of world exports emanating through them out of which 50 percent alone belonged to BRICS countries. The US allies like Japan and Australia

were also keen on the US lead role in an economic partnership since they viewed US involvement as a security hedge against the dominant Chinese influence in the region. The economic advisors of Trump, however, peddled the benefits of a US withdrawal from TPP in terms of bringing manufacturing jobs back home, preventing US exposure to global competition of multiple tariffs of emerging economies, and reaping benefits of a bilateral free trade regime with most of the trade partners.

Trump administration has not however weighed in the trade preferences of the Asia-Pacific nations including Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) that view bilateral deals with multiple nations more of a liability compared to the level playing field offered by the multilateral free trade agreements like TPP. That the US would abjure claim to an economic leadership role in a region of emerging global wealth leaving the field clear for an ascendant China was a bet very few had placed hopes on. For China and its string of pearls policy, the current development is a godsend for its economic dominance via One Belt One Road strategy. If the Trump administration makes good on its threats of levying 45 percent tariff on Chinese exports, the Chinese countermeasures would be facilitated through a leadership role in the new post-TPP economic alignments in Asia-Pacific region.

The European sovereign debt and Japanese fiscal deficit are also some of the factors that are pushing the emerging economies towards a regional integration to take advantage of the global economic power shift towards Asia-Pacific. China already has started filling the post-TPP leadership vacuum by propping an alternate to TPP in the shape of Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), an economic grouping comprising ten ASEAN countries i.e. South Korea, Japan, Australia, India and New Zealand. In one fell swoop, therefore, Trump has upended the Obama administration's famous "rebalancing theory" of the world economy, according to which the USA was to reduce its consumption along with a concomitant increase in finished industrial goods to reduce its unsustainable fiscal deficit. The US loss therefore in Asia-Pacific is China's gain which China is keen to capitalise upon through open trade markets and economic integration.

What do these emerging trade and economic alignments portend for countries like Pakistan? After US withdrawal from TPP, a new engagement paradigm via bilateral free trade agreements with Asian countries would be the norm. India, Australia, and Japan would be wooed aggressively by the USA to wean them away from a Chinese-led multilateral free trade regime like RCEP. Though Pakistan being a smaller economy as well as an active participant in Chinese OBOR strategy might not get the same amount of attention as India still it should be prepared to steer a balanced course through active engagement with China as well as the USA regardless of her diminished importance vis-à-vis India. By facilitating CPEC component of OBOR, Pakistan would be doing China a great favour without losing her relevance to the USA as a regional ally advancing US security interests by leveraging her geostrategic location. Pakistan's geostrategic

location vis-à-vis US security interests in Afghanistan, CPEC's centrality in Chinese OBOR strategy and her new leadership role in emerging Asia-Pacific economic grouping i.e. RCEP offer gilt-edged opportunities that need to be optimally capitalised through astute politico-economic policy making and bold implementation.

The writer is a PhD scholar at NUST and can be reached at [rwjanj@hotmail.com](mailto:rwjanj@hotmail.com)

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## AFGHANISTAN: WHICH WAY NEXT? BY DAUD KHATTAK

After 15 years of international engagement and spending of billions of dollars, Afghanistan still faces multitude of challenges each having its internal and external dimensions, and the road once believed leading to rebuilding and lasting peace suddenly turns out to be murky and bumpy.

Fading interest among Western backers and undue meddling from neighbours and regional powers have unlocked doors for new actors, state and non-state, struggling to pursue their own agendas. An elusive peace means continuation of bloodshed on the Afghan soil that has been used as a playing field by major powers and Afghanistan's neighbours for long.

The new unfolding scenario has its roots in the failure on three major fronts, namely socio-economic, political and security with all closely inter-dependent. The successive Afghan governments since 2001 have failed to adopt concrete measures to boost the country's economy that would not only reduce dependency on foreign aid, but also help generate jobs to cater for the needs of its growing population, particularly the educated youth.

Unemployment, corruption in government departments, mismanagement, and widening gap between the poor and rich are the major elements increasing frustration among the majority, especially youth, thus providing space to Taliban and the so-called Islamic State (IS) propagandists to carry forward their agendas.

On the political front, the National Unity Government (NUG) is marred by differences between President Ashraf Ghani and Dr Abdullah Abdullah camps from top to bottom spreading an air of uncertainty all around. Warlords, mafia lords, corrupt officials and parliamentarians shift loyalties whenever they feel threatened or their interests not being fulfilled. The uncertain situation has also widened the ethnic divide that emerged during the post-Soviet civil war and later on further expanded during the Taliban regime.

The already tense political environment further worsened by a weeklong standoff between President Ghani and his vice president Abdur Rashid Dostum last month when the latter was accused by one of his ethnic Uzbek rivals, Ahmad Eschi, of beating and rape. The story of Eschi's alleged rape by Dostam's men appeared in December 2016 (<http://www.rferl.org/a/afghanistan-dostum-accused-abduction-rape-former-governor/28176244.html>) that roused furor in local and international media. President Ghani promised "full investigation".

In the provinces, police and security officials have their loyalties attached with warlords, ministers, parliamentarians or governors than the central state authority ([https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\\_pacific/kabul-on-edge-amid-standoff-between-](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/kabul-on-edge-amid-standoff-between-)



afghan-government-and-vice-president/2017/01/28/8a745362-e4b0-11e6-a419-eefe8eff0835\_story.html?utm\_term=.205ee23d6400). The division of authority is providing room for armed groups to continue flourish and even win moral, if not material, support among sections of society or key people in their respective areas.

Although poor socio-economic conditions and political instability are the key elements determining the level of looming threat, the major challenge to Afghanistan's peace and stability comes from the Taliban who are now spreading the war front from the erstwhile southern and southeastern to the comparatively peaceful northern region.

While the majority of Afghans believe they can and will survive the bad governance and poor economic conditions, their worst nightmare is a resurgent Taliban striking at the gates of Kabul in case the ethnic and political tension spirals into armed struggle among warlords, politicians and officials.

This happened in the strategic province of Kunduz when Taliban twice took over the provincial capital, Kunduz City, in the past two years. In the southern region, the province of Helmand is under constant Taliban pressure while the western Farah and Nimroz provinces, bordering Iran, and province of Takhar bordering the Central Asian state of Turkmenistan are witnessing huge Taliban and IMU (Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan) presence in recent months.

In the east, the IS has strong presence in least four districts of Nangarhar province. A recent report by the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan's Re-construction (SIGAR) says that the "Afghanistan's government controls or influences 52 per cent of the districts today compared to 72 per cent in November 2015" (<http://www.matthewaid.com/post/156709156706/ig-report-taliban-have-captured-15-of-all>). Although the presence of 8,400 US troops with another 3,000 from the Nato alliance in Afghanistan still carry a message of hope, Afghanistan remained the low priority topic during the recently-concluded presidential election in the United States. Even fewer words were spoken by President Trump since his taking charge of the White House.

The coming forward of Russia and China with pro-active role in Afghanistan, recently, may have its negatives and positives in the future. Being the leading regional powers and closes neighbors of Afghanistan, the two countries can play a constructive and meaningful role in bringing stability to the war-torn country.

However, if the aim, especially in case of Russia, is to neutralise the US and European interests in Afghanistan, one can easily predict a worst scenario in the days ahead. "We support and will continue to support the international community's efforts if the presence of the (Nato) alliance's countries does not pursue goals other than stabilisation and peace," Russia's permanent representative to Nato, Alexander Grushko, was quoted as saying by Interfax news agency.

Since the new US administration has yet to settle its priorities outside the country, Afghanistan's future will mostly depend on continued commitment or fading interest of its Western allies.

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## SYRIAN CONFLICT | EDITORIAL

It is not the first time that an unwanted incident has happened that could lead to the possible severing of strategic ties between Russia and Turkey but again the accidental killing of three Turkish soldiers in northern Syria on February 8 by a Russian airstrike did little to stop Ankara and Moscow from contacting each other. Soon after the incident, President Vladimir Putin sent condolences and Turkish authorities accepted the apology by terming it an unintentional act. The attack had targeted a building near the town of al-Bab, believing it to contain Islamic State (IS) fighters rather than Turkish troops. Poor cooperation between the military authorities of two countries is also being blamed for the accident in which 11 soldiers were also wounded.

The latest happening is part of a trail of accidents happening off and on for a couple of years. The relations became strained when Turkey downed a Russian jet near the Syrian border two years ago. Again, the murder of the Russian ambassador in Ankara didn't derail ties. Why? The reason is simple because the two countries need each other. Turkey relies on Russia for its energy needs and cannot miss the revenue generated through Russian tourists. It also wants a buffer zone in northern Syria free of IS and the Kurdish militia that it sees as terrorists. And Russia needed Turkey - one of Assad's fiercest opponents - to turn a blind eye to the recapture of Aleppo.

Syria has descended into a war due to the interests of stakeholder states. The main fight is between the two main parties to the conflict, i.e. the Syrian regime and the so-called "legitimate rebel groups". In essence, it has become more than just a battle between those for or against Mr Assad. A key factor has been the intervention of regional and world powers, including Iran, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and the United States. Their military, financial and political support for the government and opposition has contributed directly to the intensification and continuation of the fighting, and turned Syria into a proxy battleground.

The uprising in Syria has become the focus of global attention and a big worry for stakeholder states. Amid the growing tension, Syrians are the ultimate sufferers. The troubled history of Syria and other Middle East states should be an eye-opener for all stakeholders as well as the Muslim world that is playing the role of a silent spectator. History shows that it is not an on-going armed conflict but a compromise that can settle all perpetual disputes. At the international level, efforts are needed to make sure that the troubled Syria does not become an ideal location for global terrorism. The solution lies in avoiding self-centred politics and working for social harmony. All forces and stakeholders should be on board and work for reaching a social compact for progress, prosperity and durable peace in the region. Unity is essential for overcoming the nefarious designs of vested interest elements. Wars, evenly or unevenly matched, yield nothing but death and devastation, the results of which are short and long term, affecting generations of a nation.

## GLOBAL POWER STRUGGLE IN MIDDLE EAST BY DR MUHAMMAD KHAN

THE local uprisings of Syria in 2011 could neither be brought dexterously under-control nor did the Syrian Government address the grievances of those protesting to their satisfaction. Resultantly, the writ of the Syrian Government diminished with each passing day. The domestic rift invited regional countries to exploit the worsening situation to their respective advantages on ideological and ethnic basis. The diverging regional interests not only further complicated the nature of conflict but also provided a battleground for the major powers for their power play against each other, away from their national boundaries.

With minor variations, the Iraqi conflict too have domestic, regional and global dimension. Other Middle Eastern countries, faced uprising from 2010 to 2015 were able to put those under control at least for the time being. Nevertheless, there is an element of dis-satisfaction among the masses in the entire Middle East. There is a remarkable difference in the thinking of Muslim elites and Muslim streets throughout the Muslim world, particularly in the Middle Eastern countries still under monarchy. Then the ideological rift among two key regional states has further cemented this gap, each side trying to enlarge its constituency.

For the Muslim community, this is the most damaging trend, dividing the Muslims on sectarian lines. The overt involvement of the cold war rivals; Russia and United States in the regional conflict has left less manoeuvring space for the Bashar al Asad as well as the regional actors like Iran, Saudi Arabia and Turkey. Turkey, a member of NATO, seems more inclined towards Russia, rather US and Europe. Turkey strongly realizes that, United States and European powers are behind the Kurds, fighting for their separate homeland.

The element of Daesh (IS) is very critical in the regional politics. On one hand, US is fighting against IS and Al-Qaeda, but on the other hand these groups are fighting against Asad Regime alongside other rebels supported by Trans-Atlantic Alliance. This is a very tricky scenario of having double standards. Then, IS has killed only Muslims; no Israeli has been killed by this mysterious group, taking cover of Islam but acting in contradiction to this Great religion (Islam), which preaches peace and love for entire humanity. Indeed, the current scenario in Syria and Iraq in particular and larger Middle East in general is a true reflection of global power struggle with Syria emerged a real battle ground.

With new guards at Whitehouse, this power play is expected to be more vicious in nature and prolong in duration. President Trump has otherwise imposed a ban on seven Muslim countries with an indication of fighting against the Islamic militancy? Though he has been a man of contradictions, front line runner of promoting hate against Muslims and Islam, yet, such drastic steps were not expected from him as a President of a super power. The track-record of IS and Al-

Qaeda shows that, they are promoting the US cause, by providing an excuse for US intervention or use of force.

Whereas, for the old rivals (US and Russia), it would be a conflict for defeating each other's influence in the region, the sufferers would be the Middle Eastern region in general, Syria, Iraq and even Yemen in particular. Amid rising global power struggle and a conflicting situation in Syria, Yemen and Iraq, it is difficult to achieve peace in the region. Although the regional conflicts need a regional solution, however for the peace in this volatile region, the major powers need reconciliation and reorientation in advancing their agendas for international peace. The human sufferings in the form of casualties, loss of property, migrations and displacement call for immediate peace and rehabilitation efforts in affected region, particularly these countries.

The GCC countries have diversified their bilateral and multilateral relationship, thus a traditional fixation may not bring good results for Pakistani foreign policy. All GCC countries prefer their bilateral relationship with India, rather with Pakistan. On its part, India is maintaining an excellent relationship with Iran as well as with GCC and broader Middle Eastern states. These new developments and global alliances call for a serious rethinking at the level of Pakistan's foreign policy. To have a diversified foreign policy, Pakistan need to have a dynamic and qualified foreign minister, who can re-assess and re-orientate the foreign policy of Pakistan according to the changing regional and international trends of power politics.

— The writer is International Relations analyst based in Islamabad. Email: drmk\_edu@yahoo.com

Source: <http://pakobserver.net/global-power-struggle-in-middle-east/>

## GLOBALISATION: A DEFENCE BY AIJAZ ZAKA SYED

Globalisation has become a much despised word today, thanks to the rise of the right in the US and Europe as well as growing sentiment against immigrants and refugees.

Not long ago though, pundits, especially those from the West, prescribed globalisation as the panacea to all the problems of the world. Open borders and free trade were endlessly showcased as the be-all and end-all solution for the struggling economies of the developing world. Capitalism was the ultimate road to salvation and deliverance from poverty and all the attending afflictions.

It was largely due to that long and concerted campaign, aided by the persuasive Bretton Woods twins, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, that two of the biggest state-controlled economies India and China chucked the ideals of their founding fathers to embrace the glorious laissez-faire capitalism.

If it were not for their enthusiastic adoption of free trade, unleashing their immense economic potential, it is hard to imagine the Asian neighbours as the world's fastest growing economies today.

It is not just India and China; following the collapse of Soviet Union and defeat of socialist worldview, most countries around the world today more or less follow, or are forced to follow, the same Western model of capitalism.

After all, the world economy is dominated and run by the US, the world's largest economy, and its allies. In other words, this is the success and celebration of globalisation, long preached and promoted by the West.

So why is it being increasingly panned in the West today? It seems globalisation was great as long as it opened the doors to Western multinationals and their products in big, billion-plus markets. However, with China becoming the factory floor of the world, thanks to its cheap and enterprising human capital, this trend inevitably began to reverse.

Now if China has flooded world markets, including those in the West, with its cheap products and Japanese cars are pushing out those made in the US and Europe, India offers cheap IT solutions and bright, hardworking young men to run top US companies.

It's not just the Gulf Arab states that are dependent on the humble South Asian workers, whose blood and toil have spawned the so-called petrodollar economies; top Ivy League universities are also being increasingly peopled by the same modest men and women. And it does not end there.

Thanks to the political and economic upheavals brought on by wars and conflicts, incidentally started by the empire, and one-sided, unfair trade practices, impoverished multitudes from the global South have been migrating up north.

This is something that the champions of free markets had not clearly seen coming. For them globalisation has always meant a one-way street the monopolisation and exploitation of Third world markets and their cheap human resource. All they want is their money sans their problems.

It has become cool and immensely rewarding for political and economic elites in the West to rail against immigrants and refugees, blaming them for taking away their jobs and creating all sorts of problems including terrorism, crime and violence etc. But whose policies created these political and economic refugees?

Besides, if the Western economies are struggling and their population growth rate is stagnating, the new arrivals are hardly to blame. Most immigrants take up jobs as has been the case in the Gulf that no one in the West wants. They slog for long hours for relatively low pay. Indeed, if it were not for the immigrants, the average age in America would be even lower than that of Europe, making it even harder to compete with the emerging Asian economies.

It is just as well that it took someone from China to hold the mirror to the West. Speaking at the recent World Economic Forum in Davos, Jack Ma, the billionaire founder of e-commerce giant Alibaba, pointed out that over the last three decades the US had spent \$14.2 trillion fighting 13 wars abroad. That money could easily have been invested at home, building infrastructure and creating jobs.

“You’re supposed to spend money on your own people,” he said. “It’s not [that] the other countries steal jobs from you guys it is your (own) strategy (that is responsible for this mess).”

Ma also pointed out that the US had benefited the most from globalisation which produced massive profits for the American economy. Much of that money, however, ended up on Wall Street. “And what happened? Year 2008. The financial crisis wiped out \$19.2 trillion in the US alone. What if that money had been spent on the US Midwest, developing the industry there?”

Indeed, as yours truly has argued before, more than anything it was the catastrophic US wars in Middle East cooked up by Bush, Blair and Company against the wishes of the international community that fuelled the 2008 financial meltdown, wiping out Wall Street, not to mention the destruction of an entire country and loss of more than a million innocent lives.

Poor Obama! He had to spend most of his eight years in White House putting out the fires started by his predecessor. And now his successor is trying hard to undo all that good work when he is not busy blaming the rest of the world for Uncle Sam's woes.

Coming back to the debate; now that the poor and dispossessed of the Third World or the global South are beginning to reach out for the fruits of globalisation, it has suddenly become a big, bad bogey and is being painted as inequitable and unfair. This when the world economy is still dominated by the US with at least 134 of Fortune 500 companies being American.

As Fareed Zakaria argues, if you look at those in cutting-edge industries today, the vast majority are American: "These companies have benefited enormously by having global supply chains that can source goods and services around the world, either to lower labour costs or to be close to the markets in which they sell."

But this is changing, with the balance of global economy slowly and surely shifting eastwards. In December 2016, for the first time since the fall of the Mughal empire, when India had been the world's largest economy, Indian economy surpassed that of our erstwhile colonial masters. It wouldn't be long before China overtakes the US as the world's largest economy.

This week, ISRO (Indian Space Research Organization) launched an unbelievable 104 satellites setting a new world record and in a triumph of Indian scientists' enterprising spirit. And at least 96 of those satellites belonged to the US.

It's not just India and China who are leading this proud pageant of Asian power. Some of the finest fabrics and international designer brands are today being produced in a poor country like Bangladesh.

So as you can see, while globalisation has had some adverse effects especially on indigenous cultures in the developing world it has also benefited enterprising and hardworking communities and nations, pushing hundreds of millions out of poverty. It has generated immense wealth and huge economic opportunities where none existed.

Having long pontificated to the rest of the world about the virtues of the free market and pushing it to adopt its model of growth, the West cannot cry now about the effects of globalisation. This is a natural progression of things you win some, you lose some. The future should eventually be decided by market forces.

The writer is a Middle East based columnist.

Email: [aijaz.syed@hotmail.com](mailto:aijaz.syed@hotmail.com)



## THE HUNTINGTONIAN CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS? BY SHAHID JAVED BURKI

There are many thinkers in the Muslim world today who question the validity of Samuel Huntington prediction about the future. The Harvard University political scientist foresaw in his work a clash between the West and the world of Islam with their very different value systems. These thinkers believe that is not what is occurring in the early part of the 21st century. What is happening is a war within Islam that may turn into a war with the West if the leaders in Europe and the United States misread the situation. As I will discuss later in this part of the essay, some of the statements made and actions taken by Donald Trump may move the Muslim world in that direction.

In an insightful article, Mustafa Aykol at the Freedom Centre at Wellesley College reminds his readers of Arnold Toynbee's article, "Islam, the West and the Future." The British historian wrote that the Islamic world has been in a crisis since the 19th century since it was outperformed, defeated and even besieged by the West, in particular the colonial European powers. Islam, a religion that has always been proud of its earthly success, was "facing the West with her back to the wall," causing stress, anger and turmoil among Muslims, wrote Toynbee. He compared the crisis in Islam in his time which was not as deep as it is now with an older crisis: the plight of the Jews in the face of the Roman domination in the first BC. Not unlike today's Muslims, the Jews then were also defeated, conquered and culturally challenged by a foreign empire. This situation, Toynbee maintained, led to two reactions: One was "Herodianism" which implied collaborating with Rome and following its ways. The other was "Zealotism" which used militant methods to confront Rome.

It is not hard to note the parallel of the Jewish situation with what is happening today in several parts of the Muslim world. Many followers of the Islamic faith have turned into zealots but they are not fighting today's imperial powers, America and Europe. They are battling the Herodianists in their midst. There is not a war with the West but a war within Islam. Most of those who have died in this struggle are Muslims, not the people in the West. The targets the zealots select are not necessarily those who oppose them. They are chosen randomly as was the case with the bombing in Lahore on February 13, 2017 that took more than a dozen lives. Pakistan has lost many more people than the United States did in the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks.

Toynbee was persuaded that Muslims of his day were engaged in a similar internal struggle between their own Herodians and Zealots who embody "archaism evoked by foreign pressure." He saw Turkey's Mustafa Kemal Ataturk as an "arch-Herodian" and the Central Arabian Wahabists as arch-Zealots. The founder of modern Turkey was leaving archaic Islam behind, opting for modernisation. Toynbee was of the view that the Muslim zealots would be defeated

because they were essentially primitive and did not have access to modern technology. Had he been writing today he would have been less dismissive of the Islamic zealots. They were able to use modern communication technologies — in particular social media — to get across their message to fellow Muslims.

In his book, *The Islamic Jesus: How the King of Jews Became a Prophet of the Muslims*, Mustafa Akyol argues that another lesson from history is more pertinent for the Islamic world of today. According to his telling, “Jesus showed that sacrificing the spirit of religion to literalism leads to horrors, like the stoning of innocent women by bigoted men — as it still happens in some Muslim countries today. He also taught that obsession with outward expression of piety can nurture a culture of hypocrisy — as is the case with Muslim communities today.” Akyol’s description fits Pakistan of today where extreme corruption and crimes such as honour killings coexist with expression of piety. However, for reform to come to Islam, the global Muslim community must not be provoked from the outside.

Unfortunately that is precisely what is being done by Donald Trump’s America. The New York Times wrote an angry editorial against President Trump’s move against Muslims. “The order’s language makes clear that the xenophobia and Islamophobia that permeated Mr Trump’s campaign are to stain his presidency as well. Un-American as they are, they are now American policy,” wrote the newspaper. Of great concern was the wording of the executive order. “The United States must ensure that those admitted to this country do not bear hostile attitudes toward it and its founding principles,” it read. The obvious assumption was that all Muslims should be considered a threat. The newspaper did not accept the notion that this approach would save the United States from the threat posed by extremists in the world Islamic community. In fact, the notion today is “more credible than ever before that the United States is at war with Islam rather than targeting terrorists.

They want nothing more than a fearful, recklessly belligerent America; so, if anything, this ban will heighten their efforts to strike at Americans, to provoke yet further overreaction from a volatile and inexperienced president.” Thousands of people went to the country’s many airports to speak about the new president’s approach to the world, in particular his attack on the world’s Muslim community.

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Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1332453/huntingtonian-clash-civilisations/>

## TRUMP AND NETANYAHU BY DR ALON BEN-MEIR

### Embracing illusions, ignoring reality

President Trump remained true to his customary flip-flopping on just about every issue when he stated during a joint press conference with Prime Minister Netanyahu that he is “looking at two-state and one-state, and I like the one that both parties like... I can live with either one.” By stating so, Trump gave Netanyahu what he was hoping to get—a departure from the two-state solution. To achieve that, Trump is reportedly looking at other options that would enlist the Arab states—who presently share mutual strategic interests with Israel to form a united front against their common enemy, Iran—to help broker a solution to the Palestinian problem.

To be sure, the two leaders who are both in trouble—Netanyahu is under multiple criminal investigations for corruption, and Trump is being attacked from just about every corner for his outrageous statements, contradictions, and self-indulgence—found comfort with one another.

Netanyahu went back home feeling triumphant, as he seemingly managed to sway Trump from the idea of two states, while Trump presented himself as a statesman thinking out of the box by looking at an Israeli-Arab comprehensive peace through which to fashion a solution to the Palestinian conflict.

Although CIA Director Mike Pompeo met with Mahmoud Abbas the day before the press conference, I was told by a top Jordanian official in Amman that Abbas was abundantly clear during the meeting that there is not and will never be an alternative to a two-state solution based on the Arab Peace Initiative (API). Moreover, Abbas indicated that Hamas’s position on a two-state solution is unequivocal, and in any case, Gaza and the West Bank must constitute a single Palestinian state.

While Netanyahu often pretended that he still believes in the two-state solution, during the many encounters he had with former Secretary of State John Kerry (including a joint meeting with Egypt’s President Sisi and Jordan’s King Abdullah in Aqaba in 2016) where he was presented with a comprehensive peace plan, he repeatedly changed his position.

Netanyahu habitually claimed that his extremist right-wing partners oppose the creation of a Palestinian state under any circumstances and that his government would collapse if he were to actively pursue the idea, as if he could not form a new government with the left and centre parties who are committed to a two-state solution. Nevertheless, he continued to sing the song of two states for public consumption and to get the Obama administration off his back.

Regardless of what new ideas Netanyahu and Trump concocted, one thing remains certain: there is simply no other realistic solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict other than two independent states, Jewish and Palestinian.

The viability of this solution does not only rest on preserving Israel as a democracy with a Jewish national identity while meeting the Palestinians' aspiration for a state of their own. A careful scrutiny of other would-be alternatives floating around has no basis in reality.

Jordan is not and will never become a Palestinian state (as some Israelis advocate) because the Hashemite Kingdom will resist that with all its might; a bi-national state is a kiss of death to the Zionist dream; the establishment of a Palestinian state in Gaza while incorporating much of the West Bank into Israel is a non-starter; the creation of a federation between Israel, Jordan, and Palestine is a pipe dream; and finally, confining the Palestinians in the West Bank in cantons to run their internal affairs as they see fit, while Israel maintains security control, will be violently resisted by the Palestinians until the occupation comes to an end.

It is true that the Arab states view Israel today as a potential ally in the face of the Iranian threat, and there may well be a historic opportunity to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the context of a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace. This opportunity, though, can be materialized only in the context of the API.

The central requirement of the API is a settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict based on a two-state solution, which would subsequently lead to a regional peace. Indeed, only by Israel first embracing the API will the Arab states lend their support to a two-state solution by putting pressure on the Palestinians to make the necessary concessions to reach a peace accord.

Those who claim that the two-state solution has passed its time and new and creative ideas should be explored must know that many new ideas have been considered. None of them, however, could provide a solution that meets the Israelis' or the Palestinians' requirement for independent and democratic states enjoying Jewish and Palestinian national identities, respectively.

Netanyahu has found in Trump a co-conspirator. Both have a proven record of double talking, misleading, and often outright lying. Both are blinded by their hunger for power and are ready and willing to say anything to please their short-sighted constituencies. Neither has the vision or the courage to rise above the fray, and nothing they have uttered jointly meets the hardcore reality they choose to ignore.

What Netanyahu and Trump have demonstrated during their press conference was that both seem to revel in illusions where they find a zone of real comfort, while leaving Israelis and Palestinians to an uncertain and ominous future.

Source: <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2017/02/24/trump-and-netanyahu/>

## US MIDEAST POLICY, A MAJOR TURN AROUND BY RASHID AHMED MUGHAL

Looks like year 2017 is a year of change in global foreign policy perspective. Things were going steady, in a positive direction, global peace was the goal America wanted to attain and world trade was going on normally until 20th January 2017. But things started to change dramatically there after. Thanks to Donald Trump and his team. One order after another without proper homework, wisdom and vision and without caring for the consequences and depicting arrogance in its true form, were issued. Be it trade, military alliances, trade agreements, inter-faith harmony, relations with rest of the world, are all in disarray. No wonder Trump's popularity is at the lowest level within less than one month of his taking over as President of the most powerful country and economic engine of the world. Leaders of all the major countries are openly expressing their anger and concern at unfolding events, almost daily. The fact that his team lacks coherence can be judged from what he says on TV and what his team members state-his UN representative's statement in Security Council on two-state solution of Palestine-Israel conflict is the latest example. His statement about NATO being another diplomatic blunder.

President Obama generated excitement when he allowed his United Nations ambassador, Samantha Power, to abstain from a vote on United Nations Security Council 2334 resolution that condemned Israeli settlements and passed it unanimously. It explicitly condemned all Israeli measures "altering the democratic composition" of Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including "construction and expansion of settlements, transfer of Israeli settlers, confiscation of land, demolition of homes and displacement of Palestinian civilians".

But in recent years, the United States has gotten into the habit of protecting Israel more and more from hostile votes in the United Nations, even if the resolutions express clearly stated policy well known to Israel and everyone. That special approach to the UN seems contradictory but it is based on the idea that the Arab-Israeli dispute should not be adjudicated in the UN, but rather directly between the Israelis and the Palestinians. So the US has used its veto to prevent Security Council resolutions from pre-empting the bilateral diplomatic process. President Obama strictly followed that separation of UN voting from the peace process until his last days in White House when he allowed Ambassador Power to abstain.

What was different this time? President Obama knew he has served out the limit of his eight years in office, and he will no longer be president after January 20th. This was his last opportunity to send a signal to Israel and the world that he and his administration strongly condemn continued Israeli settlement building. When Ambassador Power explained her vote for abstention, she said bluntly that Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu on the one hand claimed to be in favor of a two-state solution to the Arab-Israeli problem, but at the same time he allowed

continued settlement building, and the two were incompatible. She suggested that he had to choose one or the other. She made clear it is US policy that favors a two-state solution without Israeli settlements.

President Obama had been patient for eight years in the face of Israeli intransigence. He spoken out clearly, as have his predecessors, asking Israel to stop building settlements. But Israel ignored his repeated requests and continues settlement activity. Finally, in the last days of his presidency, he come out with a practical expression of his deep frustration with the Netanyahu government and allowed the UN resolution to pass. The UN resolution is non-binding, under chapter six of the UN Charter, which means that UN members are not required to enforce it. However, since it passed unanimously, it sent a clear signal to Israel and the world that most countries condemn Israeli policy.

Previously Netanyahu has claimed that the building and expansion of settlements is of no importance to the rest of the world and he can continue to promote it, to satisfy his right-wing conservative supporters, without paying any penalty. Now because of the vote, his attempt to escape any consequences from his approach will be tested. It is not clear which way he will move.

President Trump ,however, criticized the US abstention, and said “As to the UN, things will be different” after he takes office. He did not explain how different at that time. But he did when he took over and addressed a joint press conference with Israel’s Prime Minister, Natanyahu.. Half the American public is basically opposed to Trump but he has expressed strong support for Israel because he knows that is a popular position. Some of his close advisors have done the same. His choice of ambassador to Israel, David Friedman, has said the US should “never” press Israel to accept a two-state solution. Trump’s son-in-law Jared Kushner has been a donor to settlement builders. And the Congress, both Republican and Democrat, can be counted on to continue to support a pro-Israeli policy. Leading members of Trump’s Republican Party, who now hold majorities in both houses of Congress, have already criticized the US abstention at the UN.

However, a few other members of the Trump administration seem to have a somewhat more balanced view. Trump’s nominee for Secretary of Defense, General Mattis, in 2013 said it seemed that Israel was moving toward apartheid, implying criticism of settlements. Mattis also explained that when he was head of the Central Command, he “paid a price every day” because Americans “were seen as biased in support of Israel.” As for Trump’s nominee to be Secretary of State, we do not know what his opinion is on Israeli settlements or Israeli policy because he has not yet spoken out on these issues.

Trump’s advisors will influence his policy on Israel but he will make the final decisions. He has indicated that he would like to be the president to help bring about an Arab-Israeli peace

agreement. He brags about his skill at making deals and he says this would be the “ultimate deal”. But it is not at all clear that he understands the complexities or nuances of the problem, so we must wait to see what he does when he is actually in the the days to come.

Middle East will be a real testing ground for Trump and his team to prove their skills in controlling terrorism dealing with rouge elements and organizations some of which have US backing and acting as US proxy. The settlement of Palestine and Israel dispute and giving Palestinians their rightful Independence and refraining Israel from settlements in usurped land will go a long way in restoring the tarnished image US has at present in the Arab world in particular and world at large.

— The writer is former DG (Emigration) and consultant ILO, IOM.

Email:mughal\_rashid@hotmail.com

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## TRUMP — IMPACT ON GLOBAL ORDER BY TARIQ KHALIL

LOT is written and being written on President Trump. Fact is that rural white America has voted for him. One must go back two hundred years to understand the conservative philosophy of the Republican Party. The population genuinely felt deprived of the jobs and that they are turning in to a minority due to influx of immigrants. Even social credentials of Democratic Party did not impress the majority. The hatred against all immigrants grew in last four decades for multiple reasons but against Muslims especially after the end of cold war sustained propaganda was unleashed by the writers of Right leaning and after Soviet Union collapsed.

American leadership needed an enemy and Islam was declared the threat to western values and civilization. Last three decade saw gradual strangulation of Muslim countries and Islam thus made number one enemy. In this transition Muslims themselves played in the hand of Western Powers in general and CIA in particular. Muslims clergy was penetrated and Islam was used and being used in the name of Islam to create wedge amongst Muslims. Sects, nationalism . TTP in Pakistan, ISIS in Middle East and in many other Muslim countries is being used as vehicle to achieve the objectives. In the process first Afghanistan was destroyed in the name of eliminating Al-Qaida, created by US earlier against USSR and later Iraq trampled in a manner in the name of destruction of weapons of Mass destruction.

During election Hillary had claimed Trump is temperamentally unfit to be the President. It was dismissed as she is a political opponent. But during and after inauguration the body language of the President, his abrupt decisions which has put his white house team in turmoil and forced them to put out the backyard fires. The firing of Acting AG raised eyebrows, and now many alarming voices are raising serious concerns in USA, but it has global impact. The most important is the claim of Dr. John D Gartner, a leading Psychiatric, s interview that Psychologists do not reveal the patient's condition until asked for and examined. According to him Mr. Trump case is different he has made an exception due to importance of his health and its impact not only in USA but globally. President is suffering from Malignant Narcissism, a dangerous mental condition. In this state the person display extreme aggressive behaviorand can go to any length.

The first impact has been in USA itself. Ban the Muslims and wall along Mexico and other intended measures brought out millions out on roads of unprecedented number in history and in major capitols of the world. Trumps other intended actions on foreign policy, economic measures, environment, and his policies against different countries who do not follow US view is likely to disturb the already fast changing strategic scenario world over. Already many western capitals are raising serious concerns. Though US Russia relation might see some detente but difference are likely to emerge on major strategic issues and it has to be seen how Trump Administration unfold its polices . Muslims countries are likely to bear major pressure and wrath

of Trump if they do not follow. Thus a very prudent articulate leadership is warranted to avoid backlash. In Pakistan already Hafiz Saeed has been put under custody along with scores of his lieutenants. Opposition is claiming it is the first sign of pressure from new administration and already blaming the Government succumbed. Trump administrations India tilt is likely to embolden India, and, as I always have been saying that it a situation fraught with extreme dangers for Pakistan. Especially our house is in disarray and country may be pushed to war like in 1971 when we refused to realise the impending dangers. Pakistan is no doubt a much stronger country than it was in 1971 and a nuclear power, but the India has also grown in power and fast developing not only ground forces but its air force and navy. India is dumping money in missile technology nuclear arsenal. Thus there is a need for Pakistan policy makers to seriously reexamine it foreign policy. It cannot be left to few advisors. There is no doubt now the new emerging power balances not only in South Asia but also far in South East, pacific and Europe.

The NATO is already sensing the troubles and US put on notice Germany on the question of trade surplus by 75 billion. the deputy Finance Minister in a interview expressed grave concerns and indicated the imbalance due to cost of production in different countries specially China. There is growing feeling in Europe's leadership to be independent in reckon making. EU survival is crucial for peace in not only Europe but also for the world at large. Mattis visit to Japan and South Korea is very important. There are 50000 US troops in Japan and 28000 in South Korea. If we go by Trumps election pledges where US troops are stationed, the countries must share the cost. How these countries react to be seen as they are important anchor against China, Russia alliance? The drift of Pakistan and Iran towards this all is but natural due growing Threat of India and US pressures and possible sanctions.

Afghanistan, Trump policy is not yet clear. Already US Command in Afghanistan asking more troops to get out of stalemate instead of engaging Talban in talks for permanent solution. It will put extra pressure on Pakistan. With Trump temperament he may approve Pentagon proposal for escalation of troops in Afghanistan. Nevertheless yes vote to UK PM on the issue of Brexit is a step toward drifting back to earlier nationalism of early 20th century which caused a race in Europe at that time to gain as much military and economic clout for each country paved the way for imbalance resulting in First World War and later followed by Second World War. Last one week actions of Trump are created ripples globally. But it must be seen how things move in next three months. Presently his actions at best are disruptive diplomacy. Already he has lifted sanction to do business with Russia and speaking to Australian PM to honor Refugee resettlement deal. In the region Iran has been put on notice in Missile test, certainly this is going to raise tensions and ultimately impact on Pakistan as well. Similarly what his policy is going to be in Afghanistan and Syria is to be seen in the coming weeks and it is there Pakistan importance emerges. It is therefore very important for Pakistan to be patient and very prudent in its approach. Knee jerk reactions should be avoided. In the end something good may emerge for Pakistan especially with regard to Kashmir irrespective of Indian hard line approach as both

Pakistan will not like an Independent Kashmir to emerge. The settlement has to be on the lines enshrined in UN agenda.

Similarly, there will be more pressure on nuclear issue and development of Missiles. A very firm and strong leadership is required which unfortunately is not seen presently. The government is mired in internal conflicts. Fake news are planted to create doubts in the country, and to create rifts within the institutions and our some of the media men playing in the hand of those orchestrating. An iron hand approach is required to stem this. Of the cuff statements are avoided. Even Europe is worried on the issue of fake news. We must not lose our horizon and long term national aims.

—The writer, a retired Brigadier, is decorated veteran of 65 and 71 wars and a defence analyst based in Lahore.

Email:tariqkhalil21@gmail.com

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## INDIAN NUCLEAR AMBITIONS | EDITORIAL

A month ago, as required by the 1998 Agreement on the Prohibition of Attack on Nuclear Installations, Pakistan and India exchanged lists of their nuclear installations and facilities. One facility which did not make the Indian list was the secretive installation in Challakere, which was described in 2015 by Foreign Policy magazine as a “nuclear city”. At his weekly press briefing, Foreign Office Spokesperson Nafees Zakaria brought up this secret nuclear city and said that India was stockpiling nuclear weapons and upsetting the balance of power in the region. India immediately denied the claims about the nuclear city, calling it a figment of Pakistan’s imagination. But, to the extent that we have any information about Challakere, it seems as if the facility there will give India enriched uranium fuel that can increase the force and destructive capability of its nuclear arsenal. That arsenal, believed to stand at about 100 weapons, could be significantly expanded by the work being done in Challakere. This would put India on par with China, and give it a thermonuclear weapons programme. That the facility was not on the list exchanged with Pakistan is probably on the technicality that there is no nuclear material present there yet but that India is continuing this work in secret is a provocation not just to Pakistan but also to China, which too is worried about India’s nuclear ambitions.

The renewed focus on India’s nuclear responsibilities should have the immediate effect of ensuring that China continues to block the Indian bid for membership to the Nuclear Supplier’s Group. India has never been considered a particularly responsible steward of its nuclear arsenal, with the NGO Nuclear Threat Initiative ranking it 23 out of 25 countries in security practices in relation to weapons-usable nuclear materials. That India is even denying the existence of the nuclear city only shows that it will continue to be opaque in its handling of nuclear safety issues. India has allowed only minimal international monitoring of its nuclear programme and the nuclear city in particular has confounded much of the international community, which can only make guesses about what is being done there. But the problem goes beyond just nuclear weapons. In his press briefing, Zakaria claimed India is working on an intercontinental ballistic missile system, which would also upend the balance of power in the region and spark an arms race with Pakistan and China. The Modi government has been even more vehement than previous governments in blaming all its security problems on Pakistan and it is likely to be more bullish on the need for a conventional and nuclear arms build-up. This threatens the stability of the entire region and makes it even more imperative that the international community take a lead diplomatic role in tamping down tensions. That would start with taking action against India’s brutal and illegal occupation of Kashmir and its habit of blaming Pakistan of being behind the genuine liberation movement. Only once these core issues are sorted will there be a chance of moving ahead on matters like nuclear de-escalation.

Source: <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/185433-Indian-nuclear-ambitions>

## NORTH KOREA IS PRACTICING FOR NUCLEAR WAR BY JEFFREY LEWIS

On In the past, North Korea tested all its No-dong missiles out of a single military test site near a village of the same name. (Why, yes, the U.S. analysts did name the missiles after the town. The emasculating quality was a pure coincidence, I am sure.) These tests were designed to demonstrate that the Scud and No-dong missiles worked. They were tests in the literal sense of the word.

In recent years, however, North Korea has started launching Scuds and No-dongs from different locations all over the damn country. These aren't missile tests, they are military exercises. North Korea knows the missiles work. What the military units are doing now is practicing — practicing for a nuclear war.

The North Koreans haven't exactly been coy about this. Last year, North Korea tested a No-dong missile. Afterward, North Korea published a map showing that the missile was fired to a point at sea that was the exact range as South Korea's port city of Busan, with an arc running from the target into the ocean, down to Busan. In case you missed the map, the North Koreans spelled it out: "The drill was conducted by limiting the firing range under the simulated conditions of making preemptive strikes at ports and airfields in the operational theater in South Korea where the U.S. imperialists' nuclear war hardware is to be hurled."

This time, North Korea launched four "extended-range" Scud missiles that are capable of flying up to 620 miles. The map showed all four missiles landing on an arc that stretched down to the Marine Corps Air Station near Iwakuni, Japan. Once again, the North Korean statement doesn't leave much to the imagination: "Involved in the drill were Hwasong artillery units of the KPA (Korean People's Army) Strategic Force tasked to strike the bases of the U.S. imperialist aggressor forces in Japan in contingency."

### **So why is North Korea practicing nuking U.S. forces in Japan?**

The United States and South Korea are conducting their largest annual joint military exercise, known as Foal Eagle. The exercise, which is really a series of exercises, lasts two months and involves tens of thousands of U.S. and South Korean military personnel, as well as an aircraft carrier, bombers, and — guess what? — F-35 aircraft based out of Iwakuni. Foal Eagle is a rehearsal for the U.S.-Republic of Korea war plan, known as OPLAN 5015, which has been described as a pre-emptive strike against North Korea, including its leadership, as a retaliation for some provocation. Whether that's a fair description or not, the North Koreans certainly think the annual exercise is a dress rehearsal for an invasion. This year's menu of fun and games reportedly includes a U.S.-ROK special operations unit practicing an airborne assault on North Korea's nuclear and missile facilities.

What North Korea is doing is simply counterprogramming the Foal Eagle with its own exercise. If we are practicing an invasion, they are practicing nuking us to repel that invasion.

What is disturbing about the situation, though, is how the war plans of North Korea, South Korea, and the United States might interact. North Korea's military exercises leave little doubt that Pyongyang plans to use large numbers of nuclear weapons against U.S. forces throughout Japan and South Korea to blunt an invasion. In fact, the word that official North Korean statements use is "repel." North Korean defectors have claimed that the country's leaders hope that by inflicting mass casualties and destruction in the early days of a conflict, they can force the United States and South Korea to recoil from their invasion. While U.S. officials usually bluster that Kim would be suicidal to order the large-scale use of nuclear weapons, it's obvious that a conventional defense didn't work for Saddam Hussein or Muammar al-Qaddafi when they faced an onslaught of U.S. military power. That was suicide. Of course, that's where those North Korean ICBMs come in: to keep Trump from doing anything regrettable after Kim Jong Un obliterates Seoul and Tokyo.

Then there is this: Kim's strategy depends on using nuclear weapons early — before the United States can kill him or those special forces on display in Foal Eagle can find his missile units. Kim's strategy depends on using nuclear weapons early — before the United States can kill him or those special forces on display in Foal Eagle can find his missile units. He has to go first, if he is to go at all.

But going first is also the U.S. strategy. That means, in a crisis, the pressure will be to escalate. Whatever restraint Kim or Trump might show — and let's be honest, our expectations here are not high — each will face enormous pressure to start the attack lest his opponent beat him to the punch. Then there is South Korea, which has its own pre-emption plan, separate from OPLAN 5015 and using South Korean ballistic and cruise missiles. Pyongyang, Washington, and Seoul all have plans to go first. Two of them are going to be wrong about that.

I understand why the public is fixated on the possibility of a North Korean ICBM. A nuclear-armed ICBM is North Korea's ultimate goal and would be its final deterrent. It would be the last card that Kim would play. But it is equally, if not more, important to think through how such a war might start. It is important to understand whether the military forces and plans both sides are pursuing make war less likely or more. The launch on Monday might not have been an ICBM, but — in light of Foal Eagle — it was a warning all the same. Not of how a war on the Korean peninsula might end, but of how one might begin. Monday morning, North Korea launched four missiles from the northwest corner of the country that traveled 620 miles before landing in the Sea of Japan.

While none of the launches were the long-awaited test of an intercontinental-range ballistic missile — the sort of weapon that could reach the United States — the salvo was a big deal in its own way. Pyongyang very vividly demonstrated the warnings from Thae Yong-ho, a high-ranking North Korean diplomat who defected last year and described how the country was taking the final steps to arm its missile units with nuclear weapons. North Korea is developing an offensive doctrine for the large-scale use of nuclear weapons in the early stages of a conflict. When combined with what we know about U.S. and South Korean war plans, this fact raises troubling questions about whether a crisis on the Korean peninsula might erupt into nuclear war before President Donald Trump has time to tweet about it.

### Vanishing Hopes Of Russia-US Détente – OpEd By Maria Dubovikova

Russians love conspiracy theories and it is difficult to believe that anyone could beat them at it. They see conspiracy everywhere. Americans, on the other hand, aspire to be the first in everything, so much so that they are actually dethroning the Russians, becoming the first conspiracy theorists in the world in their pursuit of anyone who has had hypothetical contacts with Russia.

Believing that Trump was elected president thanks to Russia is dangerous for the US and counterproductive for world stability. His election can, however, be explained without having to resort to nonsensical conspiracy theories.

The political establishment, the elites, the “intelligentsia” and the upper middle class have become increasingly more detached from the rest of society. Moreover, they are not the great majority and have lost authority and influence on certain segments of society, following economic shocks and disillusionments.

While communicating with Americans, one often hears the statement: “I don’t know anyone who could vote for Trump! I don’t know who elected him.” It is the same attitude displayed in the UK by the Britons who claim to have no clue who voted for Brexit; in France, by those who wonder who would vote for Marine Le Pen; and in the Netherlands, where some Dutch have no idea who are the 55 percent who might vote for the right-wing leader and for exit from the EU.

It is the same attitude, and situation, in all the countries where far-right populism is building momentum following the destructive impact of certain socio-economic factors.

Trump’s election was a purely American affair, the result of the disastrous policies of Barack Obama. Russia’s role in Trump’s election was nil. The only thing the US can accuse Russia of is that it is happy that Trump assumed power. But unconcealed and undeniable rejoicing expressed



by a big part of the Russian public over Trump's election is justified by the extreme fatigue previous confrontations and tensions had brought about.

Trump gave hope, which now seems to have been in vain, that a change in US-Russian relations could come about and that, at least, a dialogue of equals would take place.

Spreading panic among Americans is absurd. And that is what happens when one sees the stir about the Russian ambassador to the US, Sergey Kislyak, who is accused of meeting and having talks with US officials and being a Kremlin spy.

All those who have any contacts with Russian political or business circles are under fire, accused of being Kremlin agents.

What if Russia did the same? The US ambassador to Russia was ambassador to Ukraine shortly before the so-called Euromaidan, the upheaval that resulted in the coup d'état in Ukraine.

Russian fans of conspiracy theories believe that John F. Tefft was behind those dramatic events that have seriously damaged Russia's interests. Russia's conspiracy theorists accused him of paving the ground for the revolt that was allegedly sponsored by the State Department.

Tefft is a frequent visitor to leading Russia's think-tanks and research centers, participates in expert meetings and high-level discussions and conferences, as well as with representatives of the US Embassy staff.

Visits to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other state institutions are part of his daily routine as with any ambassador. He welcomes Russian experts to the embassy as well as representatives of political circles and opposition. He is very supportive of Russian opposition. Yet, there is no hysteria over all of this in the Russian media or political circles since most of these activities are part of the daily duties of any ambassador working in any country.

An ambassador's duty is to communicate, look for opportunities for cooperation, get information to deliver to his home country, etc. The same applies to the circle of experts on both sides who are communicating and cooperating in order to take their countries away from confrontation through building cooperation and allowing a free exchange of ideas. There are several regular formats and individuals actively working on the US-Russia track. It was always like this, even in times of heightened political confrontation.

The hysteria over Russia's ambassador to the US and high-level Americans having contacts with Russian counterparts brought the possibility of ameliorating the Russia-US ties to an absolute impasse.



Political entities actually risk their careers for meeting or being in contact with Russian officials and risk being investigated for concealing the meetings.

“How much Putin in Trump?” is literally the main concern of the media and political establishment.

Trump has to use metaphors and speak obliquely on any subject in any way related to Russia.

Any attempt by the Trump administration to decrease tension with Russia will most likely be taken by the media and opposing political circles as political treason and form the basis for impeachment; if that happens, the country will plunge into a deeper political crisis and the world will be pushed to extreme uncertainty.

The possible coverage and the impact of a hypothetical meeting between Putin and Trump, which will have to take place sometime in the future, produces shivers in the present environment.

In such circumstances, all hopes to ease tension between the two powers are vanishing. Continuing the confrontation serves neither the interests of the two powers nor of the world at large. The international community is facing enormous challenges; in order to face them, it should stay united.

The Middle East needs Moscow’s and Washington’s cooperation to successfully fight terrorism and to address the rising conflicts among regional powers and forces. A confrontation between the global powers only plays into the hands of destructive forces and pushes the world closer to a fatal collapse. The unjustified paranoia in the US will thus cost the world dearly.

\*Maria Dubovikova is a prominent political commentator, researcher and expert on Middle East affairs. She is president of the Moscow-based International Middle Eastern Studies Club (IMESClub). She can be reached on Twitter: @politblogme.

Source: <http://www.eurasiareview.com/06032017-vanishing-hopes-of-russia-us-detente-oped/>

## IS GLOBALIZATION IN REVERSE? – ANALYSIS BY ROHINTON MEDHORA

The contours of globalisation are being reshaped. The Brexit vote and the election of Donald Trump mark a strong anti-globalisation sentiment even as leaders in China, India and Russia successfully marry nationalist rhetoric with a cleverly crafted overseas strategy, premised on the very tenets of globalisation. There seems to be a ‘pause’ in the unbalanced progress of globalisation of the last three decades—and this could have many positive outcomes.

Is globalisation in reverse? The question animates discussion. The evidence is mixed at best, and does not warrant some of the more dire scenarios [1] being bruited about. But globalisation’s contours are changing, and this is not a bad thing.

The Brexit vote and the election of Donald Trump are presented as Exhibits A and B of the manifestation of a change in public attitudes to globalisation. These votes did show the power of populist electioneering, much of it having a strong anti-global tinge to it. But in Brexit, turnout by age and socio-economic characteristics played a crucial role [2] in the final result. Turnout was high among older and non-urban voters and low among younger urban ones. Had the turnout been reversed, the results would have been different.

In the case of the United States election, President Donald Trump lost the popular vote by almost three million votes. Besides, not all votes for his ticket reflected anti-global tendencies just as not all votes for the Hillary Clinton ticket embodied pro-global sentiments. The electoral college system magnified what was a qualified victory into a seemingly overwhelming one. Neither the British nor the U.S. votes suggest a large change in underlying attitudes to globalisation.

Other smaller, but no less troubling, instances currently cited, such as elections in Hungary and the Philippines, appear to be driven as much by domestic considerations as by perceptions about the world writ large. There are important unknowns about what the continued strength or ascension of leaders in China, India and Russia signifies. While each of them, and especially President Xi Jinping and Prime Minister Narendra Modi, has espoused nationalist rhetoric, they have also embarked upon a series of ventures that project their countries overseas and craft a global strategy that is premised on the very tenets of globalisation—trade, and more generally economics first, international alliances, and an eye to making the best of the information age. How else do we explain Prime Minister Modi’s visits to 45 countries, (many of them repeat visits) and the resulting accords? China is on nothing less than a global tear, with the creation of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, Silk Road Initiative, Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership and positioning itself [3] as (at least) half of a “G2”.

Such multi-country surveys [4] as there are suggest that support for globalisation, especially its economic aspects, is stronger in emerging countries than in developed countries

, and that attitudes towards it are more positive among young people than older ones. But on political and social issues, such differences disappear, or at least require nuance [5] in interpretation. We must recognise that the sample size of such surveys is minuscule and seldom representative of the population as a whole, and that we do not have enough of a time series in the results to discern trends.

The broad storyline of support for globalisation in developing countries (especially the larger ones) and scepticism about it in developed countries is consistent with the underlying economics. Writing in 1995, Adrian Wood was among the first to present globalisation as it was likely to unfold [6], and its implications. To wit, so long as globalisation was driven by freer movement in goods, services and capital, educated and skilled workers in developed and developing countries would benefit, while unskilled workers in developing countries would gain at the expense of unskilled workers in developed countries. When coupled with the lack of compensating [7] retraining, safety net and other social policies in developed countries (especially the U.S. and U.K.), the resulting backlash was predictable.

Globalisation, particularly in trade, has always been a hard sell [8]. The International Trade Organization, proposed at Bretton Woods in 1944, never got off the ground because of opposition in many countries' legislatures, especially in the U.S. It wasn't until 1995 that the World Trade Organization came into being. By then, the GATT Rounds had lowered tariffs to the point where only the tough nuts—like agriculture and a host of “behind the border” issues like competition and investment policy—remained, grinding multilateral global trade negotiations to a crawl.

What next? As the contours of globalisation are reshaped, a pause might seem like reversal. It isn't; the pause might even be desirable. The globalisation of the past three decades has been unbalanced – high in movement of finance and the spread of information and communications technologies; medium in trade in goods and services; and low in movement of people and the development of regulatory and other policy responses at the national and supranational levels. If the pause is about, at the very least, managing global capital movement more sensibly, developing regimes to promote green technologies and their spread, building up an arsenal of domestic social policies [9], and, more broadly, creating a national consensus around a country's place in the world, then it will be time well spent.

Meanwhile, there is one wild card that no one appears to control. Technological change in areas come to be known as the fourth industrial revolution [10] proceeds apace. We do not know all the risks and opportunities that this movement presents, and—crucially—to whom they will present themselves. But technology is at least as powerful a driver of economic change [11]—and vitally, job displacement—as government policy is. In the absence of a clear sense about this

trend, policy responses will either be non-existent or imperfect. The seeds of a reaction to the next wave of globalisation are already being sown, and it too will seem mistakenly like reversal.

About the author:

\*Rohinton P. Medhora is President, the Centre for International Governance Innovation, Canada. Rohinton is also on twitter, and his handle is @RohintonMedhora.

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