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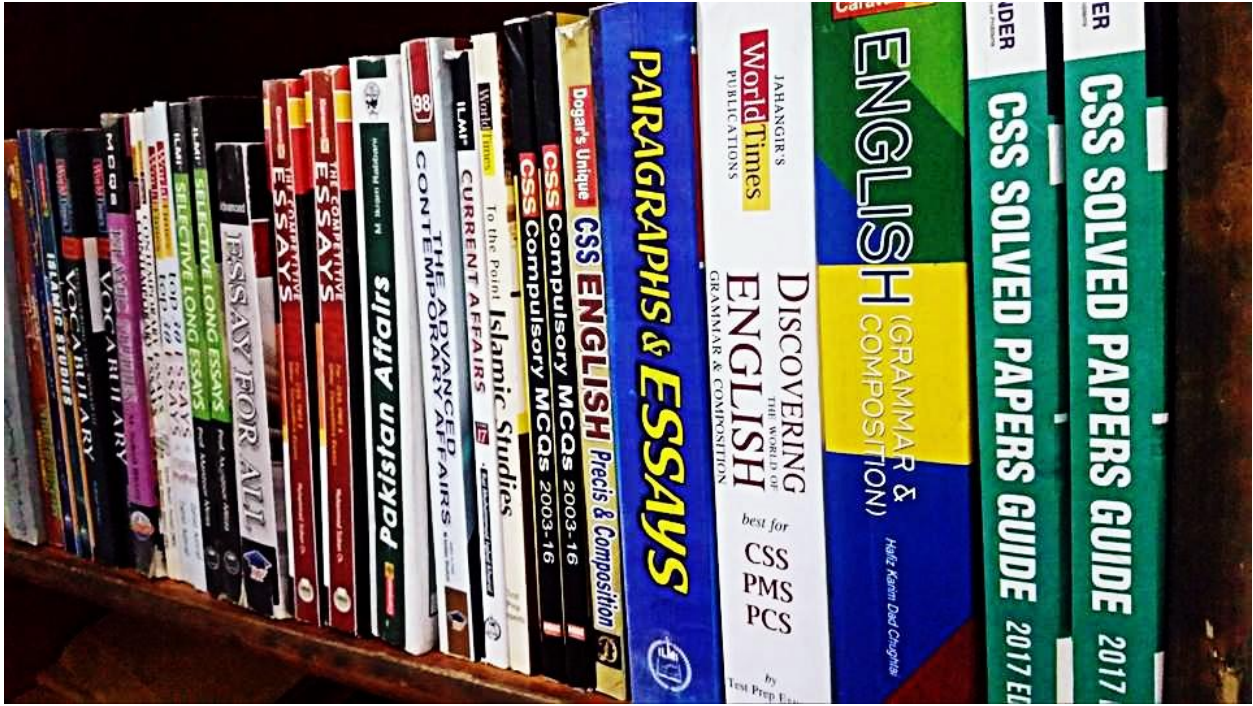
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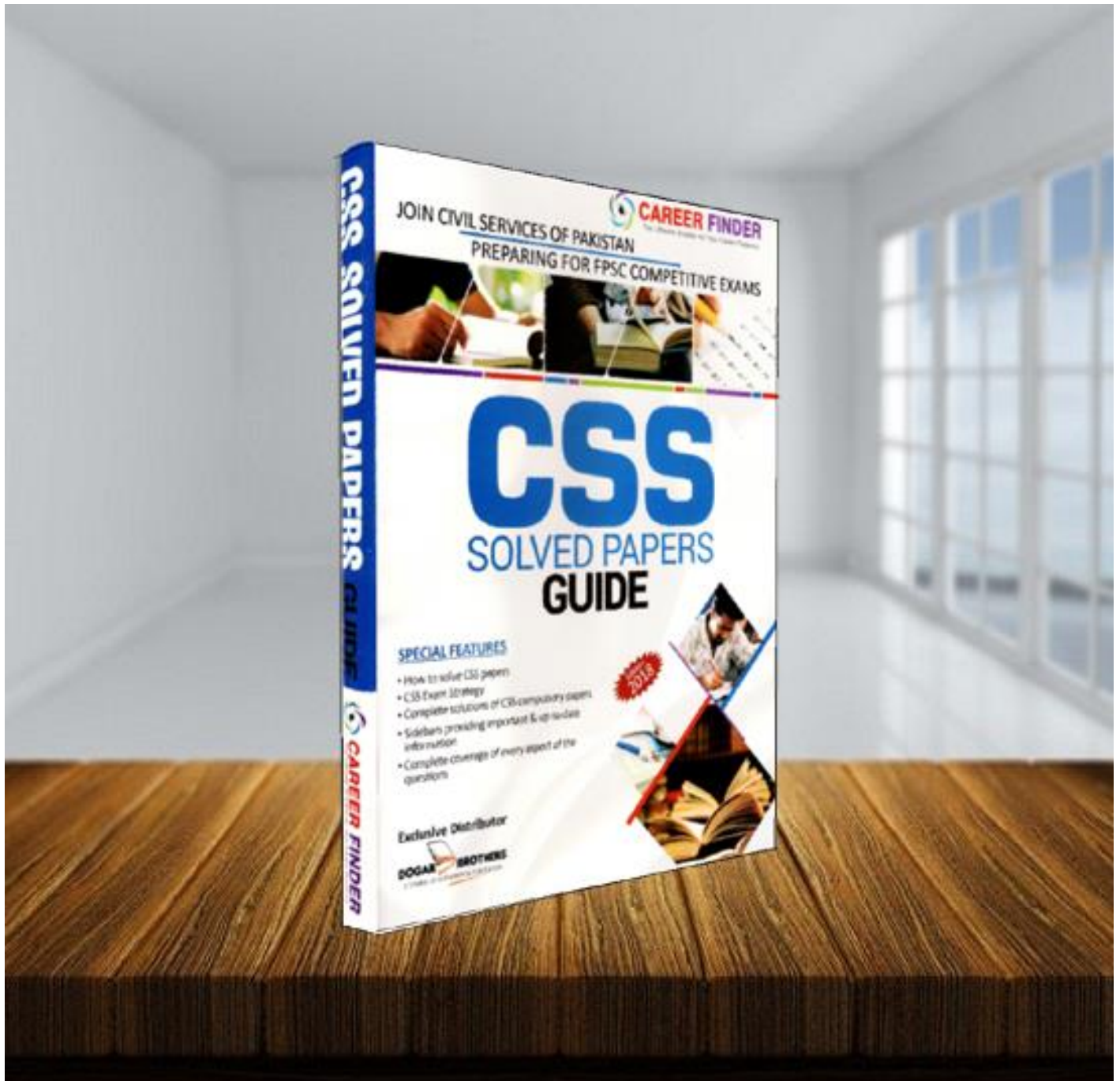
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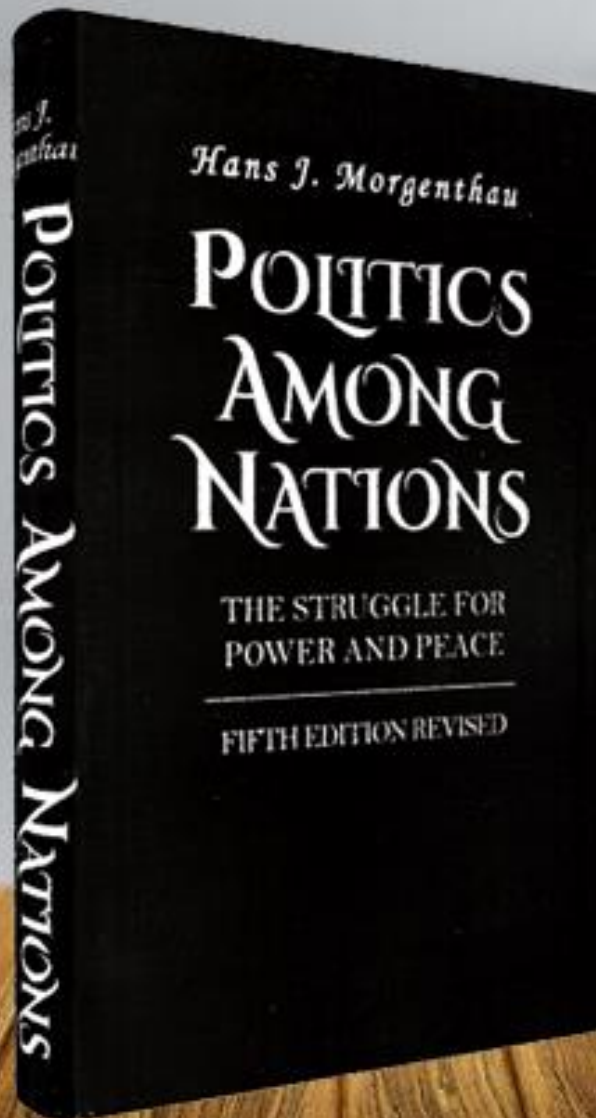
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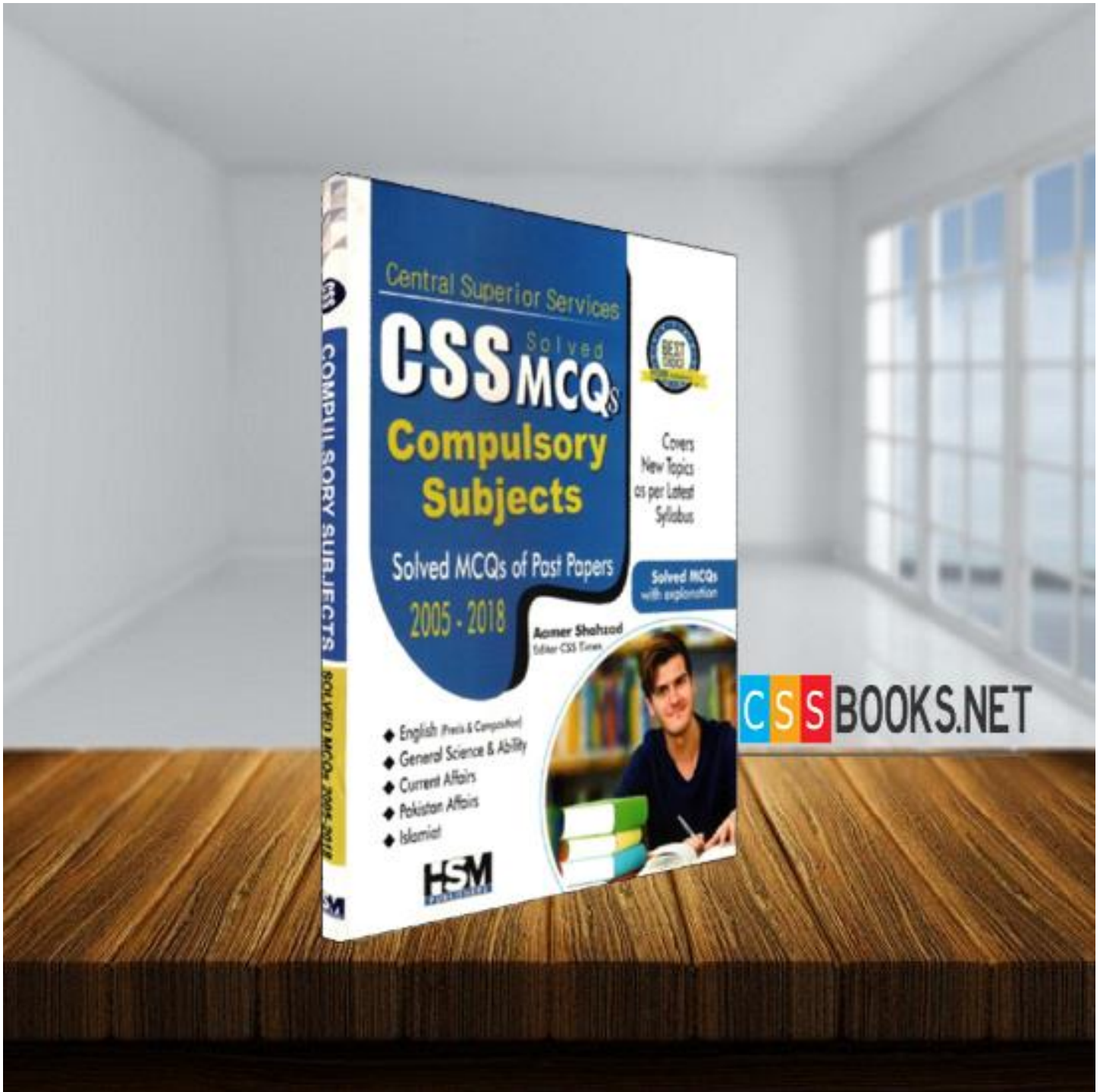
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# Table of Contents

## **PAKISTAN**

Water Policy   Editorial.....	10
Indian, Pakistani troops to take part in joint drills   Editorial .....	11
Tackling Climate Change Together By Zile Huma .....	12
Elections 2018   Editorial.....	14
National Security And Home Front By Javid Husain .....	15
Understanding the Kashmir issue Dr Syed Nazir Gilani .....	19
Pakistan Concerned Over US Withdrawal From Iran Deal.....	22
Pakistan Urged to Focus on EU, Not Just China .....	23
Pakistan, Afghanistan To Work Towards Regional Peace Under New Security Plan.....	25
Alarming Population Growth Rate   Editorial.....	27
Pakistan’s Credentials For NSG Membership By Hasan Ehtisham.....	29
Twenty Years of S Asian Nuclearisation By Moonis Ahmar .....	31
Kishanganga: Violation of IWT By Malik Ashraf.....	35
Indian Threat to Regional Security By Malik Muhammad Ashraf.....	38
OBOR Can Stop The Next Indo-Pak War By Asia Maqsood .....	41
Take Down The Bureaucracy By Aadil Aamir .....	45
Twenty Years After   Editorial .....	49
Finally, An Identity For FATA By Munir Ahmed.....	52
Oversight: Caretaker Prime Ministers Over The Years .....	55
Pak-India Peace   Editorial.....	58

## **PAKISTAN & WORLD RELATIONS**

Trajectory of Russo Pak Relations By Adeela Naureen .....	60
Pakistan-USA Relations: A Way Forward – OpEd By Syed M. Mehmood Hashim* .....	63
Pak-Turkey understanding   Editorial.....	66
Pak-Afghan Relations Need an Overhaul By Yasub Ali Dogar.....	67
Analysing Pakistan-Japan Relations By Dr Khalil-ur-Rahman Shaikh.....	71
Pak-India Relations   Editorial .....	78
Improving Diplomatic Relations By Ishaque Khan .....	79

New Era of Pakistan-China Relations By Zamir Ahmed Awan .....	82
Twists, Turns of Pak-America Relations By Salahuddin Haider.....	84

**ECONOMY**

The Budget: Tools For Economic Analysis By Iftikhar Ahmad.....	86
The Chabahar Port Project And Afghanistan's Alternative Approach To Trade – AnalysisBy Jawad Torabi .....	90
Pakistan, Iran, Central Asia and CPEC By Naveed Aman Khan.....	93
Economic Survey and the Budget By Dr Pervez Tahir.....	95
CPEC, Its Geopolitical Challenges By Muhammad Javed Siddique .....	97

**EDUCATION**

The Education Conundrum By Shahid Siddiqui.....	100
Education Concerns By Mohammad Ahmed Ikram .....	103
Budgeting Education By Mushtaq Rajpar .....	106
New Education Policy Unlikely to Win Green Light By Riazul Haq.....	109
Education on the backbench By Shabana Mahfooz.....	111

**WORLD**

Watch Out For Water Wars! By Khalid Saleem.....	114
Taking a Cue From The Koreans By Talat Masood .....	117
India Poised to Turn SCO into SAARC? By Iqbal Khan.....	120
Time for a New U.S. Foreign Policy Narrative By Ian Bremmer and Joe Kennedy III.....	123
Here Is Why North Korea Will Give Up Its Nuclear Weapons By Gordon G. Chang .....	131
Modi in China and the Future of Sino-Indian Ties By Saadat Hassan .....	135
Meeting Between Putin And Trump Not Enough To Improve Relations – Analysis .....	138
After Obama, a Nobel prize for Trump — or not so Fast? .....	143
The US and China Are Finally Having It Out By Thomas L. Friedman.....	146
Putin to Begin Fourth Term, But What Happens in 2024? .....	153
Kim-Trump Summit Faces Big Challenges By Troy Stangarone .....	156
Trump Has Opened The Door to War By Salman Shoab.....	159
US-China Relations: A New Cold War? By Syed M. Saad Zaidi .....	161
Trump's Policies Threaten World Peace By Mohammad Jamil .....	164
The New World Order: Donald Trump goes it alone By Gideon Rachman.....	167
Carnage in Gaza By Zahid Hussain .....	172



Syria: New Cold War Turning Hot By Tariq Niaz Bhatti.....	175
Growing World Disorder By Javid Husain .....	177
A Peaceful North Korea By Dr. Ahmad Rashid Malik .....	181
Iran Still Implementing Nuclear Deal: IAEA.....	183
The Unclimbable Summit   Editorial.....	186
India's Fragile Balance Between The US And Russia – Analysis By Luciane Noronha M. de Oliveira.....	187
Nuclear Supplier Group's Upcoming Plenary By Beenish Altaf .....	190

# PAKISTAN

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## Water Policy | Editorial

THE approval of a new national water policy in the closing days of the current government is a tribute to the capacities of democracy. Water is the lifeblood of Pakistan, and since the building of the world's largest irrigation system, along with a huge storage infrastructure, in the 1960s and 1970s, the sharing and utilisation of water across sectors and among provinces has been one of the thorniest issues in our politics. The policy itself has been under discussion, on and off, for over a decade, and the final signatures of the four chief ministers and the prime minister last week can be seen as a milestone, much like the water-sharing accord of 1991.

But now comes the hard part. The policy calls for increasing the share of resources from federal and provincial development programmes to be dedicated to the water infrastructure. At the federal level, this means accelerating work on the Diamer Bhasha dam, and at the provincial level it means public works to plug leaks through lining the water courses. The latter ought to be the biggest priority. Losses of water are estimated at 46 MAF annually, whereas the Diamer Bhasha dam will add 6.4 MAF of storage capacity. If the policy succeeds in reducing losses by a third, as is the stated goal, the amount of water it would free up would be double the capacity of the Diamer Bhasha dam, at presumably less than half the cost. Far too often, Pakistan's water woes during climate change are presented as shortage in the supply of water, whereas the real challenge is in the improved utilisation of the existing supply. This involves some investment in physical infrastructure, but also large-scale changes in farm-water management techniques and the sound measurement of water flows through the system, to give a few examples. This requires a crucial reform: water pricing — the only way to sensitise farmers to the prevailing scarcity of water, and to urge greater efficiency in the use of this resource. And yet, this is one area where the policy minces its words. It wants to link water pricing with the “users’ ability to pay”, which is going to be next to impossible for the state to assess.

Published in Dawn, May 2nd, 2018

Source: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1405139/water-policy>

## **Indian, Pakistani troops to take part in joint drills | Editorial**

NEW DELHI: Even as a worried world heaved a sigh of relief with the historic embrace of estranged Korean leaders, there could be good news with groundbreaking developments in nuclear-armed South Asia when Indian and Pakistani troops for the first time participate in a joint exercise in Russia under the aegis of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) in September, Indian reports said on Sunday.

Troops from the two countries have sometimes come together in peacekeeping assignments with the UN but they haven't been in a military exercise like the one they would be participating in with Russia and China among other SCO members.

Reports quoted officials as citing Defence Minister Nirmala Sitharaman as confirming India's presence in the anti-terrorism exercises during the SCO defence ministers' meeting in Beijing last week.

Reports said the drill would also see the resumption of bilateral military exercise between India and China, which was suspended last year following the 73-day Doklam standoff.

At the informal meeting between Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Chinese President Xi Jinping, the two leaders asked their militaries to strengthen communication, build trust and mutual understanding and "enhance predictability" and "effectiveness" in managing border affairs.

Termed "Peace Mission", the military exercise will be held at the Ural mountains of Russia and its main aim will be to enhance counter-terrorism cooperation among the eight SCO member countries.

While both sides allege repeated ceasefire violations across the Line of Control that have seen relations between the countries on a free fall, the participation in a joint military exercise is being seen by the Indian media as a positive step.

Source : <https://www.dawn.com/news/1404725/indian-pakistani-troops-to-take-part-in-joint-drills>

# **Tackling Climate Change Together By Zile Huma**

Every year, the government and private sectors take several initiatives to increase forest cover of Pakistan that includes twice a year plantation drives of spring and Monsoon. Still, Pakistan is far behind to achieve 25 percent of its total area covered with forest, as set target of the United Nations. The several reasons include deforestation, lack of awareness and failure to protect and survive a huge number of saplings planted every year.

The Ministry of Climate Change launched a door-to-door plantation awareness drive “Ghar Ghar Aik Shajar” under Citizen Forester Campaign of Prime Minister’s Green Pakistan Programme. Under this campaign, 120 environmental volunteer students from Islamic International University, Quaid-i-Azam University and Fatima Jinnah Women University went to 10,000 homes of various sectors of Islamabad, spread awareness messages and distributed plants. The purpose of this campaign was to create public awareness through personal interaction on behalf of Ministry of Climate Change. The environmental students understand the issues of climate change and deforestation. Hence, they were in better position to make people realise the importance of plants. A tree planted at home is more secure and protected because it becomes the responsibility of the residents of the house rather than on roadside or ground. The volunteer students also took pictures in each home while handing over the plants for a proof that they covered 10,000 homes.

Young people should be involved in climate change issues at official and non-official levels because they are energetic and ready to carry out difficult tasks

Under the second part of this campaign, 5000 plants were distributed in public schools of Islamabad with the support of Pakistan Institute for Environment-Development Action Research. It helped store in the minds of kids the importance of plantation at schools and homes. The teachers also promised to teach children about the importance of plantation regularly. The vision implanted in this age will be reflected throughout their lives in their actions. This campaign became very popular on social media as 5000 tweets were done with #GharGharAikShajar. The social media users liked this campaign and showed interest to join it. A grand

ceremony was organised by Ministry of Climate Change to award certificates and shields to the volunteers.

This campaign played an active role in mobilising the urban population of Islamabad to grow plants at homes. The residents welcomed the students who spared their time from studies and utilised in this important practical cause. This is the first environmental awareness campaign in Pakistan, perhaps, even in the world in which volunteer students went to such a large number of homes in a city to create awareness.

There are several messages attached to this initiative. The whole world is talking about climate change and global warming, emphasising on reducing carbon emissions, which requires finances, technology and capacity building. But, certain simple solutions need to be identified. We can reduce global warming to a large extent and come over climate change issue if every person in this world at least plants one tree at home every year. Second, young people should be involved in climate change issues at official and non-official levels because they are energetic and ready to carry out difficult tasks. The government should formulate such strategies that can involve young minds to implement their ideas. This campaign must be started in other provinces and federating units of Pakistan and expand it to whole Pakistan.

The writer is based in Islamabad and works on environmental issues. She can be reached at zilehuma\_1@hotmail.com. She tweets at @zilehumma\_1

Published in Daily Times, May 5th 2018.

Source: <https://dailytimes.com.pk/236002/tackling-climate-change-together/>

## **Elections 2018 | Editorial**

With the publication of the final delimitations of constituencies' list, the only imponderable in the timely elections has been eliminated. The decision by the ECP cannot be challenged in any court. Earlier in March, both the CJP and COAS had been quoted that if the delimitation wasn't finished on time this might lead to the postponement of elections. The ECP had however assured that it would complete the task well within time, a pledge it has redeemed.

As it is common in Pakistan for the rumour mill to start grinding conspiracy theories, statements attributing motives behind a possible postponement of elections came both from the legal community and politicians. A Pakistan Bar Council executive member expressed fears that the judiciary might be used to postpone elections. He wrote a letter to all 22 representatives of the legal fraternity's apex body, calling upon them to pass a strong resolution to resist any move to postpone the upcoming elections. Javed Hashmi's fertile imagination brought forth another doomsday scenario. He maintained that a caretaker government would be formed without consultation with the prime minister and leader of the opposition and the SC with the caretaker set up would postpone the elections for an indefinite period.

A perception is being formed that both Zardari and Imran Khan are dissatisfied about their electoral prospects. Zardari has suggested that dire necessity might lead the two to join hands against the PML-N after the elections. Postponement of the elections could be another way out. Two weeks back Sheikh Rashid predicted that the elections would be postponed "keeping in view the ongoing political climate of the country" and would be delayed to September or October. In his latest TV interview Imran Khan predicted the elections could be deferred by 30-45 days. Both the SC and the ECP have promised to hold free, fair and timely elections. PM Abbasi's lame duck government cannot effectively deal with the internal and external challenges faced by Pakistan. The IMF has underlined the problems the country could face if political uncertainty was to be prolonged. This requires elections to be held on schedule and an orderly handing over of power to the next elected set up.

Source : <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/05/06/elections-2018/>

# **National Security And Home Front By Javid Husain**

For an independent and sovereign country, there cannot be anything more important than national security. Security, both internal and external, is a sine qua non for a people to lead their lives in peaceful, orderly, economically prosperous, and dignified conditions enabling their genius to flower and their potential to develop to its maximum. Insecurity, on the other hand, can endanger the very existence of a country through loss of independence and internal chaos and disintegration. A nation beset with external threats and armed conflicts, and mired in internal disharmony can hardly hope to prosper or even survive.

The foremost task of the national leadership, therefore, is to safeguard a country's security defined in a comprehensive manner covering its political, economic, diplomatic and military dimensions. External security undoubtedly requires as its centerpiece military means—armed forces and armaments—to deter and, if the deterrent fails, to defend the country against external aggression. However, because of the changed nature of warfare in modern times, defense against external aggression requires not just military means but also the support of economic and technological strength. Therefore, emerging powers have generally built up their military power on the foundation of a strong economic and technological base rather than the other way around, particularly in the modern era starting with the industrial revolution.

Thus, military means and economic strength are essential elements of national security and defense against external aggression. As a general rule, the shorter the war effort, the more important the military means are for the purpose of national security. Conversely, the relative importance of economic strength for national security increases corresponding to the increase in the duration of war. If one takes this argument to its logical conclusion, it can be stated emphatically that any long-term contest between two nations would be decided primarily by their relative economic and technological strength which as needed can be translated into military power. Nations that neglected the economic dimension of their security came to grief in the long run. Ideally, the leadership of a nation should allocate resources to defense and economic development in such a manner as would deter a potential aggressor in the short term and ensure a faster rate of economic growth

and technological progress than its competitors in the long run. The main cause of the defeat and disintegration of the Soviet Union was its economic weakness rather than shortage of conventional and non-conventional armaments and forces. China, on the other hand, wisely concentrated its resources and energies on the task of rapid economic development for about three decades after the initiation of economic reforms at the end of 1978 and embarked on an ambitious program of building up its military power only after a solid economic foundation for it had been laid.

The importance of foreign policy for national security cannot be overemphasized. It is with good reason that foreign policy is called the first line of defense of a country. The first test of a sound foreign policy is that it must be synchronized with the national military and economic policies so as to form an integrated whole in the form of the national grand strategy. Secondly, foreign policy must reflect the relative importance or priorities of the nation's goals that it is expected to support or achieve. If the supreme national objective is rapid economic development, the pursuit of other national objectives must be subordinated to it as China has done since 1978. Thirdly, it is axiomatic that the foreign policy of a country must be based on a realistic assessment of the regional and global environment and its likely future trends. Finally, the demands of foreign policy must be within the reach of the nation's resources or power. An over-ambitious foreign policy that aims too high is likely to result in strategic overstretch leading to strategic exhaustion, political demoralization and instability, and even to a national debacle.

This brings us to the consideration of the home front in safeguarding national security. Internal political stability, national unity, and law and order are not only essential elements of internal peace and security but also indispensable conditions for safeguarding a nation's external security. A powerful military machine would fail in providing defense against external security threats unless it is backed by internal economic and technological strength as well as by internal political stability and national unity. Obviously, a country weakened by internal conflicts and dissensions would be in no position to safeguard its security against external threats. This lesson was driven home by our disastrous experience of 1971 when the Indian aggression led to the dismemberment of the country because of the mishandling of the situation in East Pakistan by the national leadership and the resultant political unrest and insurgency there, backed by New Delhi. The last thing that the armed forces need while defending the country against external security



threats is a crumbling home front marked by political instability, public unrest, internal conflicts, economic stagnation, and the absence of economic and social justice.

A careful review of the domestic situation in Pakistan, against the background of the foregoing, is far from reassuring. A series of developments over the past few years starting with the dharna of 2014, which was totally unjustified as the later investigations by the Supreme Court revealed, have badly destabilized the country politically with negative effects on its economic health also. The same anti-democratic forces, which were behind the dharna of 2014, have been active again over the past few years to destabilize the country politically. The possibility that some of them, wittingly or unwittingly, may have fallen victim to the conspiracies of enemy powers to foment instability in Pakistan and undermine CPEC cannot be ruled out. These anti-democratic forces belonging to the deep state have been clamoring for quite some time for the replacement of the present democratic order by a government of technocrats backed by unrepresentative state institutions. This is simply a call for dictatorship in the country. Such renegade elements, who simply have not learnt from the world history or from our own historical experience, may lead the nation to another major disaster if their shenanigans are not checked by the people of Pakistan and the enlightened sections of the public.

A democratic system of government, in which the people manage their affairs through their elected representatives, has a much better chance of ensuring internal stability, unity, cohesion, and economic and social justice than a dictatorial or unrepresentative government that is alienated from the people which, as our own past experience shows, would invite internal opposition and dissent leading to political instability and dangerous national divisions. Further, whereas democratic governments are subjected to periodic accountability by the electorate, unrepresentative institutions of the state are not directly accountable to the public. The danger is that if they are not checked by the elected governments and the Parliament, they would become power unto themselves leading to policy blunders and constitutional transgressions. We would be better off if the different institutions of the state perform their duties within their constitutional limits instead of indulging in institutional overreach. The nation would, therefore, be well advised to stick to the system of constitutional democracy and use its right of vote during the coming general elections to send this message to all and sundry. The present system of

government does need reforms but it is still better than anything that its critics have come up with as an alternative.

The writer is a retired ambassador and the president of the Lahore Council for World Affairs.-

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Source: <https://nation.com.pk/08-May-2018/national-security-and-home-front>

# Understanding the Kashmir issue Dr Syed Nazir Gilani

Over a period of time conferences on Kashmir within and outside Pakistan have gained much notoriety. However, there is no substitute for engagement and free expression in settling disputes. I was one of the Key Note speakers in the first session of a One Day International conference with 'Kashmir: An Unfinished Agenda of Partition' as its theme on May 7, 2018 in Islamabad. The conference was organised by the Islamabad based think tank Pakistan House. President of Azad Kashmir Sardar Masood Khan was the chief guest in the first session. Chairman of the Board of Governors General Ehsan-ul-Haq, DG Rana Athar Javed and their team in Pakistan House were good hosts.

Our general understanding of the Kashmir case at the UN is quite flawed. The reality is far from what has been revealed to most people. Unless we have a full knowledge about UN Resolutions and the stand of various member nations during the debates on Kashmir, we cannot be of any service to the Kashmiri people.

UN Representative for Kashmir Dr P Graham in his report submitted at the 570th meeting of UN Security Council on 17 January 1952, UN Representative for Kashmir Dr P Graham has presented the Kashmir case as follows; firstly, the people of Jammu and Kashmir, are worthy of the right to self-determination through a free, secure, and impartial plebiscite. Secondly, Graham has presented four elements of the Kashmir case; namely, rights and dignity, the security and the self-determination of these historic people. We have misdirected ourselves and have latched on to the component of self-determination only. The failure to uphold the three important elements of rights, dignity and security, has remained an error of judgement. When we ask for rights, dignity and security; the demand for self-determination emerges as a natural consequence.

Many at the conference did not seem to be aware that had we been able to keep the time table for a plebiscite proposed by United Kingdom at the 284th Meeting of the UN Security Council (UNSC) on April 17, 1948, there would have been a Plebiscite between May 1948 and October 1948. If we had accepted the advice of Colombia as member in the Commission and appointed President of the International Red Cross as Plebiscite Administrator, and not gone for the American

citizen Admiral Nimitz, the plebiscite process would have been done between 1949 and 1953.

The Indian army has been conducting demographic and psychographic profiling of Kashmiris. Could it be to identify those who oppose Indian rule and have them killed? Why does India need to be so aggressive in Kashmir?

If the PM of Kashmir had not rescinded travel restrictions on March 31, 1959, Indian citizens would have continued to enter the state on a visa or entry permit even today. If Pakistan had accepted the British proposal to go to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in November 1947 and the United States (US) had kept its course and gone to ICJ in August 1951, the Indian occupation and demands for Kashmiri accession would have been declared invalid.

Pakistan was only three months old and did not have the reliable experts that it has today to take up the offer to go to ICJ in November 1947. We have continued to misunderstand the status of the case. Kashmir is not a bilateral dispute between India and Pakistan. The Pakistan government in its joint statement with India, after June 19-23, 1997 talks at Islamabad made an error of judgement in disturbing the core position and accepting Kashmir as an include with eight other pending issues with India. The correct interpretation has been made by Great Britain at the 284th meeting of the UN Security Council on April 17, 1948. The United Kingdom has said that the "Kashmir dispute is the greatest and gravest single issue in international affairs".

UN provides for a bilateral engagement on Kashmir. However, the US has stated that any conclusions arrived at in bilateral discussions should be "just and consistent with the principles of UN Charter". The disagreement on a Kashmir referendum has not been correctly understood. It is being interpreted to prejudice the merits of the Kashmir case. At the 566th meeting of the UNSC held on November 10, 1951, the Netherlands made an important statement on the question of disagreement.

Its representative stated, "The lack of agreement therefore, does not concern this right of self-determination. It concerns the ways and means and procedures to establish the conditions for a fair expression of the will of the people of the State

of Jammu and Kashmir who want to make their choice free from any kind of fear or intimidation.”

Our understanding about the accession with India is also flawed. There is no accession with India at this point. India surrendered the state’s conditional accession at the UNSC on 15 January 1948 for a UN supervised vote. Meanwhile, the Indian army has been conducting demographic and psychographic profiling of Kashmiris. Could it be to identify those who oppose Indian rule and have them killed? Why does India need to be so aggressive in Kashmir? The answer is provided by the Quebec referendum. This referendum for independence failed because of a shortfall of 54,288 votes. The Indian Government wants to continue with its unprovoked killing of Kashmiri youth and create and exploit the number deficit during any future referendum in Kashmir.

Source: <https://dailytimes.com.pk/237906/understanding-the-kashmir-issue/>

# **Pakistan Concerned Over US Withdrawal From Iran Deal**

ISLAMABAD: A Foreign Office (FO) statement issued on Wednesday said that Pakistan believes that the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) represents a very good example of a negotiated settlement of complex issues through dialogue and diplomacy.

The FO said that Pakistan had welcomed the JCPOA when it was concluded and hoped that all parties would find a way for its continuation, especially when the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has repeatedly verified Iran's compliance.

"We have noted the willingness of the parties to the agreement to work together on upholding their respective commitments as stipulated in the JCPOA, despite the US' decision to withdraw from it," the FO added.

The FO further said that Pakistan believes that international treaties and agreements concluded through painstaking negotiations are sacrosanct and arbitrarily rescinding such agreements will undermine confidence in the value of dialogue and diplomacy in the conduct of international relations and the peaceful resolution of disputes.

Source: <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/05/09/jcpoa-represents-good-example-of-negotiated-settlement/>

## **Pakistan Urged to Focus on EU, Not Just China**

ISLAMABAD: Pakistan, while focusing on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), should also look beyond in the European Union (EU), amid the scenario evolving in the aftermath of Brexit, which is due next year.

The EU is a market of 460 million people and Pakistan should explore it to tap the trade and investment potential. For this to happen, Pakistan needs to build an positive image, enhance engagements with EU countries and improve its human rights status.

EU Horizon2020 funding explained

This was the crux of the deliberation during the seminar titled “Post-Brexit trade relations in European Union: Implications for Pakistan”, organised by the Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) on Friday.

Speaking on the occasion, Dr Pál Belényesi, managing director, Brussels Consulting and Independent Scientific Adviser to the European Parliament, said Pakistan should explore more options for trade and expand its export markets, as relying on a single trading partner is not wise.

He said Pakistan’s economy is not diversified enough and its industries should be open to transformation to reap maximum trade benefits. At this point in time, the EU is Pakistan’s largest trading partner when it comes to net trade balance and contributes almost 25% of total Pakistan’s foreign direct investments (FDIs), he added.

World sugar exporters prep review of India, EU, Pakistan support programmes

By diversifying export destinations, upgrading manufacturing and value-addition in products such as minerals, pharmaceuticals, electronic components and automobile products, Pakistan can gain more from trade with the EU countries in the post-Brexit scenario, he said.

Speaking on the occasion, SDPI Joint Executive Director Dr Vaqar Ahmed said Pakistan's exports to the UK have been on a gradual increase largely due to the GSP Plus facility. He said although the UK has given assurances that it will continue some preferential treatment for exports, the government of Pakistan will need to engage vigorously in order to make the arrangement a reality.

Published in The Express Tribune, May 12th, 2018.

Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1708095/2-pakistan-urged-focus-eu-not-just-china/>



## **Pakistan, Afghanistan To Work Towards Regional Peace Under New Security Plan**

ISLAMABAD: The new Pakistan-Afghanistan bilateral engagement framework — Afghanistan-Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity (APAPPS) — became operational on Monday with both sides hoping that its implementation would contribute to promoting peace in the region.

“Both sides agreed that effective and full implementation of APAPPS would contribute towards the common objectives of eliminating terrorism and achieving peace, stability, prosperity and development of the people of the two countries,” a statement jointly issued by the foreign ministries of Pakistan and Afghanistan said.

Earlier, the Foreign Office hosted a meeting of APAPPS. Foreign Secretary Tehmina Janjua led the Pakistani side at the meeting, whereas Afghan Deputy Foreign Minister Hekmat Khalil Karzai headed the Afghan delegation. It was the fourth meeting of APAPPS.

The two sides had consumed the earlier three rounds negotiating the contours of the framework, but an agreement remained elusive till Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi visited Kabul last month and met Afghan President Ashraf Ghani.

Islamabad, Kabul hope the action plan will contribute to promoting peace in region

The two leaders had on that occasion agreed on the new framework and tasked their foreign ministers and national security advisers with concluding the agreement.

The seven principles agreed between Pakistan and Afghanistan for the new framework for engagement included commitments that Pakistan would support the Afghan-led and Afghan-owned peace and reconciliation; the two countries would undertake effective actions against fugitives and the irreconcilable elements posing security threats to either of the two countries; both countries would deny use of their respective territory by any country, network, group or individuals for anti-state activities against either country; they would put in place a joint supervision, coordination and confirmation mechanism through liaison officers for

realisation of the agreed actions; territorial and aerial violations of each other's territory would be avoided; there would be no public blame game and instead APAPPS cooperation mechanisms would be utilised to respond to mutual issues of contention and concerns; and working groups and necessary cooperation mechanism would be set up as per APAPPS.

Both sides have operationalised six working groups, including the ones on security and intelligence cooperation.

APAPPS is a Pakistani initiative for cooperation in the areas of counter-terrorism and reduction of violence, peace and reconciliation, refugees' repatriation and joint economic development. The plan enjoys the backing of both China and the United States.

"APAPPS provides a framework to strengthen mutual trust and deepen interaction in all spheres of bilateral engagements. It is also a mechanism for finding solutions to bilateral areas of concern," the joint statement issued by Islamabad and Kabul said.

Published in Dawn, May 15th, 2018

Source: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1407732/new-framework-for-talks-with-afghanistan-becomes-operational>

## **Alarming Population Growth Rate | Editorial**

A result of years of ignorance

As with most socioeconomic issues of the country lack of attention, procrastination and complacency have managed to bring a fairly manageable problem to an unsustainable level. Pakistan's population growth rate is at a staggering 2.4% that is at least double of other regional countries like India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

Post separation Bangladesh's population was close to 67 million compared to Pakistan's 60 million. Currently Pakistan is at 200 million and formerly East Pakistan is at 164 million. This is a telling statistic that displays plainly how little priority has been/is given to population control in Pakistan over the years.

Successive governments have ignored this vital issue while opposition parties of the past and present have not bothered to highlight it much either and have rather focused on the more mainstream kosher topics like load-shedding, corruption etc. And that is where the problem lies: starting the conversation, which due to social and religious taboos has become unnecessarily impossible.

But it is not as if Pakistan is the only Muslim majority country in the world with a population explosion problem. Iran and Bangladesh managed to keep happy their most conservative ultra-right religious factions by including them in the process and providing incentives to get the job done. It is very much achievable as long as the will to do it is there. Marvi Memon merely suggesting a pilot project similar to how BISP works – that she is heading – is not going to cut it – specific and visible action is required.

Unfortunately the public sector outlay on education is so little and reforms in education so low on the list of the government's priorities that the battle seems a losing one. Yes, such macro, structural changes will come with time but there are measure that can be taken now. Free distribution of contraceptives, increased access to sterilization and edicts from religious leaders is doable given the right amount of government/institutional backing is provided. Otherwise if this already out of hand growth rate is allowed to increase further then sustainable economic growth will remain little more than a pipe dream.

Source: <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/05/13/alarming-population-growth-rate-2/>

# **Pakistan's Credentials For NSG Membership**

## **By Hasan Ehtisham**

The 48-member Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) was formed to prevent further nuclear proliferation when India diverted its Canadian-supplied nuclear technology anticipated for peaceful usage, to develop nuclear weapons in 1974. It now desires to be recognised as a member of the same NSG. As of now, however, China and seven other countries have blocked consensus with respect to India's membership.

India's pursuit for NSG membership has contributed to adjustments in the non-proliferation regime policies of Pakistan, which has much stronger credentials than India to become a member. Therefore, Pakistan formally applied for the membership in 2016 and galvanised substantial support from the US, China, Turkey and Russia. Pakistan has considerable obligatory framework, expertise, manpower and infrastructure to participate in multilateral strategic export control regimes.

Rudimentary premise of the NSG is to promote peaceful use of nuclear technology under adequate export control measures. With a history of zero nuclear terrorism, nuclear safety and security are taken as the highest priority in Pakistan's security calculations, a fact recognised by the UN nuclear watchdog.

Pakistan is effectively administering a vibrant Personnel Reliability Programme (PRP) for all its manpower employed for its strategic projects. The PRP is similar to the US system where security, medical and psychological evaluation programme is planned to certify only the most responsible personnel to perform their duties on sensitive projects.

Nuclear security in Pakistan rests on three basic pillars: Legislative and Regulatory Framework (LRF), Institutions and Organisations and Nuclear Security Systems and Measures. Pakistan has implemented LRF by promulgating the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission Ordinance, the Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority Ordinance and the National Command Authority Act. Under the LRF, Pakistan defined a comprehensive Export Control Act in 2004 on goods, technologies,

material and equipment related to nuclear and biological weapons as well as their delivery systems.

Pakistan has instituted Strategic Export Control Division (SECDIV) in 2007 to scrutinise the enactment of the Export Control Act. The Pakistan Centre of Excellence on Nuclear Security (PCENS) is functioning as an exemplary facility with the responsibility for the provision of innovative training and the sustainability of nuclear security. Another training institute, the National Institute of Safety and Security (NISAS), was established for professionals, technicians and managers in the fields of nuclear safety and security. Nuclear security systems and measures in Pakistan are based on the concept of 5Ds that includes deter, detect, delay, defend, and destroy. Nuclear Emergency Management System (NEMS) is emplaced to appropriately tackle and cope with nuclear or radiological emergencies.

Pakistan also collaborates with international mechanisms designed to support national and global nuclear security infrastructure. Pakistan is party to the Convention on Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (CPPNM), the Convention on Nuclear Safety (CNS), the Convention on Early Notification of a Nuclear Accident and the Convention on Assistance in the Case of a Nuclear Accident or Radiological Emergency. Pakistan collaborates with various IAEA committees as an active member such as the Nuclear Safety Standards Committee, Transport Safety Standards Committee, Nuclear Security Guidance Committee, Committee on Safety Standards and Global Nuclear Safety and Security Network.

All these credentials merit strengthening of the NSG by Pakistan's inclusive exports control laws as well as the designed regulatory frameworks. Only a discriminatory view may deny Pakistan's credible candidature for NSG. With comprehensive nuclear fuel cycle experiences, Pakistan can undoubtedly adopt an effective separation plan and apply IAEA additional protocols as per same criteria of the safeguards agreement finalised between the government of India and the IAEA.

Therefore, NSG members should adopt transparent, objective and non-discriminatory criteria for simultaneous acceptance of the two state's membership.

Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1710916/6-pakistans-credentials-nsg-membership/>

# Twenty Years of S Asian Nuclearisation By Moonis Ahmar

In May 1998, India and Pakistan tested their nuclear devices which plunged South Asia into a relentless nuclear arms race. Since then, the nuclearisation of South Asia has been a reality but the region is as insecure as it was before.

On May 11, 1998 when India conducted three and on May 13 two nuclear tests, Pakistan had the option either to respond accordingly or not to follow New Delhi's going nuclear and subsequent systematic acts of provocation. From May 11 till May 28, two types of pressures were exerted on Pakistan: First, internal pressure particularly from those who wanted their country to give a matching response to India and second from external powers, particularly by American President Bill Clinton who asked Pakistan not to follow India and offered billions of dollars in economic aid and assistance. Pakistan exercised the first option and conducted five nuclear tests on May 28 and one nuclear test on May 30. Sanctions were immediately imposed on Pakistan by the United States and other world powers and the country's economic predicament compounded with freezing of foreign currency accounts immediately after the nuclear tests.

Twenty years down the road one may ask: are India and Pakistan better off after conducting nuclear tests? To what extent is India responsible for plunging South Asia into this nuclear arms race? Is nuclear deterrence a guarantee for avoiding war in South Asia? In twenty years' time, India and Pakistan have their respective nuclear weapon's program claiming that their nuclear arsenal is in safe hands. The nuclear command and control system of the two countries seems to have been professionally designed to avoid nuclear disasters and inadvertent use of nuclear weapons on account of miscalculations and dangerous crisis.

Since last three decades, the two countries have been regularly sharing details about nuclear installations. Pakistan adheres to its minimum nuclear deterrence policy whereas; India still pursues its policy of no first use. Yet, despite all the safeguards, there exists the threat of a nuclear showdown between the two erstwhile neighbours in the event of an armed conflict as was the case of the Kargil war during the summer of 1999. Despite international pressure, neither India nor Pakistan have signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968) or the

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (1996) and have no intention of doing so in the near future.

Sadly, the American appeasement of North Korea despite its crossing the red line and penalising Iran by withdrawing from the JCPOA has created a bad precedent as far as controlling nuclear proliferation is concerned

Three major realities account for the nuclear South Asia, particularly in view of existential conflicts between India and Pakistan. First, the so-called international community which had condemned the nuclear tests of the two countries and had imposed punitive sanctions changed its stance after 9/11 when sanctions were lifted thus enabling India and Pakistan to get away with their nuclear tests. Both India and Pakistan not only continued with their nuclear weapon's programme but also gave an impetus to the nuclear arms race in South Asia. Undeterred from the recognised nuclear powers called as P-5, the two countries ventured into a relentless nuclear missile race thus threatening and jeopardising the peace and stability of the region. On this account, the reality that the lukewarm stance of P-5 countries on the nuclearisation of India and Pakistan encouraged other nuclear ambitious countries like Iran and North Korea to proceed with their own nuclear programs cannot be undermined. Second, nuclear deterrence may have made a conventional war in South Asia less likely, yet India and Pakistan are as insecure as they were before going nuclear. On the contrary, the deepening of nuclear arms race in South Asia tends to further deepen regional insecurity as the two nuclear states are unable to structure a nuclear regime which can at least prevent the threat of the use of nuclear arsenal of the two countries against each other. The so-called nuclear restraint regime in South Asia is fragile because of periodic phases of conflict escalation between the two nuclear neighbours, India and Pakistan.

Unending cold war between India and Pakistan causes further erosion of regional security because from time to time the two nuclear neighbours do not miss any opportunity of crossing the 'red line'. Nuclear deterrence in South Asia is functioning only by default otherwise, given the level of tension and hostility of New Delhi and Islamabad against each other, any serious crisis can trigger the outbreak of an all-out war in the region. Furthermore, neither India nor Pakistan feel secure despite possessing a nuclear arsenal or the two countries have been able to use their nuclear program for dealing with their energy shortfalls. Nuclear energy,



particularly in Pakistan is unsubstantial as compared to other sources of energy like thermal and hydel. It was expected that India and Pakistan will use their nuclear program for energy purposes but that has not happened so far. Third, nuclear arms race tends to augment military expenditures which the two countries in view of poverty and under-development cannot afford. The concept that nuclear weapons will slash conventional forces has not taken practical shape in case of India and Pakistan as the two countries are simultaneously involved in conventional and nuclear arms race. Pakistan spends around 3.5 percent of its GDP i.e. around US \$ 10 billion on defence, whereas, India spends 2.5 percent of its GDP on defence amounting to around 50 billion dollars.

In reality, India spends seven times more on defence than Pakistan. The nuclear arms race of the two countries that has been ongoing since 1998 keeps on adding to the cost of their expenditures as the two sides are not willing to cut their conventional forces. A shrewd and calculated Indian strategy to drag Pakistan in nuclear and conventional arms race hopes to inflict unprecedented economic damage to Pakistan thus destabilising its eastern neighbour without firing a single shot. India, in view of its robust economy and its regional/global power ambitious is confident to further escalate its military expenditures so as to further lure Pakistan into a vicious arms race.

With such realities and facts in mind, nuclear status of India and Pakistan has not only augmented their security predicament but also heightened their defence expenditures at the cost of their progress and development. If the United States is spending 700 billion dollars and China 175 billion dollars on defence it doesn't matter much to these countries because of their global economic standing, numbering as first and second.

Those who are the champions of preventing nuclear proliferation have been exposed because of their failure to compel India and Pakistan roll back their nuclear weapon's program. More so, the selective policy of nuclear arms control and disarmament pursued by the P-5 members of the UN Security Council particularly United States has proved to be disastrous and responsible for horizontal proliferation. Sadly, the discriminatory policy of the US appeasing North Korea despite its crossing the red line and penalising Iran by withdrawing from the nuclear deal tends to create a bad precedent as far as the goal of controlling nuclear proliferation is concerned.

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# **Kishanganga: Violation of IWT By Malik Ashraf**

INDIAN Prime Minister Narendra Modi inaugurated 330 MW Kishanganga Hydropower Power Station on Saturday which Pakistan believes is tantamount to violation of the Indus Water Treaty (IWT) as India had completed the project during the period the World Bank 'paused' the process for constitution of a Court of Arbitration as requested by Pakistan in early 2016. The Pakistani request was opposed by India by calling for a neutral expert. Pakistan has been insisting on the resolution of dispute over the Kishanganga Project on Neelum River and 850 MW Ratle Hydropower Project on Chenab. It is pertinent to point out that in spite of number of rounds of bilateral parleys as well as mediation by the World Bank India continued with the construction of the Kishanganga Project started in 2009. The intransigence shown by India and her defiance of international commitments is highly regrettable and proves her unending enmity towards Pakistan. Modi is on record to have threatened to stop the flow of waters of the rivers allotted to Pakistan under the Indus Water Treaty sponsored and guaranteed by the World Bank. Pakistan and India had been involved in intractable discussions to resolve the dispute regarding construction the two projects by the latter in violation of the provisions of the Indus Water Treaty. So in view of the stalemate on the issue Pakistan requested the World Bank in April 2016 to establish a court of Arbitration to resolve the differences between the two countries. India simultaneously requested the World Bank for the appointment of a neutral expert.

The World Bank initially agreed to set up both the Arbitration Court and the appointment of the neutral expert. However in response to the Indian objection on two parallel processes which it maintained was not legally tenable, the World Bank decided to announce a 'pause' and asked both the parties to resolve the issue through bilateral avenues. Giving reasons for this action the President of the Bank in a letter written to finance ministers of both the countries said "We are announcing this pause to protect the IWT and to help India and Pakistan to consider alternative approaches to resolving conflicting interests under the treaty and its application to two hydro electric power plants. This is an opportunity for the two countries to begin to resolve the issue in an amicable manner and in line with the spirit of the treaty rather than pursuing concurrent processes that could make the treaty unworkable over time. I would hope that the two countries will come to an agreement by the

end of January.” The position taken by the World Bank regrettably was akin to what India had argued. It was ostensibly an attempt to shirk the responsibility as a guarantor of the accord charged with the responsibility to ensure that both parties stuck to the provisions of the Treaty. In case of failure of the two sides to sort out their differences on any issue related to the treaty it was under obligation to appoint a court of Arbitration. India welcomed the announcement of ‘pause’ by the World Bank. Reacting to the World Bank decision, Pakistani Finance Minister in his letter to the President of the World Bank rightly maintained that under the Treaty no party could ‘pause’ the performance of the obligations under the Treaty and the position taken by the Bank would only prevent Pakistan from approaching a competent forum and having its grievances addressed.

As these exchanges were in progress the Indian government tasked the inter-ministerial committee to enhance storage of western rivers waters, which was a very alarming development. Under the circumstances, the avoidance by the World Bank to take a position in line with its obligations as per the Treaty amounted to almost giving up on its own brokered agreement. The hope expressed by the World Bank that both sides would be able to resolve their differences, represented lack of understanding of the prevailing situation. India was actually trying to build pressure on Pakistan to back off from the position taken by her on the Kashmir issue, particularly in regards to current uprising in the valley. It was not a technical issue. India had been threatening to review the IWT in the backdrop of Uri attack which it blamed on Pakistan. In an atmosphere loaded with tensions between the two countries, expecting them to show goodwill in resolving the issue was hoping against hope. The World Bank had a role to play as per the Treaty. Under the Indus Water Treaty, the waters of the Eastern rivers Sutlej, Beas, and Ravi had been allocated to India and the Western rivers Indus, Jhelum and Chenab to Pakistan except for certain uses allowed to India including power generation without altering the water flows.

It is pertinent to point out that the case of Kishanganga has already been considered by the Permanent Court of Arbitration at Hague which in its final award on the dispute while recognizing the Indian right to build the Dam did address Pakistan’s concerns about India keeping the level of reservoirs below the Dead Storage Level and also recognised the concept of environmental flows in rivers to ensure that the power generating projects were operated in an environmentally sustainable manner. The Award announced on 20 December 2013 specified that

9m<sup>3</sup>/s of natural flow of water must be maintained in Kishanganga river at all times to maintain environment downstream. But India was not even abiding by the award of the Permanent Arbitration Commission. Pakistan was not asking for something beyond the treaty obligations of the World Bank. The World Bank needs to revisit its decision and set up a court of arbitration as requested by Pakistan, because there is no hope of resolving of this issue through bilateral arrangement. Pakistan is seeking redress of its grievances over non-adherence to the already announced decision of the Arbitration Court on the issue and stands justified in asking the World Bank to again constitute a Court of Arbitration to look into the matter. The credibility of the World Bank as guarantor of the IWT is also at stake.

— The writer is freelance columnist based in Islamabad.

Source: <https://pakobserver.net/kishanganga-violation-of-iwt/>

# **Indian Threat to Regional Security By Malik Muhammad Ashraf**

India cannot wriggle out of that commitment through the use of guns

Unprovoked firing by the Indian security forces along the ceasefire line and working boundary targeting civilian population continues incessantly in breach of the ceasefire agreement of 2003. The Indian side does not seem inclined to put an end to its bellicose adventurism in spite of repeated protests by Pakistan and its willingness to engage in a dialogue process to defuse the situation, continuation of which could have disastrous consequences for peace and security in the region.

Reportedly Indian security forces have carried out more than 1,050 ceasefire violation along the LOC and the Working Boundary in 2018 resulting in the martyrdom of 28 innocent civilians and causing injuries to 117 people. Last Friday morning six people embraced martyrdom and 22 sustained injuries in the shelling by the Indian forces in the Marajke, Harpal, Suchaitgarh, Chaprar and Bajwat sector. As usual the Pakistani security forces responded befittingly to answer the aggression.

Pakistan, to be honest, has shown remarkable restraint in refusing to escalate the situation and invariably opted for diplomatic initiatives to cool down the situation. In the backdrop of the Friday morning firing by the Indian forces, the Indian High Commissioner Ajay Bisaria was summoned to the foreign ministry and told, "The deliberate targeting of civilian populated areas is indeed deplorable and contrary to human dignity, international human rights and humanitarian laws. The ceasefire violations by India are a threat to regional peace and security and may lead to a strategic miscalculation."

Nobody in his right mind can take an exception to the consequences of the continued Indian aggression as pointed out by the ministry of foreign affairs. Pakistan and India are both nuclear powers and there is a limit to restrain and tolerance in the face of incessant provocations. The world acknowledges the fact that Kashmir is a nuclear flash point and an armed conflict between the two countries can have dreadful consequences for the region and the world at large. The ground realities do demand a saner approach by India and the resolution of

her disputes with Pakistan including the core issue of Kashmir which a major cause of continued hostility between the two countries.

India is not only persisting with violation of the ceasefire agreement along the LOC and the Working Boundary but is also continuing with its ruthless persecution of the people of Kashmir who are waging a war for their right of self-determination as enunciated in the UN Resolutions. During the last five month 115 people have been killed by the Indian security forces in different operations and crackdown against the militants in Kashmir. The freedom struggle that the people of Kashmir launched in 1989 continues unabated and the martyrdom of Burhan Wani in 2016 has orchestrated a discernible cultural transformation in the valley as the movement continues to gather moss. The youth and even the highly educated segments of the Kashmiri society feel more inclined towards defiance and resistance against the Indian oppression.

Regrettably, the Modi-led government encouraged by its western allies who are showing criminal indifference to what is happening in Kashmir

Reportedly Indian Army Chief Bipin Rawat in his recent interview to the Indian Express confessed, "The youth has got into the trap of violence and attacks forces without any fear of retribution and that people incite security forces by pelting stones at them to disrupt the operations." The situation in Kashmir admittedly has worsened since Modi-led BJP government came into power. Its coercive policies have visibly led to the intensification of resistance by the people of Kashmir and the canvass of resistance is expanding with every passing day and every individual killed. The phenomenon has also led to increase in pro-Pakistani feelings among the people of Kashmir.

Bashir Manzar, a journalist based in Srinagar who is essentially hostile and long-time critic of Pakistan, has pointed out this reality in his comment on Facebook. He said, "Whether we like it or not, the policy adopted by Modi regime in Kashmir has made Pakistan much more relevant than it was in 1947. Pakistan has a strong constituency in Kashmir and not of separatists alone."

In view of the fast deteriorating situation in Kashmir, saner voices in Indian have urged the need for cessation of hostilities and initiation of dialogue to resolve the conflict. Citizen groups led by former external affairs minister Yashwant Sinha have

supported the popular demand of ceasefire and urged the government of India to recommence a purposeful dialogue with all stakeholders. Former chief minister of J&K Dr Farooq Abdullah has also repeatedly emphasised the need for dialogue with Pakistan. Director General Police Jammu and Kashmir SP Vaid responding to live questions on Twitter recently said, “personally feel gun is not the solution. Every party concerned, including even our neighbour should sit together and talk it out. Violence is not the solution.”

The foregoing ground realities prove beyond an iota of doubt that the struggle of the people of Kashmir cannot be subdued through barrel of the gun and war is also not a credible option. World history is witness to the fact that freedom struggles cannot be suppressed with swords and guns and the solution to the conflicts invariably comes through dialogue and purposeful engagement.

Regrettably, the Modi-led government encouraged by its western allies who are showing criminal indifference to what is happening in Kashmir — blurred by their strategic and commercial interests — is recklessly engaged in reversing the historic lessons and consigning the region to perennial instability which in the end could also prove detrimental to her own security and progress. Thanks to the tragic attacks of 9/11 human rights violations by state forces have generally become a legitimate tool to suppress dissent and freedom struggles which is manifestly evident in regards to the oppression by the Indian forces in Kashmir.

People of Kashmir and Pakistan are party to the dispute as Kashmir is an unfinished agenda of the partition. It is not a territorial dispute between Pakistan and India. It is about the inalienable right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir as enunciated in the UN resolutions and the commitments given by the Indian leadership at the time. India cannot wriggle out of that commitment through the use of guns and its refusal to open its eyes to the ground realities. The irrefutable reality is that there can be no peace and progress in the region without the resolution of the Kashmir conundrum. Sooner, India and its allies wearing blinkers on their eyes and stuffed ears realise this reality the better.

Source: <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/05/24/indian-threat-to-regional-security/>



# **OBOR Can Stop The Next Indo-Pak War By** **Asia Maqsood**

One Belt and One Road initiative would lessen the probabilities of a nuclear war between India and Pakistan by providing Pakistan with a competence to monitor India's naval activities in the Indian Ocean.

Pakistan plays a significant role in China's Maritime Silk Route as part of China's Belt and Road initiative (BRI). The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a vital development project within China's Belt Road Initiative (BRI) and serves as the crucial link between the maritime 'road' and land based 'belt' aspects of the BRI.

India perceives China's Maritime Silk route passing through South Asia as a direct threat to its core strategic interest in the Indian Ocean as it wants to maintain Indian primacy in the Indian Ocean (IO) and Indian Ocean Littoral States. Indian leaders have strong aspirations to be a blue water navy or the dominant naval power in the Indian Ocean since its inception in 1947.

Indian Researcher Anit Mukherjee determines the Indian Ocean strategy in three categories. One is to establish closer ties with the US and its allies, second is to strengthen its links with Indian Ocean Littoral states and last is to build up its own military power (including the induction of nuclear capable submarines into the Indian Ocean).

Indian Ocean Region (IOR) is the coastal area (consists of islands and states) lying in contact with the IO. It has become a renewed focal point of global economy, having substantial avenues for economic activities of Asia, US, and Europe. Therefore, all stakeholders are obliged to ensure the security of the Indian Ocean in order to avoid any miscalculation or misperception among all stake holders. Moreover, China is expected to be the world's largest oil importing country and India is expected to be the largest coal importing country by 2020; therefore, there is an inevitable need for their cooperative efforts to ensure security.

On the other hand, the enlargement of the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) in the IOR is primarily due to the large economic incentives. China has transported

173.9 million tons of oil from the Middle East to China, and 52.4 million tons from Africa to China in 2016. Besides, China has established its first overseas military base in Djibouti which is considered by India as part of China's "String of Pearls" strategy and would engulf India.

If India is developing its military (three wings: army, navy, air force) to maximize its power, likewise it may avoid feeding its fears related to China's port development assistance in the IOR as China is pursuing its own national economic and strategic interests. India perceives that these ports can disrupt the refuelling of India's tankers, warships because of the presence of People's Liberation Army Navy in the IOR.

The contemporary world is globalised and interdependent where states have to cooperate with each other in each walk of life. Therefore, India's rhetoric regarding China's development projects may prove unjustified in the future. Here the question arises that why is India one of the biggest trade partners of China if it feels that it would be engulfed by China?

By the same token, India has presuppositions that the development of Gwadar Port in Pakistan's Balochistan Province under China — Pakistan's joint development project, China — Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) will pave the way for the formation of Chinese naval base in Gwadar. Fuelling fears against China, India has launched a nuclear capable Submarine in the Indian Ocean. This nuclearisation of Indian Ocean has serious security implications for Pakistan. Thus, Pakistan needs a strategic partner currently (in the form of China) in order to monitor India's naval activities in the Indian Ocean. China can monitor the naval activities of both the US and India on the Indian Ocean.

The new generation of nuclear submarines may increase the risk of a devastating war between the two longstanding enemies

Some of the recent events such as India-China military standoff at Doklam from 16 June 2017 — 28 August 2017 and India-Pakistan's blame game on the unprovoked firing on the Line of Control region in 2017 and in the beginning of 2018 that left hundreds of people dead and injured, are the destabilising incidents in the South Asian region. In the backdrop of these insecurities, Pakistan has to maximise its defence.

Most recently, an embryonic formation of an alternative route against China's B&R initiative by a quad of Australia, India, Japan and the US in order to contain China's global influence may exacerbate some tensions at global level. India being part of this quad may pursue its strategic objective against China's B & R initiative.

India here has certain doubts about Chinese aims to deploy Gwadar in the medium to long term as a dual use port, allowing the PLA key access into the Indian Ocean as well as bolstering Pakistan's ability to deter any Indian advantage in the naval realm.

The Pakistani port of Gwadar, built, financed and operated by China is located at the union of the Gulf of Oman and the Arabian Sea, providing China access to a key location in the Indian Ocean.

In between all these states, Pakistan being an important part of China's Belt and Road initiative can maximize its maritime security fittingly. Pakistan navy is likely to buy eight more diesel-electric attack submarines from China in near future. These are scheduled for delivery in 2028 to maximize Pakistan's maritime security as a defensive measure. It may direct a response to India's August 2016 deployment of its first nuclear submarine, the Arihant. A second, even more advanced Indian nuclear submarine, the Arighat, began sea trials last November, and four more boats are scheduled to join the fleet by 2025. That will give India a 'nuclear triad,' which means the country will have the ability to deliver a nuclear strike by land-based missiles, by warplanes, and by submarines. The submarine is the key component. It's considered the most "survivable" in the event of a devastating first strike by an enemy, and thus able to deliver a retaliatory second strike.

Lastly, Both China and Pakistan will be able to monitor India's naval activities in the Indian Ocean so that India's attempt to get an advantage in the IO can be counterbalanced. If, supposedly, that advantage will go unnoticed, there would be more chance of the nuclearisation

When it comes to India and Pakistan, by contrast, the new generation of nuclear submarines may increase the risk of a devastating war between the two longstanding enemies.

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# **Take Down The Bureaucracy By Aadil**

## **Aamir**

The service tenure and the structure must be completely overhauled

The slogan may sound extremely revolutionary but it is something that must be done if Pakistan is to successfully step into the twenty first century. By taking the bureaucracy down, the abolition of the entire institution is not intended, what is meant rather is the complete overhaul of the British raj's last monument. In order to undertake this massive reform programme, the policy makers must strike at the heart of the problem.

Following recommendations are proposed:

1- Induction: First things first. If the Central Superior Services examinations truly filter out the best and most competent and intellectual candidates for the bureaucracy, why is the service delivery so poor and why does the efficiency of the bureaucracy reflect a continuous downward trajectory?

The procedure of induction for civil servants must be radically reformed. At present, the CSS exam is primarily a written examination procedure, followed by a psychological exam and interview (the results of which are meshed together) and focuses on the candidate's ability to write unnecessary lengthy answers, cramming and good expression of the English language.

The CSS exam fails to ascertain critical thinking ability, competency, honesty and the ability to put the nation's interest before personal interest. These are qualities that are integral to any bureaucrat and which most candidates lack. Therefore, a system that focuses on the critical ability, problem solving and logical reasoning should be adopted. Information (which the written exam focuses on) is not as imperative as wisdom (which the CSS exam does not even get close to ascertaining).

2- Language: The candidates are expected to attempt the written part of CSS in addition to the psychological assessment and interview by making use of the English language. This reflects the psychological complex inherited by the policy

makers from the 'Firangis'. It is socially believed that anyone who has a certain level of command on the said foreign language is an 'intellectual'.

Even the British colonial machine, when they introduced civil services in the subcontinent in 1858— known as the Imperial Civil Service, took the examination in the local languages and then later taught English to the selected candidates during their period of training.

The candidates for the civil services in Pakistan must be allowed to attempt the examination in whatever language they may choose, or at least they must be given a choice between Urdu and English. English or whatever other languages that are deemed necessary may be taught to the candidates once they have been selected and are undergoing training.

3- Civil service training: The training of successful candidates which starts at the civil service academy and the Common Training Programme fails to make the future 'masters' realise that they are essentially servants of the people and not their masters. The word servant or mulazim is never or rarely used during the training period.

Perhaps the overarching flaw of the training system that the successful candidates undergo is the fact they are made to realise that they are the "elite corps" of the given generation. They are intentionally subjected to a superiority complex and they genuinely start believing that they are 'superior' than those that they are meant to serve. In simple words, they are taught to rule and not to serve. They are taught that the people are 'commoners to be ruled and not masters to be served'.

This can be rectified by first disavowing the chosen candidates of the superiority complex that society and later the academy makes them believe. The word, mulazim, must categorically be used over and over again during the entire course of their training.

Secondly, they must not only be told how to implement laws, they must also be made to learn that the laws are made to serve the people and must be amended according to need.

4- Structure of the bureaucracy: The structure of Pakistan's bureaucracy has been borrowed from the Raj and mimics Max Weber's model of structural hierarchy.

The focus remains on authority and implementation of orders without amending the procedures if the consequences are undesirable. For example, the provinces propound Police Orders that are or reflect British era police models.

This can only be redeemed by the policy makers that sit in the halls of power by legislations pertaining to police and civil administration that reflects contemporary issues and up-to-date ways to solve them. The New Public Management model can be conceived in this regard and tailored to Pakistan's indigenous needs.

5- Service structure and tenure: Civil servants in Pakistan enjoy an undaunted tenure regardless of their performance. They may stay in BPS Grade-17 during their entire service. This not only infringes on the rights of junior officers, but also hampers the civil administration's performance. Similarly, promotions are made on the bases of ACRs (Annual Confidential Reports) and connections to the ruling government.

While officers with impressive reputations such as Omer Rasool are posted to key positions, their work is hampered by the ground reality that they can only continue to work as long as the chief minister continues to like them. On the other hand, officers mired with corruption allegations such as Fawad Hassan Fawad, the prime minister's principal secretary, continues to enjoy key positions, detrimental to the country's future, because he has long been rumoured to be a favourite of the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), especially the Sharif brothers.

The service tenure and the structure must be completely overhauled. Term-of-service must be introduced at all levels. Additionally, all heads and chiefs (especially of the FIA, police and the chief secretaries) must be appointed for a fix term, let's say five years.

This will ensure that the institution functions without political interference as the head will no longer be forced to bow before the whims of the chief ministers and prime ministers.

Similarly, the present system does not cater to performance. A performance report should be generated instead of an ACR and promotions must be made on the bases of an officer's performance in his preceding posting. This can be done in an honest way if the system is made online so that the performance can be judged on the basis of goals achieved can be ascertained.

6- Politics-administration dichotomy: This dichotomy can only be achieved if the federal and provincial public service commissions are emancipated from the politicians. This can be done by offering a secure term to the chairmen or chairwomen of the commissions.

7- Salary and perks: The salary and perks of all services, including military cadres, must be uniform. Otherwise, a rift between various services will always continue to impede Pakistan's progress.

In addition to this, while perks may be decreased, salaries must be increased and especially from grade 17 to grade 20. This is because these grades reflect the initial half of a civil servant's service. Additionally, less perks and more salary essentially means that the officers would have to pay for different amenities themselves and this would bring them closer to problems faced by the middle and underprivileged classes.

The bureaucracy conundrum can be solved easily and the process of initiating the solution can be undertaken quickly. After all, the bureaucrats themselves come mostly from the middle class and once they enter service, they must be saved from the political leviathan.

Source: <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/05/25/take-down-the-bureaucracy/>



## Twenty Years After | Editorial

Nothing in my professional life as a Pakistani diplomat for 37 years has given me more satisfaction and pride as Pakistan's nuclear tests on 28th and 30th May 1998. At the 20th anniversary of these tests, we need to take stock of this achievement before and after the tests.

But first a word of praise and gratitude to the unsung heroes that made this happen — our scientists, engineers and technicians of the nuclear establishment, political leaders, armed forces' personnel and diplomats, due to whose dedicated and untiring efforts, Pakistan became a nuclear power and ensured its security for the future.

To fully appreciate the importance of this development, it is necessary to recall the first Indian nuclear test of 1974, which, typically of Indian deception, was called a 'peaceful nuclear explosion'. This demonstration of India's nuclear capability, supplanted its numerical conventional weapons superiority over Pakistan, heightening Pakistan's security concerns.

Party celebration PML-N to celebrate Yaum-e-Takbeer

To aggravate these concerns, the international community, led by the US, instead of punishing the culprit of regional nuclear proliferation, targeted the victim, threatening Pakistan with dire consequences if it tried to respond. Not only was assistance for our peaceful civilian nuclear programme cut off but international agreements such as with France for a reprocessing plant were derailed. Instead of supporting Pakistan's search for security through international arrangements, the US applied wide-ranging sanctions through the Symington, Solar and Glenn amendments.

Fortunately, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan provided the strategic space that Pakistan needed to proceed with its nuclear programme despite its limited national means. By 1984, it acquired the full nuclear fuel cycle and could have carried out a nuclear test but decided to maintain a 'recessed' nuclear deterrence through an untested 'bomb in the basement'. Even so, once the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan in 1990, the US imposed sanctions under the Pressler amendment,

even though Pakistan had neither tested nor acquired weapons-grade fissile material.

Once the Vajpayee-led BJP government came to power, India resumed preparations for more nuclear tests, prompting Pakistan to convey its concerns to the US and other P-5 countries. It fell on deaf ears in Washington, which was preoccupied with promoting relations with India. Indian nuclear tests on 11 and 13 May 1998, therefore, caught the US totally by surprise. But, once again, the focus shifted to Pakistan with President Clinton warning Pakistan “not to follow suit.” While Washington offered vague assurances of support, these could not address Pakistan’s genuine security concerns which required the demonstration of a credible nuclear deterrent.

Moreover, it was our assessment, which proved to be correct, that overtime the larger US interest in allying with India against China would overcome their opposition to the Indian nuclear tests. Hence, our fateful decision to conduct our own tests and establish credible nuclear deterrence against India.

These developments brought about a qualitative change in the strategic deterrence that had operated between Pakistan and India. In the years prior to the acquisition of Pakistan’s recessed nuclear capability by 1984, conventional deterrence was inherently unstable and repeatedly broke down as demonstrated by the wars of 1965 and 1971. But even the possession of a potential nuclear-weapons capability by Pakistan changed the dynamics of deterrence, given the much greater destructive capacity of nuclear weapons.

The resulting tensions arising from India’s Brass-Tacks military exercises of 1987 or the confrontation following the Kashmir uprising against India in 1990 did not lead to conflict. After the 1998 tests, this nuclear deterrence became overt, preventing outbreak of war during the 1999 Kargil crisis and the Indian mobilisation in 2001 following the attack on the Indian parliament. The underlying reason was the existence of nuclear deterrence that neutralised India’s numerical superiority in conventional weapons and threatened mutually assured destruction.

This deterrence was relatively stable from 1998 till 2006, when the two countries agreed on several Confidence-Building Measures.

However, the growing rivalry between a declining US and a rising China, revived Washington's relations with New Delhi, leading to a strategic alliance to contain China. Nuclear sanctions against India were replaced by an American waiver for civilian nuclear cooperation in 2006, which was extended, with the US pressure, by the Nuclear Suppliers Group, enhancing India's capability to increase production of nuclear weapons.

This partnership also enabled India to access American weapons and technologies for its ambitious conventional and strategic military build-up, including short, medium, long range and submarine-launched ballistic missiles as well as development of a Ballistic Missile Defence System apart from reportedly developing thermo-nuclear weapons. There have also been irresponsible claims of calling "Pakistan's nuclear bluff" and launching a "disarming splendid first or preemptive strike" on Pakistan. The most dangerous outcome for Pakistan is Indian pursuit of its Cold Start or Proactive doctrine, envisaging a limited conventional attack despite existence of nuclear deterrence.

This Indian attempt to find space for a conventional attack below the nuclear threshold in order to restore the salience of their conventional weapons numerical superiority, forced Pakistan to pursue its Full Spectrum Deterrence strategy with the development of low-yield nuclear weapons mated to short-range missiles to deter a conventional Indian attack. This has ensured deterrence across the entire spectrum of threat — whether conventional or nuclear, thereby stabilising mutual deterrence.

But while the US has encouraged India's build-up, it has continued with its discriminatory policy by asking unilateral restraint from Pakistan. In retrospect it is, therefore, obvious that had Pakistan succumbed to American pressure not to test or to roll back its nuclear capability, our fate could have been that of Iraq or Libya or presently against Iran. Even now Americans retain contingency plans to take out Pakistan's nuclear weapons on the spurious argument that these could fall into the hands of terrorists. It is due to Pakistan's stringent nuclear safety and security measures that prevent them or others from doing so.

Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1720621/6-twenty-years-after/>

# **Finally, An Identity For FATA By Munir Ahmed**

The Senate of Pakistan with the overwhelming majority of 71 votes endorsed the National Assembly's historic decision to merge the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. As many as 229 worthy members of the National Assembly voted in favour of the 31st Constitutional Amendment Bill for the merger.

Law Minister Chaudhry Mahmood Bashir Virk presented the bill in the 56th parliamentary session attended by Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) chief Imran Khan — who, in a surprise move, also marked his attendance to vote for the merger of Fata with KP.

It is indeed a big day for the people of FATA and PATA, who finally get their rightful status 70 years after opting Pakistan as their homeland. And, all appreciation and a big applause for the parliamentarians and the democratic governance that finally dared to take up the single most important and righteous decision on May 24.

A conflicting opinion also emerged from the Friday session of the Senate when former chairman Senate, Mian Raza Rabbani, while speaking at the floor of the Upper House regretted that the Parliament could not pass the bill at its own will. Without specifying who he was referring to, he said that when the PPP government had wanted to announce Fata reforms, it was prevented from doing so by 'certain forces' who did not want the merger back then.

He said the merger could not take place back then despite several attempts by the parliament, but the process started immediately after the issue was raised in a corps commanders' conference and a meeting of the National Security Council. Raza Rabbani said, "When the intentions of some forces change, the Parliament has to follow suit."

Before celebrating the historic moment, don't we need to know if the natives would surely get their rights or is it just to shut the campaign of the PTM?

Senator Rabbani's statement is not strangely surprising for those who firmly believe that nothing of strategic nature could happen without the nod of the military establishment. Even this fact is known to every layperson as well. So, instead of mourning on the generous nod of the military establishment on the FATA merger with the KP, it should be taken as a positive point as at least all the 'forces' were on the same page. The reasons for this 'love affair' could be different for the different players.

However, the opposition leader in the Upper House, Sherry Rehman denied the impression that the bill was passed at someone else's behest. She reminded the House that mainstreaming of FATA was the dream of PPP founder Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was first to form a committee on the issue in the 1970s. Former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto also moved the Supreme Court on the matter.

I don't know why the people are very satiric about the presence of the PTI chief Imran Khan and his fellow MNAs in the National Assembly session for a few minutes on Thursday. After more than two years of his absence, the PTI chief's presence in the lower house was actually a great favour to the FATA people that has been written in the parliamentary history of Pakistan though it has cost millions to the national exchequer. His presence was surprising, and leaving the house just after his speech was rude and shameful. The person who is lustfully desperate to become prime minister of Pakistan has no respect for the National Assembly that would elect him in case he gets a majority in the coming elections. More heinous of him and other parliamentarians of his party has been that they were getting all perks and benefits without playing their role in the National Assembly business. Off course, this is not a crime of any sort. However, his historic presence is marked in favour of the FATA merger.

Unfortunately, some of the parliamentarians present in both Houses preferred to stay away from voting in favour of the merger. Every common man is looking for the answer to what refrain them to stay against the merger.

One opinion is that isolated FATA without having the basic constitutional rights was a heaven for all the illegal affairs right from the hideouts for the absconders, abductors, killers and terrorists, and a safe route for illicit trade of drugs and human trafficking, and hatchery of conspiracies against the State of Pakistan. Despite being the central playground for the so-called Jihad-e-Afghanistan (the American

proxy war) and the fight against terrorism, the bravery of the Pakistan Army and the locals have written the historically unmatched courage with the innocent blood and sacrifices.

The much-hyped bill had staunch opposition from two strongest allies of the PML-N, Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazl (JUI-F) and Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PkMAP). Expressing his opposition to the merger, PkMAP Senator Usman Kakar said the days on which the bill was passed in the lower and upper houses of the Parliament would be remembered in the country's history as black days.

Before staging the walkout, JUI-F Senator Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Haideri said that the status of the region was being changed without seeking the consent of the people. He said his party believed that FATA had a separate status and merger decision was being imposed on its people.

While the common natives are jubilantly celebrating the merger, a few are mourning too. Those mourning the dawn of basic rights for the FATA people shall reconsider their vested interests in the larger common good of the natives who finally get the identity of a state.

Before celebrating the historic moment, don't we need to know if the natives would surely get their rights or is it just to shut the campaign of the Pakhtun Tahaffuz Movement (PTM)?

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Source: <https://dailytimes.com.pk/245176/finally-an-identity-for-fata/>

# Oversight: Caretaker Prime Ministers Over The Years

Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi and Leader of the Opposition Khurshid Shah on Monday named former chief justice of Pakistan Nasirul Mulk caretaker prime minister following six rounds of talks.

Interim prime ministers, finalised following deliberations between the government and opposition, are tasked with leading a caretaker setup before general elections are conducted.

With the nation on the verge of experiencing its second democratic transfer of power, The Express Tribune presents brief profiles of select caretaker premiers over the years.

## **Justice (retd) Nasirul Mulk**

Justice (retd) NasirulMulk, a former law professor, served as the Peshawar High Court chief justice before being elevated to the Supreme Court in 2005.

Mulk was nominated as chief justice of Pakistan by former prime minister Nawaz Sharif in 2014. He has also served as an acting chief election commissioner of Pakistan from November 30, 2013 to July 6, 2014. The ‘English judge’ is remembered for exercising judicial restraint to great acclaim.

## **Justice (retd) Mir Hazar Khoso (March 25, 2013 to Jun 4, 2013)**

A venerated officer, Justice (retd) Mir Hazar Khan Khoso, hailed from Goth Azam Khan Khoso in Jaffarabad district of Balochistan.

Nominated by Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), the 89-year-old’s first political appointment came as the Balochistan acting governor – an office he kept for three months after the death of then Governor Muhammad Musa, who served as the 10th governor of the province from December 17, 1985 to March 12, 1991. Having served as judge of the Balochistan High Court (BHC), Khoso was named Balochistan High Court chief justice in 1990.

Khoso remained fairly uncontroversial and maintained a distance from politics. Owing to the respect and trust he enjoyed from Baloch nationalist leaders and separatists, the then ruling party considered him a pivotal asset with regard to forging national unity.

After retiring from the provincial court in September, 1991, Khoso took up the office of Federal Shariat Court judge. In 1994, he was the Federal Shariat Court chief justice following a few years of distinguished service.

### **Muhammad Mian Soomro (November 16, 2007 to March 24, 2008)**

Former senator Muhammad Mian Soomro hails from an influential Sindhi feudal family.

Soomro served as the Senate chairman from 2003 to 2009, Sindh governor from May 25, 2000 to December 26, 2002 and caretaker president after Pervez Musharraf stepped down. Soomro remained interim head of state from August 18, 2008 to September 9, 2008.

A banker by profession, Soomro comes from a family active in national politics since the 1920s. His father, Ahmed Mian Soomro was West Pakistan Assembly speaker and Senate member.

### **Malik Meraj Khalid (November 5, 1996 to February 16, 1997)**

Left-wing statesman Malik Meraj Khalid, a founding member of the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), rose from humble origins to enjoy an enviable reputation as the party's resident philosopher.

A law graduate, Khalid established his own law firm in 1948, around six years after starting to practice.

He served as Punjab chief minister from 2 May, 1972 to 12 November, 1973 before serving as law minister till March 20, 1977. He was the National Assembly speaker from December 3, 1988 to November 4, 1990.

Moeenuddin Ahmad Qureshi (July 18 1993 – October 19 1993)



Economist Moeenuddin Qureshi was a political nonentity when asked by former president Ghulam Ishaq Khan to head a technocratic government. Qureshi's appointment came at a time when the nation was convulsed in the 1993 constitutional crisis.

A reluctant Qureshi returned to Islamabad and assumed office. He has also served as a World Bank vice president .

Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1720854/1-oversight-caretaker-prime-ministers-years/>

## **Pak-India Peace | Editorial**

THE relative rarity in recent times of good news on the Pakistan-India front makes it all the more welcome when the two states reach an unexpected agreement.

The decision to restore a ceasefire across the Line of Control and Working Boundary is significant.

Violence across the LoC and Working Boundary has been unacceptably frequent and intense in recent weeks, constituting a pattern of ebb and flow in the exchange of fire and the trading of allegations between India and Pakistan that had threatened to spiral out of control.

With a month-long ceasefire declared by the Indian government inside occupied Kashmir seemingly already in effect, and now the militaries on both sides pledging to “exercise restraint” in case of a flare-up in violence along the LoC and Working Boundary, the oppressed people of India-held Kashmir may get a respite from hostilities while border populations in Azad Kashmir and the Working Boundary can also look forward to a resumption of the 2003 ceasefire that had frayed.

Alleviating the suffering of the people of the region and protecting them from violence should be a priority for peacemakers in both states and the Kashmir region too.

A decision to uphold the 2003 agreement is also significant because it suggests both pragmatism and recognition of the need to protect hard-won gains in the long and tumultuous road to bilateral normalisation and eventual peace.

After Pakistan and India engage in a period of low-level conflict or verbal warfare, subsequent attempts at normalising ties can sometimes veer towards unnecessary new approaches and ideas.

The 2003 ceasefire was historic and, as both Pakistan and India have once again acknowledged, deserves to be kept in place because it is a sensible arrangement and there is no clear, better alternative.

The agreement announced on Tuesday immediately after the DGMOs of the two countries used a special hotline to speak to each other suggests that the Pakistan-India back channel may be active and that the national security advisers of the two countries continue to either meet or discuss confidence-building measures.

The agreement coming on the eve of the dissolution of the National Assembly indicates that quiet back-channel diplomacy and security contacts could continue through the term of the caretaker dispensation rather than such engagement being blocked until an elected government assumes office in Pakistan.

Positive signals sent by the Pakistani military leadership in recent months appear to have been received in India and a willingness to reciprocate shown.

As ever, there is no room for complacency, but the moment should be seized by both sides to try and effect further positive change.

Among the so-called low-hanging fruit and issues that can help improve the atmosphere in which dialogue can be considered between the two countries, the issue of prisoners offers the possibility of quickly creating goodwill.

Whatever the issue chosen to help reopen dialogue, the moment should be built on quickly.

Published in Dawn, May 31st, 2018

Source: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1411125/pak-india-peace>

# Pakistan & World Relations

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## **Trajectory of Russo Pak Relations By Adeela Naureen**

General Bajwa's recent visit to Moscow came in the midst of important and landmark changes in international relations. The nuclear Armageddon in Korean Peninsula seems to have been put on the backburner, so far, as Kim Jong Un stepped across the 38th Parallel to embrace President Moon Jae-in of South Korea. Another major development has been Indian Prime Minister Mr Modi's sojourn to China on an informal visit and his discussions with President Xi on variety of issues, the body language between both leaders was very positive and they agreed to develop a better understanding of each other.

These three visits and meetings, when combined give one loud message, the world is fed up of chaos and wars unleashed by the western powers and Eurasia was moving in a new direction, disregarding West's quest to maintain the status quo. Should the United States change her policy to accommodate the changes in Eurasia and maintain her relevance in it; this is an important question to be answered by head honchos of White house and the Capitol Hill.

Coming back to General Bajwa's visit to Russia and the new trajectory of Russia Pak relations; Bajwa was very clear and lucid when he proclaimed that 'Pakistan wants to get out of Cold War era's zero-sum dynamics'. These historic words have a background and premise and should be applied in a new and emerging framework of Eurasia.

Pakistan has started receiving Russian military hardware related to capacity building in War on Terror, on 10 April it received the first batch of Mi-35 advance attack helicopters, this came as a good will gesture between both countries prior to landmark visit by Pakistani COAS to Russian Federation.

Russian and Pakistani interests have converged on many issues and developments. Peace in Afghanistan and specter of rise of ISIS, which threatens

both Pakistan and Russia, has brought both countries together, while Russia would like to contain the ISIS well away from the Oxus River, Pakistan would want it to stay away from interfering in Pakistan. Both countries have also developed a better understanding of post war Afghanistan and Russian leadership has been regularly hosting Pakistani and Afghan leaders in Moscow for Afghan conflict resolution. As desired by both Russia and Pakistan, a post conflict Afghanistan should help in building bridges between Eurasian states and become a harbinger of peace for the entire region.

Interestingly, Russia has supported Pakistan in major international forums and dialogues, including those held in India. President Putin also helped Pakistan when a Russia based Baloch dissident leader Mr Jumman Khan Marri joined the mainstream and denounced RAW sponsored terrorism in Balochistan.

Russia has been the most vocal exponent of Eurasianism, a concept developed by Alexander Dugin and adopted by the Moscow cabal of Duginists under the auspices of President Putin.

Another major factor driving Russia to cement ties with Asian countries like China, Turkey and Pakistan is the prospects of Quad(US India Japan Australia) alliance, which could seriously hurt Russo-Chinese interest in the Pacific and undermine Russian doctrine of Eurasia.

While nothing is black and white in international relations, the second decade of 21st Century has something to offer to all students of political science and diplomacy. This decade is the cross roads of multi-alignment, India has adopted this approach with dexterity and astute diplomacy. While India has maintained cordial relations with the Arab states in the Persian Gulf, it has developed strategic ties with Islamic Republic of Iran, similarly India has been able to maintain a balance in her relations with Israel and Palestine. In the Indo Pacific, India has agreed to become part of the Quad or Asia's Democratic Security Diamond (US, India, Japan, Australia), while she woos both Russia and China in economic and military cooperation as well as trade.

Unfortunately; Pakistan has learnt the hard way and has started working on the issue of multi-alignment in recent past. While Pakistan has maintained strategic partnership with China since two decades, its growing ties with the Russian

federation should be seen through the prism of multi-alignment. Russia may join indirectly the CPEC venture, through actively using the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation platform; after all, CPEC has the potential to directly and indirectly connect and benefit more than sixty countries of Eurasia and Africa.

SCO may be able to bring militaries of two major arch rivals, India and Pakistan at one point to cooperate in training for anti-terror drills and exercises, as reported in some sections of the press, Russia will be hosting a military exercise under the banner of SCO which will include eight countries, including India and Pakistan.

Pakistani politico military leadership has shown maturity and foresightedness in becoming a part of the Eurasian dream; full marks should be given to General Bajwa to not only being part of the process, but also leading the way for this noble cause. Pakistan's challenges in the field of economy and security warrant a very different approach, than keeping all our eggs in one basket. While Pakistan may build upon her traditional relations with the West and US, she has to embrace the reality of an emerging Eurasia, led by China and Russian Federation. Eurasian, geographical contiguity combined with desire for a peaceful world, as displayed by China and Russian Federation, could trigger more initiatives like Korean Peninsula and we may witness a dawn of lasting peace in South Asia.

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Source: <https://nation.com.pk/01-May-2018/trajectory-of-russo-pak-relations>

## **Pakistan-USA Relations: A Way Forward –** **OpEd By Syed M. Mehmood Hashim\***

Since its independence in 1947, Pakistan has been aligned with the USA in pursuit of common objectives driven by principles of democracy. However, the history is evident that the relationship, lacking long-term strategic convergences, has mainly remained marred by mistrust, back-stabbing, duplicity and covert wars. Pakistan considers the USA a reluctant partner, who could not fulfill its obligations as a partner during the Indo-Pak wars of 1965, 1971, and more recently the Kargil Fiasco of 1999. Additionally, it also felt abandoned by the USA after effectively benefiting from Pakistan's critical cooperation during the Cold War, sanctioning it for nuclear development.

Notwithstanding the historically topsy-turvy bilateral relationship, the horrible incidents of 9/11 once again compelled the two states to come closer and fight the Global War on Terror, where Pakistan received the title of a "Major Non-NATO ally" and initiated one of the largest counter-terrorism operations in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and adjacent territories, deploying about two hundred thousand combat troops against the crept in terrorists from Afghanistan.

Despite suffering sixty-three thousand casualties in this war and financial losses amounting to a hundred plus billion US\$, the USA could not find sincerity in Pakistan's actions and blamed the state for being selective in targeting terrorist groups – sparing their favorites and providing safe havens to leadership of Afghan Taliban and Haqqanis.

A trend analysis reveals that the counter terrorism cooperation during 2001 to 2008 was extremely effective and rewarding as both the USA and Coalition plus Pakistan primarily focused on Al-Qaeda and were able to cripple their operational capability, however as the USA started to shift its focus from Afghanistan towards larger and newer threats, such as economic rise of China and resurgence of Russia; it also felt the need of changing its regional partners. Since Pakistan and China enjoy very friendly and historic relationship, USA perceived that the strategic shift in South Asian region, AKA the "US Pivot to Asia-Pacific" or Rebalancing Asia-Pacific" more recently revised as "Indo-Pacific Strategy", would be well served if

India is emboldened to enhance its regional role and serve as a counter-weight to China.

A nuclear Pakistan, closely befriended by China and aggressively postured against India would find no subscribers in Washington; therefore US policymakers believed that a weakened Pakistan, dependent on US-led global economic regimes and marred by internal law and order issues would ensure success of their envisaged plan for South Asia. The USA also realized that the quagmire of continued instability in Afghanistan, despite deployment of 39 nations Coalition in Afghanistan for more than a decade and half, is bound to garner international suspicion, unless some country or external force is blamed for it and Pakistan would provide a natural scapegoat to that affect.

In retrospect, it can be said that ongoing pressure tactics against Pakistan are but a product of an intricately conceived plan aimed at serving the USA's strategic interests in region, which are not limited to Afghanistan but are more focused towards the "new Cold War".

In this milieu, predicting the future of Pakistan-USA relations should not be too difficult for analysts and students of international relations. The USA wants Pakistan to become a pliant state, preferably de-nuclearized and saying "YES" to whatever demands the US may place. On the contrary, Pakistan wants the USA and international community to acknowledge its successes and sacrifices in global war on terror and rejects all allegations of double play and back-stabbing.

In the absence of long-term strategic interests, both the states will have to look for tactic convergences to salvage the relationship and, at the moment; some semblance of political settlement in Afghanistan is their best shot. If both sides can sit and work out a strategy, aimed at engaging Afghan Taliban in the dialogue process and succeed in finding a solution for Afghanistan, this act alone would bring a lot of positive change in the regional geo-political calculus, not only for the USA and Pakistan but for all regional stakeholders. However, all parties will have to identify and guard against the spoilers, who would not wish stability and peace coming to the war-torn Afghanistan.



The recent visits of State department Envoy Ambassador Alice Wells to Pakistan are indicative of the given approach that probably both sides are already working to chalk out a pragmatic course of action for political settlement in Afghanistan.

Functional Pakistan-USA bilateral relations are critical for both the states and there is a need on both sides to relinquish extreme positions, create space for multi-faced engagements and alter their respective foreign policies accordingly, suiting and protecting each other's valid interests. While failure in doing so could prove catastrophic for Pakistan, the USA will not be benefited either; as an injured Pakistan would do everything in its capacity to render the US stay in the region uncomfortable; and many believe that Pakistan does possess certain tools and leverages, employing which it can create significant nuisance for the USA.

The bottom line recommendation is that while USA must shun its policy of coercion and undue allegations against Pakistan, the latter will also have to consider genuine US concerns in the region and work out a middle path of cooperation and rapprochement.

Source : <http://www.eurasiareview.com/02052018-pakistan-usa-relations-a-way-forward-oped/>

## **Pak-Turkey understanding | Editorial**

TURKEY has expressed desire to further increase cooperation with Pakistan at defence level with focus on increasing contacts, training and joint exercises. Turkish desire was conveyed when Chief of the General Staff of the Turkey Gen Hulusi Akar called on Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi in Islamabad on Thursday. The Prime Minister reciprocated the sentiments expressed by Turkish General for cooperation in defence.

With the passage of time, Turkey has emerged as a reliable development partner of Pakistan, extending valuable assistance in modernising different sectors and overcoming some of the pressing problems of the country including energy, waste management and transportation. The two countries are closely interacting in different spheres of life but luckily there is realisation on both sides that the potential for economic cooperation and integration has not yet been fully tapped despite similar economic structures and efforts of entrepreneurs of the two countries. Strengthening of logistics connectivity between the two countries and further to Eurasia will bring a strong impetus to the integration between the two countries. Efforts should be made to increase transport connectivity by all means. Flights have been increased but need to be increased even further. Volume of trade between the two countries is also not commensurate with the warmth in political ties and greater interaction between the business community of the two countries and opening of trade centres could help improve the situation. Similarly, there is great potential of Turkish investment in tourism, information technology, food processing, agro-based products, dairy development, hotel industry and resorts development. Turkish textile companies with their developed technical capabilities and investment capacity were also encouraged to explore this sector for joint ventures. As for defence cooperation, it should not be restricted to mere training and exchange of delegation. There is much scope for initiating joint ventures in defence production which will help minimise dependence on others in the fast changing global scenario and also brighten prospects for exports.

SOURCE :<https://pakobserver.net/pak-turkey-understanding/>

# **Pak-Afghan Relations Need an Overhaul By** **Yasub Ali Dogar**

Taking current geopolitical concerns into account, it is undeniable that we must re-examine our relationship with Afghanistan and charter a new course for the future of bilateral relations. Without getting into the two countries' mutual history here, let's see what options are available to us.

In 2016, PkMAP chief Mahmood Achakzai's stated that Khyber Pakhtunkhwa belongs to Afghans and all Afghans are welcome to settle in the province. He was called a traitor in many circles for this. Many Pakistanis found these words deeply offensive. But to understand why a Pakistani politician would say something like this, the region's history must be examined.

For millennia, the Hindukush ranges were considered the Subcontinent's natural north-western boundary. Before Islam came to the region, the areas inhabited by Pakhtuns in modern Pakistan and Afghanistan were heavily influenced by Buddhism. This area's Hindu-Buddhist period is best signified by the mammoth Buddha statues at Bamian and other artefacts found in the Kabul and Jalalabad Valleys.

The Hindu-Buddhist period is best signified by the Buddha's mammoth statues at Bamian and other artifices found in the Kabul and Jalalabad Valleys. Eventually, the father son duo of Jaipal and Anandpal, who were rulers of the Kabul Valley and Jalalabad Plains were defeated by Mahmud of Ghazni of Turkish ancestry around year 1000 CE. The area was annexed, and they withdrew to Peshawar, where they were defeated again, hence Peshawar valley also went to Mahmud of Ghazni. Although Mahmud raided and plundered areas as deep as Kanauj and Somnath, he retained territory only up to Lahore.

Common heritage, language, customs and traditions cannot be outdone by provision of material assistance by third parties

In the wake of these invading armies also came Sufis like Data Ganj Baksh, Baba Farid, Moeenuddin Chisti, Nizamuddin Aulia, Bayazid Bistami in Bengal and many others who are responsible for spreading Islam in Subcontinent.

This state of affairs continued for the next few hundred years, until the Mughal Empire came into being. Both Kabul and Kandahar were important provinces for this regime. Raja Man Singh was one of the most successful Governors of Kabul during the reign of Akbar and Jehangir. Later both Nadir Shah Afshar and Ahmad Shah Abdali had Punjab and Sindh as part of their Empires. Abdali's successor proved to be weak and lost Punjab to the Sikhs, and the rest of India to the Mahratta's, Nizam of Hyderabad and the rising star of the East India Company. His descendants found refuge with Ranjit Singh after being expelled from Kabul.

Along with these invaders came freebooters, artisans and other classes to settle down in Punjab and the rest of India. The word 'Pathan' became synonymous with Afghan. The Burkis of Jalandhar, Rohillas of UP and other colonies of Pathans were established as far away as Bihar and Bengal. Sher Shah Suri was from Sasaram in Bihar. They provided both the cavalry and foot soldiers to the local war lords in wake of the weakening Moghul Empire. Today more Pathans are living outside their traditional area than within Afghanistan and KP.

One must read. The Indus Saga by Senator Aitzaz Ahsan to understand the complexities of those times and interlinking of Afghanistan and Pakistan's history. The Sikhs in Punjab and Talpurs in Sindh carved their realms on both sides of Indus. The Sikhs got defeated near Jalalabad during one of their forays into Afghanistan, never to venture their again. They settled down in the trans-Indus valleys of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Derajat besides the land of five rivers to carry out what was popularly known as Sikha Shahi.

Succeeding power, the British had annexed Sindh, followed by Punjab by 1849. Soon, they were in confrontation with both the rulers of Afghanistan and tribesmen of the trans-Indus belt. Three futile wars with Afghanistan resulted in unnecessary expenditure and casualties. The career of some British officers were ruined. When exiled, Shah Shuja, Amir Dost Muhammad, Amir Yaqub, Sirdar Ayub and their descendants Saddozais (Shahzadas) Barakzais (Sirdars) and Effendis came to live in Lahore, Ludhiana and Dehradun to enrich the polyglot culture of Punjab.

It was during this period that the British, unable to hold on to the Hindukush Ranges (Kabul-Kandahar Line) decided to withdraw to a more manageable and defensible line. Thus the Durand Line was thrust on the hapless Afghans; dividing tribes,

clans, hamlets and families and remaining a bone of contention between the succeeding states of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

It was also during the British period that the word Pathan or Pakhtun came to be widely used for an Afghan living in India. Perhaps it was to distinguish the Indian Afghans as subjects of the British from those in Afghanistan. Until then, everyone belonging to the trans-Indus region was known as Afghan. All historians and poets, including Allama Iqbal, had used the word Afghan for anyone hailing from this area. The British love-hate relationship with the Pathans — whom they respected as a fearsome people — continued up to 1947.

On August 14, Pakistan came into existence. Its entry into the United Nations (UN) was opposed only by the Afghans. Since then, Pakistan has adopted an incoherent foreign policy towards its north western neighbour — from one of benign neglect in its early years to the Dir episode and closure of Afghan Transit Trade in the early era of Ayub Khan. An active policy spearheaded by General Naseerullah Khan Babar during the Bhutto regime in the wake of the Sardar Daud coup and reopening of the Pakhtunistan issue. A few years later, General Zia began providing full support to the American anti-Soviet 'Jihad', followed by an ambiguous relationship where Pakistan didn't know whom to support during the see saw battles between Ahmed Shah Masood and Gulbadin Hikmatyar. Later, Pakistan was the first country to recognise the Taliban government. This continued till 9/11 changed everything. During this period, Pakistan also hosted almost 3.5 million Afghan refugees — the largest ever number of refugees the world had seen at that point in time.

Since then, Afghans in general and Presidents Karzai and Ashraf Ghani in particular, have been accusing Pakistan of meddling in their internal affairs and playing favourites with terror groups. This state of affairs cannot continue, as it will only impede development and the two countries' anti-terror initiatives. But what can be done here?

Pakistan needs to redefine its relationship with Afghanistan, as this would be better for our western territories. Areas in the purview of the Hindukush Ranges must be prioritised. Similarly our attitude towards Iran and its bordering province of Sistan need to be defined clearly. Trade, commerce and business need to be enhanced to benefit the Pakistani, Iranian and Afghan public.

The narrow minded policy of closing borders from time to time to bully Afghanistan harms bilateral relations at all levels. In the end it solves nothing, and only pushes the Afghans into our rivals' embrace. The worst affected are the ordinary people; such as traders and travellers. Similarly, racist rhetoric regarding the Afghan refugees should be ended and discouraged.

Track-2 diplomacy needs to be initiated at the earliest. Contacts at all levels are essential. Dialogue between politicians, newsmen, traders, businessmen and ordinary people needs to be established. Our relationship should develop on the Canada-US model rather than the India-Nepal model.

Afghans are mature and know what is best for them. Unfortunately, we remain overly concerned about Indian influence. We need not worry unnecessarily about extraneous influences on Kabul. Regardless of their official stance, a person falling sick in Kabul is often brought to Peshawar or even to SKMCH Lahore. Afghans are dependent on Pakistan in almost every aspect of their lives; be it education, medical facilities or cultural activities. Common heritage, language, customs and traditions cannot be outdone by provision of material assistance by third parties. Let us build bridges, not walls.

The writer is a retired Brigadier

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Source: <https://dailytimes.com.pk/237231/pak-afghan-relations-need-an-overhaul/>

# **Analysing Pakistan-Japan Relations By Dr Khalil-ur-Rahman Shaikh**

Japan and Pakistan established formal diplomatic relations in 1952. Both the countries enjoyed economic relations before the birth of the latter in August 1947. Karachi, the first capital of Pakistan was the centre of trade of Japan in the area. After seventy years of relationship, the relations have progressed with some ups and downs. Largely, the relations have remained normal, close and warm.

During the World War II Japan joined Axis Powers against the Allied Powers. Japan surrendered in 1945. Peace Conference was held in San Francisco in 1951 aimed at making peace between Japan and the Allied Powers. Forty-eight nations signed the Treaty on 8th September 1951. Pakistan was among the signatories of the Treaty.

Pakistan supported Japan at the conference. Sir Zafarullah Khan, then foreign minister of Pakistan led the Pakistani delegation in the conference. He said, "The peace with Japan should be a premised on justice and reconciliation, not on vengeance and oppression. In future, Japan would play an important role as a result of the series of reforms initiated in the political and social structure of Japan which hold out a bright promise of progress and which qualify Japan to take place as an equal in the fellowship of peace-loving nations." Japan appreciated Pakistan's support. It was among the first countries those established diplomatic relations with Japan after signing the treaty in 1952.

There are convergences and divergences of the bilateral and multilateral relations between Japan and Pakistan. Security cooperation including maritime security, terrorism, cultural cooperation, people to people contact, a solution of Afghanistan and peace in the regions of South Asia, West Asia and Central Asia etc is convergence. Divergence includes Pakistan's nuclear and missile program, China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Japan's desire of having permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council etc.

People to People contact between the two countries established in 1952. The first Pakistani who came to Japan and settled there was Mr Shifta. He went there in the year of the establishment of diplomatic relations. Pakistanis living there formed

their association in 1961. Dr UD Khan was the first president of the association. The number of Pakistani nationals residing in Japan by 2015 were 12708 (MOFA Japan).

Pakistanis are mainly engaged in the automobile sector. They carry out the business of exporting cars to different countries. Pakistani community is not parasitical. Not only do they earn money from Japan and send to their country but they also help Japan to earn foreign exchange which plays a momentous role in the economy of the country.

A few Pakistanis run online newspapers. Some Pakistanis have established a socio-cultural organisation 'Friends of Pakistan' in Japan. The inaugural session of FoP was held on 23rd February 2010 in Koshigaya city, Japan.

Pakistani students are also active in Japan. They have their own association. During the visit of former Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra to Japan in the 1950s, the association came into existence which is called Pakistan Students Association. There is also Japan Association in Pakistan.

PSA is an active network of Pakistani students in Japan. They played important role when the nuclear disaster took place in Fukushima Daiichi, Japan in March 2011. PSA along with other Pakistanis helped the Japanese in the hour of disaster and calamity. They did not consider risks from radiation in the area due to nuclear disaster.

There are convergences and divergences in bilateral and multilateral relations between Japan and Pakistan

The bilateral relations between Pakistan and Japan is not completely void of all irritants. The nuclear armament in South Asia is a concern of Japan. India undertook nuclear tests in 1974. It compelled Pakistan to pursue vigorously its nuclear program. India committed series of nuclear tests in May 1998. Japan condemned the Indian nuclear adventure. It urged Pakistan to desist from the nuclear explosions. The US and other countries also expressed their concerns on the nuclear race between two superpowers of South Asia.



Indian nuclear action tilted the balance of power in favour of India in the regions of South Asia and West Asia. Now nuclear arms entered more vigorously in the arms race between Pakistan and India. The conventional weapons lost their importance of balancing power and creating deterrence in the region. Pakistan was left with no choice but to undertake the nuclear tests on 8th May, 1998. Pakistan understood that only nuclear weapons may deter India from likely attack on its soil.

The world community condemned Pakistan's move. Japan also condemned and expressed concern. The Japanese newspaper Asahi Shimbun in its edition dated 29th May 1998 wrote, "We cannot dispense of efforts to improve insufficiencies in NPT which is unfair towards countries without nuclear capabilities". Another newspaper The Chugoku Shimbun dated 29th May 1998 reported that the leader of political party Sakigake, Masayoshi Takemura sent a protest letter to the embassy of Pakistan in Japan. The letter contained, "We would never accept Pakistan's testing since it was a violent act conducted while ignoring repeated urges from the international community including Japan to refrain from testing".

The Government of Japan called Charge de affairs of Pakistan's embassy in Tokyo and urged to stop further nuclear tests. The Consul General of Japan in Karachi in his meeting with Karachi Chamber of Commerce & Industry condemned nuclear tests conducted by Pakistan and India. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan issued press release dated 28th May 1998 which stated, "Pakistan conducted underground nuclear tests. In the wake of the Indian nuclear testing, Japan has repeatedly demanded Pakistan to exercise its utmost restraint by sending a special envoy to Islamabad with a letter of Prime Minister Hashimoto, Prime Minister Hashimoto also made a direct phone call to Prime Minister Sharif, urging Pakistan to exercise restraint. It is extremely regrettable that Pakistan has conducted its nuclear testing in defiance of the earnest demands: from the international community including Japan."

Japan declared Kashmir as a flashpoint in South Asia. In other words, the problem of Kashmir may trigger a war between the two belligerent countries of South Asia and later on which may be converted into nuclear war. Japan is the only victim of nuclear bombardment committed by the United States in August 1945. It knew the hazardous, thus, apprehended same in South Asia.

Pakistan's Missile program is also a divergence. Pakistan conducted its missile test in 2003. Japan once again urged Pakistan to also restrain from missile testing and proliferation of nuclear weapons. It issued press release dated 14th October 2003 which stated, "Japan reiterates its regret that Pakistan conducted a further ballistic missile test on October 14, following the recent tests on October 3 and 8, despite efforts by the international community towards the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles."

Pakistan has no design of building a nuclear arsenal. It wants a minimum level of weapons to thwart Indian threat to its territorial integrity and political independence.

Another divergence between the two countries is Japan's desire of having permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council. Japan wants a seat on the grounds of its efforts for the nuclear weapons-free world and its efforts for peace all over the world. It formed a group with India and two other countries for strengthening its case and mustering the support of the various member countries of the United Nations. Pakistan supports increasing number of non-permanent countries and making the Security Council more democratic.

India's quest for a permanent seat in UN Security Council was due to some factors. Firstly, India is still an inferiority complex caused by its defeat in its war with China 1962. Probably it wants to equalise the status. Secondly, India wants to be a power of Asia. If it gets a permanent seat then its status may not be less than China at least in the home continent. Thirdly, the problem of Kashmir is bleeding wound of India.

It failed to neutralise the indigenous intifada (armless movement) launched by the Kashmiris for their right of self-determination. Its status in the apex body of the United Nations may help it in this regard. Fourthly, the countries located in the region of South Asia have differences with India. Indian support to Tamils, India involvement in internal affairs of Nepal and India's various moves for destabilising and isolating Pakistan in the world community have made the environment of the region volatile.

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is also divergent with low intensity between Pakistan and Japan. The project is part of One Belt One Road initiative. It is mainly an economic project but it has certain political and strategic implications. It is a

revival of the oldest international trade highway Silk Route. In the beginning, Japan was apprehensive on the corridor due to Japan's direct investment in Pakistan and investment of Japanese companies in the country.

The Japanese companies are mainly engaged in the automobile sector. CPEC started with an initial investment of 46 billion US dollars which has now exceeded 56 billion USD. Japan felt the danger to its investment. However, its apprehension reduced its intensity due to a number of factors. Firstly, China and Pakistan invited all the countries to participate in the corridor. This offer encouraged Japan to think on the other side of the corridor ie cooperation.

Secondly, despite territorial disputes with China, Japan wants to improve its relations. The summit meetings between the two countries indicate that Japan wants to normalise its relations with China. Japan is a trade and investment-oriented country. It may not afford Chinese opposition in different regions of the world including the region of South Asia. Lastly, Japan and US are allies under the Security Treaty 1952. The US opposed the concept of CPEC. It seems that this time Japan decided to go beyond U.S approach and protect its interests.

Japan and Pakistan are working jointly on various projects. Both have the same opinion and stand on different issues. Peace in the region of South Asia is a convergence between the two countries. Terrorism is also convergence as both countries have suffered from terrorist acts.

Japan and Pakistan desire peaceful solution of Afghanistan. Afghanistan is landlocked country. Its nearest access to the warm waters is the seaports of Pakistan. A country having interests in the region of Central Asia and wants to take benefit from the natural resources of the region, will have to support and play role in peace efforts in Afghanistan.

Sino-Pakistan relations is also convergence. Japan is making efforts to have improved relations with China. Thus, normal relations between three countries may further strengthen their ties.

Maritime Security is a problem which all the countries want to address jointly. The Persian Gulf, South China Sea and East China Sea are important for China. Similarly, the Persian Gulf, Arabian Sea and the sea routes leading to Europe,

Africa, South America and North America are important for Pakistan. Maritime rule of law will ensure smooth sailing of ships without any danger. Thirty-five countries including China, Japan, USA, Russia, and Great Britain participated in the Multinational naval exercise AMAN 2017 held in February 2017. It expressed will of the participating countries for peace in the warm waters.

Japan and Pakistan enjoy good economic relations. Ahmed Rashid Malik in his book *Pakistan Japan Relations: Continuity and Change in Economic Relations and Security Interests* has written that Japanese companies Nichimen laid down its branch in Karachi in 1918. Another company Kanematsu Ghoso also founded its branch in Karachi. The bilateral trade agreement was ratified between the two countries in 1949.

Japan's economic cooperation with Pakistan covers loans, grants and technical cooperation. According to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, loans extended to Pakistan by 2014 was 980.99 billion yen. Grants comprised 259.3 billion yen and Technical Cooperation reached 51.29 billion yen by the same period. According to the same source, Pakistan exported different items worth of 236 million yen whereas imports stood at 1.84 billion yen in 2015. It indicates the balance of trade in favour of Japan. Pakistan exported volatile oil, chemical products, textile yarn, textile goods. It imported automobile, machinery, steel. Japan's foreign direct investment in Pakistan was 30.1 million US dollars by 2014-2015.

Pakistan and Japan have signed several mutual treaties in different areas. These include Trade Agreement 1953, Cultural Agreement 1957, Convention for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with respect to Taxes on Income on 17th February, 1959, Agreement for Establishment of Agricultural Training Center 1960, Treaty of Friendship and Commerce 1950, Agreement Relating to Air Services 1960, Agreement regarding Establishment of Telecommunication Research Center 1963, Bilateral Investment Treaty 1998 and Convention for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with respect to Taxes on Income 2008 etc.

Pakistan and Japan are engaged in dialogues and consultation in various fields aimed at improving cooperation and coordination. Security dialogue includes the areas of terrorism, security of the regions and other regional issues etc. Its sixth round was held on 20th April 2018 in Tokyo.

Japan desires normal relations between India and Pakistan as it may create a peaceful atmosphere in South Asia. Japan and India have warm and good relations. Thus, it may play role in the solution of the problem of Kashmir. Japan played a momentous role in resolving Tamil problem in Sri Lanka in the 1990s.

The main challenge to bilateral relations between the two countries is CPEC. Japan does not oppose it but wants to protect its interests. Pakistan, China and Japan should be engaged in dialogue for removing Japanese apprehension on the corridor.

The writer is an author and has a doctorate in Political Science

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## **Pak-India Relations | Editorial**

The initial signs of a thaw?

During the last two years and a half there has been a constant deterioration in Pak-India relations. The period is marked by the Pathankot terrorist attack in January 2016, arrest of Kulbhushan Jadhav in March the same year for spying and involvement in terrorist activities, and the Uri attack by militants in September 2016 followed by Indian claims of a surgical strike on this side of the LoC, which was vehemently denied by Pakistan. Soon after Uri India boycotted the SAARC summit making the organisation dysfunctional. Firing and rocket attacks across the LoC intensified after June 2017 and climaxed during the nearly five months of the current year. In March there was a serious diplomatic standoff between the two countries that led Pakistan to boycott the WTO meeting in India.

Coming as it does in the midst of a steady drum beat of bad news, the arrival of the Indian delegation to attend the three day SCO–Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure moot hosted by Islamabad is the first breath of fresh air after a long and humid summer. Finally, the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation has brought the two neighbours to the negotiating table. During the moot, the legal experts from eight member countries will discuss terrorist threats being faced by the region and ways and means to enhance counter-terrorism cooperation between the SCO states.

In September, Pakistan and India are to participate in joint counter-terror military drills in the Ural mountains of Russia under the rubric of SCO. The aim of the exercise is to enhance counter-terror cooperation among the SCO member countries. The interaction though limited could help build a modicum of trust that is currently in deficit. The positivities in Pak-India relations are of an incremental nature. But even baby steps of the sort should be welcomed as these can be precursors to more meaningful moves towards the improvement of ties without which the two countries cannot hope to improve the livelihood of millions of people currently living below poverty line. Only after elections have been held in both Pakistan and India can one expect bolder moves towards improvement of relations.

Source: <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2018/05/24/pak-india-relations-8/>

# **Improving Diplomatic Relations By Ishaque Khan**

Pakistan has been executing a master plan in terms of foreign policy, as of late. One of the foreign ministries major goals is improving relations with all immediate neighbouring countries.

As the War on terror shows no signs of winding down as expected under Obamas administration, Pakistan has made its official foreign policy to support and facilitate Afghanistan and lead the process of peace and reconciliation.

With India, tensions have warmed throughout the year. Last year, India claimed to have conducted a surgical strike inside Pakistani territories, a claim which Pakistan later refuted. Both sides blame the other for cross-border shelling that has claimed lives on either side of the border. Although no progress could be made on the core issues of Kashmir, both countries eased visa restrictions and took measures to normalize their trade relations.

Relations with Iran are starting to become sour because of Pakistan's participation in the Saudi led "Islamic Military Alliance to Fight Terrorism" (IMAFT.) Despite Pakistan's assurances at multiple levels that such a force would not be aimed at Iran, the Iranians were quite sceptical of such a claim. These Iranian apprehensions were later highlighted to a visiting Pakistani parliamentary delegation led by the speaker of the National Assembly stating "countries funding terrorism cannot claim to be combating it."

Pakistan needs to treat this current impasse with the utmost care and importance. Choosing one side over the other could have disastrous effects on Pakistan's own simmering sectarian divide.

China and Pakistan have endured seven decades of changes in geopolitical and strategic interests. It's a layered and complex relationship that spans multiple different avenues. In regards to the economy, China is underway building the China-Pak Economic Corridor (CPEC.) Originally valued at \$42billion but is now worth \$62 billion. CPEC's potential impact on Pakistan has been compared to the Marshall Plan undertaken by the United States in Postwar Europe.

In the 15 year span between 2015- 2030, Pakistani officials predict the creation of upwards of 2.3million jobs, while adding a forecasted 2 – 2.5 percent to the countries annual growth. Iran and Egypt have also expressed interest in taking part in CPEC as well. In light of the routes security concerns, Pakistan has also created a special security force to safeguard Chinese interests in the country. The establishment of CPEC is important not only for Pakistan but for China which would grant the Chinese access to markets of Asia, Europe and Africa.

As an illustration, 80 percent of Chinese oil comes through the Strait of Malacca in the Persian Gulf, which takes 2-3 months over a distance of 16,000km. Once the CPEC route becomes operational this logistical route will be decreased to a mere 5000km. The special economic Zone is forecast to be completed in three stages, by 2025, it is estimated that the manufacturing and processing industries will be completed, with further expansions of the zone completed by 2030.

Pakistan faces an uphill battle in regards to combating its own domestic insurgency

In light of all these events, Pakistan faces an uphill battle in regards to combating its own domestic insurgency. In 2017 alone, there were at least 23 such incidences of terrorism across the country claiming many lives. In 2014 with the full support of the government, the army launched an offensive against militant strongholds in the North Waziristan Agency (NWA) and in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA.) Now in 2017, it is surmised that Pakistan decreased its incidents of terrorism within its borders by a remarkable 40-45%! One of the many indicators of the success of this operation can be ascertained from the Global terrorism index of 2015, during which period Pakistan dropped from the third spot to the fourth. Since the commencement of Zarb-e Azb, it has been noted that civilian deaths due to terrorism are on a downward trend, down to 40% in 2014, 65% in 2015 and 74% in 2016. One very grim indicator of the success of Zarb e Azb is that in 2013, 3001 civilians were killed due to terrorist violence, in 2016 only 308 people were killed in acts of terrorism.

Political strife in the country has raised the risk profile for investors and businesses in the tumultuous but fast-growing economy. The investor's service Moody's wrote in a report: "We expect domestic political risk to continue to constrain Pakistan's credit profile in the near and medium term, due to both recent events and the



country's long-standing history of domestic security challenges, disruptive politics and military coups, The extent to which these events detract from economic and fiscal policymaking, and reduce government effectiveness in general, will ultimately determine their impact on Pakistan's credit profile."

It is worth noting that Pakistan has a weak record of public project implementation indicating that the pace of the project will likely be slow. Moving forward, continued support of the CPEC project across all branches of government will be critical to its full implementation and ensuing success.

The writer has a bachelor degree in psychology and takes an interest in military strategy and technology

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Source: <https://dailytimes.com.pk/238799/improving-diplomatic-relations/>

# **New Era of Pakistan-China Relations By**

## **Zamir Ahmed Awan**

Our formal diplomatic relationship was established on 21st May 1951 but the history of our relationship goes back to thousands of years when the ancient Chinese traders went to Europe via present-day Pakistan for trading purposes. Pakistan was an important station on the ancient Silk Route. More than 2,000 years ago, famous Chinese monks like Fa Xian and Xuan Zang travelled to South Asia- (modern day Pakistan) to study Buddhism. Although it is mentioned in the famous book Journey to West that Fa Xian and Xuan Zang travelled to India for acquiring Buddhist knowledge, most of the names in the book (only mentioning a few) like Peshawar, Swat, Taxila, and Kashmir, all of which are in Pakistan. The first official delegation from Pakistan visited China on 4th January 1950, just three months after the People's Republic of China came into being.

In the first six decades, the relationship between Pakistan and China was mostly limited to the political sphere. There were frequent exchange visits of leadership of both countries to each other. Both countries supported each other on domestic issues, as well as on regional and international issues. The Foreign Offices of both countries kept close coordination which resulted in a complete harmony on international affairs. We made big strides in bilateral ties and many MoUs were signed between the two countries.

With the launch of 'One Belt One Road' (OBOR) initiatives and signing of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), Pakistan and China entered a new era in their relationship. In addition to the already strong political and military relationship, economic relations have improved exponentially. Chinese investments are pouring into Pakistan, several mega projects have been launched in power generation and transmission. Basic infrastructure like motorways, railway, airports, seaports, oil and gas pipelines, optical fibre linkages are being upgraded and strengthened.

Chinese nationals are coming to Pakistan to help build a stronger and viable Pakistan. The number of visitors from China has exceeded the accumulated number of visitors from the rest of the world. Since then, people-to-people contacts have increased tremendously. The number of flights between two countries has

quadrupled. Cultural exchanges are increasing with more Pakistani students learning Chinese and cultural troupes from two countries visiting each other. The strength of Pakistani students has gone up to 28,000. Nowadays China is one of the most desirable destinations of higher education for Pakistani students. Our friendship has expanded in all dimensions and has been forged into a strategic partnership. In fact, we have entered into a new era of relationship with China.

Till date, CPEC progress is satisfactory and as desired. The early harvest projects have been finished within the timeline set in most cases. At the same time, CPEC is entering the next phase, where Pakistan will launch Special Economic Zones (SEZs) and China will shift its industry into Pakistan. The Pakistani private sector is gearing up for joint ventures with Chinese counterparts. Industrialisation will generate an abundance of job opportunities and increase national productivity. Industrial output will meet the requirements of the domestic market eventually, reducing our import bill as well as excess products will be exported reducing our trade gap and become a major source of foreign exchange. Agriculture is our economic backbone and will remain a key feature in CPEC's next phase. The mining sector is another area which needs attention and will see a surge in the next phase. The real potential of growth of economic ties between China and Pakistan is huge. These two niche areas may be exploited immediately to fulfill our dream of the 21st century. China and Pakistan will join shoulders and work hand in hand to achieve a prosperous future.

Long Live Pakistan-China friendship! Zhong-Ba You Yi Wan Sui!

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Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1715146/6-new-era-pakistan-china-relations/>

# Twists, Turns of Pak-America Relations By Salahuddin Haider

TWISTS and turns have been the principal characteristics of ties between Islamabad and Washington, which in earlier days of our independence in 1947, till the 1965 war with India were glorious, both having regular top-level contacts, and bonded in defence treaties of SEATO and Cento, but the second phase, beginning with the Peoples Party era of 1972, ups and downs became their hall-mark.

Though opinion can differ or perhaps vary on the subject, but historical, are testimony, proven and recorded in books. Denying this will be deliberate deviation of fact, could only be called fallacious. We had sunny days during Ayub Khan's visit to United States, with Kennedy and Johnson receiving him with open arms, holding memorable banquets and the likes with him. Way back in the 50s, President Dwight D Eisenhower visited Karachi, drove in a convertible car through streets lined by people, cheering and applauding, and Johnson coming here to register the most memorable even of inviting a camel cart driver Bashir to America.

I fondly remember as school student arterial M A Jinnah Road in Karachi, fluttering flags of Pakistan and America alongwith of countries, linked to military alliances. US AID, Rural aid programme, financed by Washington for a long time, remain fresh in memory, despite passage of nearly half a century. But the John Foster Dulles Era had to fade out in pages of history, and in came leaders like Berkeley University-studied Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, burning with the passion and fire of socialism, and believing in moving his country as its prime minister towards the then communist block, Although Americans were unappy and did apply sanctions on us for signing the 1962 border agreement with China, and restricting use of US military supplies in war against India. But history has it course, and could not stop the young country moving towards China and Russia, then called USSR.

Chou En-Lai and Alexi Kosygin frequented Pakistan, and saw return visits of highest political leadership to Peking(called so then ), and Moscow, Leningrad , now Saint-Petersburg. America's annoyance was not unnatural, but ties kept growing despite differences, testified by United States being the biggest foreign investor in Pakistan. A multi-purpose project like Dawood Hercules escaped sweeping nationalization of industrial, and financial institutions by Bhutto. A

dispassionate analysis shows that America still lives in the heartbeats of Pakistanis, who, though often critical of American policies in South Asia, or applied internationally, continue to make a bee-line for US visa at American diplomatic missions in Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar and Islamabad.

Airlines of the world would happily present figures to prove that a large volume of their income comes from Pakistani tourists flocking to East and West Coasts from New York to San Fransisco, and even to midland territories of Texas, Kansas city, Chicago etc. Almost a third of overseas Pakistanis still live in America, feel happy with their vocations . That they are contributing to growth and progress of United States, which they have their homes, is immensely satisfying for compatriots in their country of origin.However it has to be admitted that sailings have been rough more often than not in bilateral knot, tying the two countries still in lasting bond.

Source: <https://pakobserver.net/twists-turns-of-pak-america-relations/>

# ECONOMY

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## **The Budget: Tools For Economic Analysis By Iftikhar Ahmad**

In almost every country in the world, budgetary policy is a well-recognised major tool for the development and stabilisation of the economy. This recognition is both explicit and implicit. Where the recognition is explicit and the role of the government is that of conscious leadership and planning for economic growth and stability, policy decisions which are 'sound' can be made only on an informational base, which is adequate. Budgetary policy cannot be effective in these circumstances unless information is available for appraising the impact of governmental activities.

An improved budgetary classification for purposes of economic analysis should provide relevant data to help fill gaps in statistics. Other analytical techniques have been developed by economist who can be expected to assist in the improvement of public decision-making. Input-output analysis has made and will continue to make important contributions, particularly in the scheduling and programming of civil and military requirements.

The analysis of money flows for the economy may eventually throw light on a number of questions affecting the role of government. The expertise of economists must be merged with understandings of other social science experts who have developed approaches useful in exploring the explicit factors which limit the achievement of a society's implicit economic goals.

The historical development of modern budgeting suggests two significant generalisations concerning the distribution of budgetary responsibility. First, the budget system developed as an instrument for democratic control over the executive. The power of the purse came to reside in the legislature in order to prevent the exercise from imposing wilful and arbitrary taxes on the people.

The budget is an expression of ultimate legislative authority. Second, the budget system requires the development of two-way pattern of responsibility, centering and focusing on the executive. One line of responsibility runs from the executive to the administrative agencies. The executive must be charged with general supervision of administration affairs; executive authority must be able to control administration. Only then is possible for the executive to prepare a financial plan; only then is it possible to execute the plan as adopted by the legislature.

The second line of responsibility in a budget system runs from the executive to the legislature. In the exercise of its authority the legislature must be able to hold the executive accountable — both for the execution of last year's financial plan and for the comprehensiveness of this year's programme.

The budget will and should necessarily reflect the relative distribution of economic power within the nation. It is reasonably good generalisation that in most countries there is adequate recognition of the economic influence of the government's budget.

The budget is properly regarded as a tool of fiscal policy, that is, as an instrument for consciously influencing the economic life of a nation. Fiscal policy has a broader and different meaning, associated with governmental efforts to stabilise or stimulate levels of economic activity. Distinction between public finance and fiscal policy is a direct product of the anti-depression experience of governments in the 1930's and the writings and influence of John Maynard Keynes.

The budget will and should necessarily reflect the relative distribution of economic power within the country

In the United States, the widespread academic and popular use of term was greatly stimulated by the publication of Fiscal policy and Business cycles by Professor Alvin H Hansen. During World War-II the term fiscal policy came to mean the utilisation of revenue, expenditure, and debt programmes for achieving higher levels of total output and for preventing inflation. Defined in operational terms, fiscal policy means the utilisation of certain governmental activities and actions in the development and stabilisation of the economy.

Emergence of the term 'fiscal policy' is generally attributed to the relative and absolute growth of public sector. Tools of fiscal policy are taxation, expenditures and debt management. They must be coordinated and integrated with monetary and credit control. The appreciation of the fiscal policy significance of debt management is very largely a product of World War-II, and may be illustrated by the experience of the United States Treasury Department in the sale of war bonds. The idea of selling war bonds was to minimise the inflationary effect of government expenditures. Furthermore, the idea was to discourage private expenditure by individuals on goods and services in short supply.

Fiscal policy attempts to regulate economic activity by controlling the aggregates of spending. The allocation of resources is very largely left to the private sector. The price system continues to serve in its traditional role as a guide to resource allocation among alternative employments.

Decisions about effectiveness of governmental operations will always be continued by such things as the attitudes of the persons and groups who are served by programmes, by the success of programmes in improving the material conditions of such persons and groups, by the attitudes of influential but non-affected persons, and by the attitudes of persons and groups who are adverse affected. Because problems of measurement are be elusive and difficult.

J Wilner Sundelson, after a careful review of British and continental writings on budgeting, set forth outline of principles intended to encourage greater attention to budgetary theory. His principles were the following:

Relation between the budgetary system and the fiscal activities of the political unit.

(a) Comprehensiveness

(b) Exclusiveness

Treatment by the budgetary mechanism of the factors included in the system.

a) Unity

b) Specification

c) Annuality

d) Accuracy

iii. Forms and techniques for presentation of the budget contents.



- a) Clarity
- b) Publicity

Annuality requires that budgets be presented each year and that they cover only one fiscal year. A three-month budget makes no sense at all.

Objectives of a system for budget execution include:

- a Preserving Legislative Intent
- b Observing Financial Limitations
- c Maintaining Flexibility

Further attention was required on: Control by appropriation; and Central Executive Control of Expenditures.

The rigidities in budget execution, like the rigidities in budget classification, will be relaxed as and if there is a further development of responsible administration in the public service.

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Source: <https://dailytimes.com.pk/234404/the-budget-tools-for-economic-analysis/>

# **The Chabahar Port Project And** **Afghanistan's Alternative Approach To** **Trade – AnalysisBy Jawad Torabi**

Historically, and given the tensions in bilateral relations, dependence on the Pakistani market and trade routes has been a point of vulnerability for Afghanistan, a landlocked country. To overcome this vulnerability, Kabul has begun looking for other alternative trade and transit routes, and the trilateral agreement between Afghanistan, Iran and India on the Chabahar Port is at the heart of this pursuit.

Needless to say, the Chabahar project has the potential to provide similar strategic advantages to Iran as was the case with Pakistan. It would provide Iran with opportunities to use those advantages as leverage with Afghanistan over key bilateral disagreements. Moreover, strategic calculations of some other global and regional actors vis-a-vis Chabahar could also impact Afghanistan's interests in the long-term. Thus, Kabul will need take into account a thorough understanding of those challenges and formulate policies that help overcome the obstacles smartly.

## **Evolving Hydro-Politics in the Kabul-Tehran Bilateral**

Water sharing remains a major bilateral issue between Iran and Afghanistan. Iran is facing a severe rainfall deficit and Afghanistan is concerned about a possible drought like situation and is in dire need of electricity. Iran's President Hassan Rouhani raised his concerns over dam construction in Afghanistan several times and has emphasised that Afghanistan must provide Iran's share of Helmand River water. Afghanistan has responded by blaming Iran of excessive use of water and construction of 600 dams resulting in the drying up of some of the trans-boundary water bodies. More recently, in a worrisome development, the Special Military Adviser to the Iranian Supreme Leader, Yahya Rahim Safavi, recently described Afghanistan as the 'source of future of water controversies' that Iran will face. He further stated that one of the reasons behind the US' presence in Afghanistan is to influence its government to take certain policy actions on shared waters between Afghanistan and Iran.

## **Regional and Geopolitical Challenges**

In addition to bilateral challenges, there are other regional and geopolitical concerns that may have a bearing on the trilateral agreement. Recently, Iran's ambassador to Afghanistan underscored the necessity of improving relations between the banks of both countries. Earlier Iran had also urged Afghan banks to open branches in Chabahar.

On the other hand, on the regional level, both Pakistan and China consider the trilateral agreement as India's strategic counter to the China-Pakistan cooperation on the Gwadar Port project in Pakistan's Balochistan province. A possible counter-action by Islamabad and Beijing could have consequences for all parties to the Chabahar Project, including Afghanistan. By offering to extend China's Belt and Road Initiative to Afghanistan via the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, Beijing and Islamabad have already begun work on a counter-balance to Chabahar.

Meanwhile, recently, the US gave assurances of non-interference in the "legitimate" business activities between India with Iran. According to the US' new South Asia strategy that was announced late last year, Washington is in favour of an improved Afghan economy and Kabul's relations with other regional countries, especially India. However, the current position taken by the administration in Washington led by US President Donald Trump on the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) agreement—a possible withdrawal in the coming months—and related uncertainties could put both Afghan and Indian banks at risk of facing possible sanctions if they continue their relations with Iranian banks.

#### Potential Opportunities

Fallout between Iran and Afghanistan over the water issue could potentially impact the trilateral project negatively due to the domino effect on trade interests, transit routes, markets and revenue collections of all three parties—Afghanistan, Iran and India. Conversely, it can also be argued that the port agreement might even help facilitate hydro-diplomacy between Iran and Afghanistan by finding a point of convergence for their interests. Moreover, given its friendly relations with both countries, New Delhi may even be able to mediate to help resolve disagreements between Tehran and Kabul that have a bearing on the Chabahar port, in the long run.

#### Looking Ahead

It is important to consider that Chabahar is only one component of the broader jigsaw of Afghanistan's alternative approach towards addressing trade uncertainties, and is one of the many steps Kabul is undertaking to insulate Afghanistan from shocks to its economy. Nonetheless, other obstacles such as lack of infrastructure, security concerns etc continue to threaten the future of the Chabahar project. Although Iran recently became Afghanistan's biggest trading partner, Pakistan—with cheaper transit routes for Afghan products—continues to retain the position of a major market.

In the past, despite lack of full implementation, agreements such as the Afghanistan-Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement (APTTA) helped implement a rule based system on bilateral trade to some extent. Reaching and fully enforcing new agreements like APTTA between Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan could help establish a rule-based system of engagement in the region. Meanwhile, the Afghan government should continue exploring new cost-efficient areas of opportunities with clearer prospects to ensure it always has more options. Speeding-up the implementation of projects such as the Lapis Lazuli corridor and establishing more cost-effective air and road corridors to potential markets could be a step in this regard.

Kabul must take in to account key factors—such as risk assessment; tying objectives with tangible outcomes; and looking ahead through a realistic lens—while undertaking an alternative trade and transit approach for Afghanistan.

Source : <http://www.eurasiareview.com/02052018-the-chabahar-port-project-and-afghanistans-alternative-approach-to-trade-analysis/>

# **Pakistan, Iran, Central Asia and CPEC By**

## **Naveed Aman Khan**

FOR their future generations Pakistan, Iran and China stand poised to transform trade and investment in the region through China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. Pakistan has always enjoyed favourable strategic position in its region. This explains China's long standing interest in the country and its willingness to support the CPEC, which is a US \$62 billion economic project. The economic corridor, seen as a pivotal stepping stone in the all weather China Pakistan relationship, will connect China's autonomous Xinjiang region to Pakistan's Gwadar Port. Opening new doors of economic opportunities in the region, around 3000 km mega project will have significant implications that can definitely change the dynamics of global economy and politics. This will help strengthen Pakistan's economy and cement its position in the region. For China, CPEC will open new routes to the oil rich Middle East via the Arabian Sea. It will reinforce inter regional ties and enable the region to stand on its own, with minimal reliance on the West. Worrysome for a few, many countries are eyeing the US\$62 billion corridor with interest. Pakistan has welcomed the wish of Central Asian States to join China Pakistan Economic Corridor. Much more than the other Central Asian States Tajikistan has responded significantly. Even Russia, which has had, at times, a tumultuous relationship with Pakistan, is now eager to honour the heart of the economic corridor.

With the possible inclusion of these new states, the possibility of CPEC becomes more tangible and resilient undoubtedly. For Pakistan, Iran's inclusion will increase and multiply the corridor's advantages and significance. For this reason, Pakistan extended an invitation to Tehran, which Iran reciprocated warmly and very timely. Iran's economic growth has been stunted by global sanctions due to its nuclear program over the years. Iranian nuclear game, when implemented, will open up with new possibilities ahead. With ten percent of the world's proven oil reserves, Iran's entrance into the business world has gotten Pakistani trade and economic representatives to scramble Iran with the intention of win Iranian business interest. With billions of dollars worth of Iranian funds entering the global economy, nations are tweaking their financial plans to accommodate this surge of income. The oil rich nation's admittance into the global market will drastically change the global oil market as well. Energy hungry/starved China is looking for alternative routes to import oil. With Iran in the loop China can double down on its access to Iranian oil.

The dream of the Iran Pakistan gas pipeline can be completely realized. For Iran, China Pakistan Economic Corridor will provide the country with much needed accessibility to the east. For China, the corridor will provide an alternative route to the Gulf region through the Arabian Sea. The cost effective route will make it possible for China to expand its interactions with the markets of Central Asia, Middle East and Africa. With Iran's opening up, Chinese exports could become increasingly competitive in Iran and onward. Iran is eyeing as much as US\$100 billion worth of energy deals in near future and Iranian abundant oil and gas reserves could find thriving demand in China as well.

The benefits of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor for Pakistan have already started showing. This economic corridor will provide Pakistan with the perfect opportunity to stabilize itself economically while cultivating ties with Iran, Afghanistan and Tajikistan in particular and rest of the Central Asian States in general. Proudly elaborating that the world's largest explosives manufacturer, Beijing Auxin Chemical Technology Limited, is all set to establish a plant in Pakistan. This Company will manufacture emulsion explosives which will meet the future demand of explosives and blasting accessories in the light of CPEC, large-scale mining and hydroelectric projects. Energy production being the current core concern of development Pakistan is expected to take a major leap forward. The Thar coal projects have been lined up as priority projects and part of CPEC which in combination with two other harvest projects will be able to generate up to 2400 megawatts of power current year of 2018. An agreement for the Lahore Orange Line Metro Project is also completed earlier this April. This multi-million dollar deal marks the first urban rail transit project in Pakistan under the One Belt, One Road Chinese framework. Apart from the obvious benefits to Pakistan's power production, logistics, transportation, communication and freight handling industries, CPEC will also immensely benefit the country's real estate running along the trade corridor.

With all this development going on, China, Pakistan, Iran and South Asia are looking up and huge affinities in interregional trade could be just around the corner. Iran's decision to join China-Pakistan Economic Corridor would not only usher in an era of improved standard living across the Iranian and Pakistani Baluchistan region by facilitating trade among China, Iran and Pakistan but provide a cost-effective gateway to the Gulf region for other Asian country like Russia also. Source: <https://pakobserver.net/pakistan-iran-central-asia-and-cpec/>

## **Economic Survey and the Budget By Dr Pervez Tahir**

These columns observed on April 13th 2018: “After a long time, the GDP growth has increased every year since 2012-13. The current year is closing on a growth rate of 5.8 per cent, the highest in the last 13 years.” The Economic Survey and the budget speech reaffirm this position. Does the budget contain measures to sustain the increasing trajectory? Investment is the strategic variable for growth. In 2017-18, Pakistan’s rate of investment was 16.4 per cent of the GDP, up from 16.1 per cent, but still lower than the peers. The target for next year is 17.2 per cent. A slight decline is envisaged in public investment, while private investment is expected to rise significantly. This is the reverse of what happened in 2017-18, when both the rise of public investment and the fall of private investment were significant. Public investment is a function of the size of the Public Sector Development Programme, which has been kept modest because the outgoing government does not want to be seen as overextending in a period of political transition.

What makes the government think that the private investment will pick up the slack? Among other things, private investment is a function of government policies conducive to business. The monetary policy has kept interest rates low. Reduced mark-up rates are available for long-term finance facility and export refinance facility. Credit to the private sector has seen respectable growth. Supply of electricity and gas has improved. The export package and rupee devaluation have boosted the export industries. Imports have risen sharply, but a major chunk relates to machinery and raw materials. The foreign direct investment is also looking up. There is a pronounced increase in the registration of new companies.

Fiscal measures announced in the budget are designed to further incentivise private investment. A phased reduction in corporate income tax rate, gradual reduction in the super tax rate, significant reduction in the individual income tax on Association of Persons (AoPs), reduction in tax rate on undistributed profits, extension of tax credits for establishing new industrial undertakings, purchase of machinery through equity and extension, expansion and balancing, modernisation, replacement (BMR) of machinery for another three years, exemption of deep conversion refineries from income tax for a period of 10 years, reduced tax on

import of coal, withdrawal of withholding tax on issuance of bonus shares will all have a positive impact. In addition, the limit of tax credit for investment in new shares has been enhanced. The indirect tax incentives include exemption of dairy, livestock and agriculture from sales tax and concessions in customs duties. Many computer parts have been exempted from sales tax to encourage local production. Value-added exports also get some duty concessions. Duties on inputs imported by some import substituting and manufacturing units have been reduced. Duty concessions have also been given to prefabricated hotel rooms, Completely Knocked Down (CKD) kits for local assembly of electric cars and local manufacturing of LED. Exemption of sales tax on import is being granted to plant and machinery on one-time basis for setting up of Special Economic Zones and for installations by zone enterprises. Improvements have been proposed in the audit procedures, refund payment, tariff structure, zero-rating regime, revamping of the alternative dispute resolution.

Given a peaceful conduct of elections and an orderly transfer of power thereafter, the new government can further strengthen these measures to boost investment. This is necessary not only to avoid going to the IMF, but also and more importantly to take care of the education, health and employment of the 64 per cent under the age of 30 estimated by the National Human Development Report launched on May 2nd.

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Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1701750/6-economic-survey-budget/>



# **CPEC, Its Geopolitical Challenges By**

## **Muhammad Javed Siddique**

HIGHER than the mountains, deeper than the oceans, stronger than steel, dearer than eyesight and sweeter than honey” These are the words that have been spoken time and again commemorating the prestigious alliance between the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Peoples Republic of China. In this respect China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a project that shows China and Pakistan’s strong bond. Pakistan and China have the convergence of national interests in economic and strategic aspects. The span of their diplomatic relations stretched over six decades. Both countries are tied to each other by geopolitical dynamics as geographical location aids route linking China with the Middle East and Central Asian Republics (CARs). The Central Asian States possess two hundred billion barrels oil and about three thousand billion cubic meters of gas reserves.

China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has potential to promote economic connectivity and revolutionize the dynamics of power politics in the South Asian, Central Asian and Middle Eastern regions, respectively. It is a project to decide the new dimensions of relations and foreign policy deliberation among regional countries and big powers. CPEC is an inimitable part of China’s multi-national One Belt One Road (OBOR) strategic initiative. Approximately, it’s a worth 60 billion dollar Chinese investment in Pakistan. It connects three engines of growth in South Asian, China and Central Asian regions with Pakistan. Almost 3.5 billion people, half of the world population would be taking benefits from this joint economic market that CPEC is going to form. Gwadar is the crown jewel of this multibillion-dollar project and is situated in a crucial strategic juncture of Arabian Sea. Gwadar port is being developed and plans are underway to connect it with China by establishing the long-awaited Gwadar-Kashghar road. This would be having a great importance not only for Pakistan and China but for the entire region.

Pakistan benefits from its strategic location and China is taking advantage of that. Around 80% of China’s trade and energy imports travel through the pirate-swarmed Strait of Malacca and Indian Ocean, both patrolled by the United States and Indian Navies. The CPEC would not only be the alternative to Strait of Malacca but also provide China with an entry point to the Persian Gulf. Strategically some

countries are worried that China is broadening its geopolitical influence and possibly its military presence in the region. For example, some Indian intellectuals suspect the Gwadar port will serve as a Chinese Naval facility, and it only comes at a cost of about \$46 billion.

The United States is also not in favour of letting the Chinese troops get safe access to the Indian Ocean which going to become a reality in form of CPEC. This project also may produce serious dents in the US, South East, and East Asia policies. To overcome its effect recently, America and India concluded, "Strategic Military Agreement". On the one hand which seems to be a long-term remedy to counter the unlimited socio-economic benefits of CPEC and on the other hand to confront China's onward march to enter in Central Asia, Middle East, Africa and Europe. For the completion and sustainability of CPEC, the role of Pak-Army is very crucial and undeniable. Due to its economic viability and strategically important location, no one can deny it would face security threats in all frontiers. Pak-China's rival countries would leave no stone unturned to sabotage the smooth and prompt progress of this project. To hinder these evil nature enemies of Pak-China everlasting friendship the Pak-Army is having a front line and leading role. On its part, Pak-Army formed a complete mechanism to protect the interests of the regional game-changing project (CPEC).

A high ranking official of the Chinese Army, while defending China's stance on Pakistan said, "Pakistan is China's Israel". A strong Pakistan will not only keep terrorist groups from Afghanistan in check but also check any untoward hostility from India. The geopolitics of Asia is now witnessing the constellation of stars aligning themselves to give rise to a China-Pakistan nexus that has the potential to massively change regional politics. China is taking its only ally seriously and intends to take the trophy of being a world superpower in Asia and the Middle East. It is in the best interest of both states, and if done right, will change the face of Asia in a way never perceived before.

CPEC just not would be facing challenges internationally; it also is a reason to change the internal political and social scenarios in Pakistan. Pakistan is a leading country, where its internal political, social and law and order situations would also be problematic for the implementation and practicability of CPEC. Every country has this right to defend its own interest because foreign policy of any country must not be formed on the so-called good wishes of any other country. Instead of so

many challenges, this project is going to decide the fate of world's geopolitics and may supersede the American notion of occupying and loot by economic cooperation among the world community. We hope CPEC would harness Pakistan's geo-political position into geo-economics and China-Pakistan's everlasting friendship would envisage a dawn of new era in world politics.

Source: <https://pakobserver.net/cpec-its-geopolitical-challenges/>

# EDUCATION

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## **The Education Conundrum By Shahid Siddiqui**

While visiting different parts of Pakistan, Chief Justice Saqib Nisar expressed legitimate concern about existing educational practices and opportunities. He rightly pointed out that policymaking is not the job of the court of law. But he admitted that the court has a responsibility to implement the right to education guaranteed to the children of Pakistan in Article 25-A of the constitution.

Pakistan's history of education is replete with tall claims and implementation glitches. We see boastful claims made in education policies that have been issued from time to time by different governments. Let's focus on claims about the literacy rate. In the education policy of 1992, it was promised that the literacy rate will rise to 70 percent by 2002. The 1998 policy claimed that a literacy rate of 70 percent will be achieved by 2010. In 2009, another promise was made to achieve a literacy rate of 86 percent by 2015. If the claims of past policies are to be believed, we should have reached 100 percent literacy rate by now.

The reality on the ground was, however, quite different. The trend in the literacy rate over the past few years is: 58 percent in 2011, 58 percent in 2014, 60 percent in 2015, and 58 percent in 2016.

Let's see where we stand in terms of our literacy rate in 2018. In the Economic Survey of Pakistan (2017-2018), no literacy rate has been given for the current year. Instead, we see this statement. "During 2017-2018, [the] PSLM survey was not conducted due to Population and Housing Census 2017. Therefore, the figures for the year 2015-2016 may be considered for the current year".

One wonders that if there was no data available for the current year, the slot should have been left blank. How can it be assumed that the figures for the 2015-16 (58 percent) would not fluctuate and would remain the same for the current year? We have seen in the past that literacy rates decreased in certain years instead of

increasing or remaining the same. For instance, the literacy rate, which stood at 60 percent in 2015, slipped down to 58 percent in 2016. Let's now see where we stand in comparison with other countries in South Asia in terms of literacy rate: Maldives (99 percent), Sri Lanka (92 percent), Bangladesh (72 percent), India (70 percent), Nepal (63 percent), Bhutan (59 percent), Pakistan (58 percent) and Afghanistan (38 percent). Thus, Pakistan is the second-lowest in the list in terms of literacy.

Like literacy, targets for universal primary education (UPE) remained elusive. The target dates for UPE were regularly shifted further in the ensuing policies. The Task Force on Education (2011) report tried to answer the important question: when will the provinces provide all children with their constitutional right to education at the current rates of progress?

The report has projected the dates for the achievement of target: Punjab in 2041, Sindh in 2049, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2064, and Balochistan in 2100. The target of UPE, which should have been achieved by 1967, as envisaged in the Pakistan educational conference held in 1947, is still an unrealised dream.

Why have we not been able to achieve the targets of literacy and UPE even though a number of education policies have been introduced? The simple answer is a lack of political will. Education has always been a low priority for decision-makers. This is manifested by the consistently low allocation of funds for education in terms of the percentage of GDP. In 2013-14, it stood at 2.1 percent. In 2014-15, it stood at 2.2 percent. In 2015-16, it stood at 2.3 percent.

It is important to note that our education policy of 2009 stated that: "the governments shall commit to allocating [seven percent] of GDP to education by 2015 and necessary enactment shall be made for this purpose". But like many other promises, this pledge was also never realised. Currently, Pakistan's allocation for education in terms of the percentage of GDP is one of the lowest in South Asia.

Most projects in literacy, UPE, and female education lacked effective monitoring systems. After they were initiated, these projects came to an end without bringing any significant sustainable change in the target areas. The lack of monitoring systems is coupled with the absence of accountability measures. As a result, a

number of initiatives consumed financial and technical resources with little outcomes. But the people responsible for poor educational outcomes got away without any punishment. A series of steps must be taken to cope with the urgent educational challenge.

First, in light of the enormous challenges posed by the low literacy rate; high dropout rate; and out-of-school children, an educational emergency should be announced forthwith. Second, education policies should be presented, discussed and passed in parliament so that they have the broad ownership of elected members of the assemblies. This will not only make them more acceptable to the different segments of the society, but it will also give them constitutional backing.

Third, the major reason for the failure to achieve policy targets is the lack of political will. This emanates from the low priority accorded to education. In order to successfully implement our education policy, it must be supported by the ruling government and the people. This support should be visible to different tiers of implementers. Fourth, the policies and plans need to be designed through a consultative process by taking into confidence different segments of society. A broad-based consultation process leads to a sense of ownership among stakeholders.

Fifth, sustained availability of resources is crucial to successfully implement a policy. Sixth, there needs to be an effective monitoring mechanism. A committee should be constituted in this regard by the Supreme Court that comprises eminent and independent professionals. The committee, presided over by a retired judge, should monitor progress and issue a biannual report on the implementation of an education policy. The committee should also identify problems and recommend solutions.

The CJP's legitimate concern should be taken positively and immediate action should be taken to expedite efforts to achieve educational targets that are crucial for our country to survive in the era of the knowledge economy.

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Source: <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/311404-the-education-conundrumuc>

# Education Concerns By Mohammad Ahmed Ikram

While much of our mainstream media debates how many children are out of school in each province, it often overlooks how many students are enrolled in schools and how much are the students learning there.

The quality of education for those who are in school matters because it is they who will become future doctors, engineers, teachers, lawyers, scientists, comptrollers, etc, who will shape our country's destiny. How well they achieve their dreams and accomplish their goals depends entirely on the formative years of primary education.

Although the detailed result of the 2017 census will give us a more accurate picture of how many school-going children there are, the National Education Management Information System (NEMIS) also gives us an estimate. According to NEMIS reports, between 2007-08 and 2016-17, the total enrolment of students – which includes in public, other public and private institutions, from pre-primary to degree colleges – increased in Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakthunkhwa (KP) and Balochistan. But enrolment in public schools varied from province to province.

Punjab's enrolment in public schools increased from 12.05 million in 2007-08 to 13.02 million students in 2016-17. There was a decrease of approximately five percent, 11.47 million, in 2008-13, during the PML-N-led coalition government. However, during 2013-17, enrolment increased by 11.9 percent. Enrolment in public institutions in urban Punjab has been on the rise. However, it had been going down in rural Punjab during 2012-13, but rapidly rose afterwards.

Sindh's public school enrolment increased from 4.68 million in 2007-08 to 4.73 million students in 2016-17. There was an increase of 2.2 percent, 4.78 million, during the PPP's tenure from 2008-13. However, 2013 onwards – also under the PPP government – enrolment went down by one percent, 4.73 million. In rural Sindh, enrolment has gradually increased from 2007-17, which makes up for about two-third of Sindh's enrolment in public institutions. On the other hand, enrolment has been declining in urban Sindh since 2013.

KP's public school enrolment increased from 4.08 million in 2007-08 to 5.07 million in 2016-17. The increase was 14 percent, 4.78 million, in 2008-13, during the coalition government of the ANP and PPP. Since then, under the PTI government, enrolment has increased by 6.5 percent, and currently stands at 5.07 million. In rural KP, which makes up for the bulk of KP's enrolment in public institutions, enrolment consistently increased during 2007-17. Urban KP's enrolment, on the other hand, has been decreasing in both public and private schools since 2013.

Balochistan's public school enrolment decreased from 0.96 million in 2007-08 to 0.94 million in 2016-17. What is interesting is that during 2008-13, under the PPP-led coalition government, enrolment had increased by 14.4 percent, 1.12 million. But since 2013, under the PML-N-led coalition government, enrolment decreased by a massive 19.1 percent, coming down to 0.94 million. Enrolment in both rural and urban Balochistan has been on a sharp decline since 2013.

As far as learning scores are concerned, a National Assessment Report of 2016-17, based on a sample size of 30,000 students of grades 4 and 8, was released. Students of class 4 were tested on Urdu Reading and Writing, and Mathematics, while class 8 students were tested on English Reading and Writing, and Science. The results showed that students of class 4 of Punjab had an average score of 544, Sindh's had a score of 509, Balochistan's students scored 485, and KP's students scored only 462. As for class 8 students, Punjab's average score was 557, Balochistan was a distant second with a score of 482, Sindh's score was 467 and KP's was 457, even worse than Fata's 465.

The report also showed that schools run by foundations such as the Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) and Sindh Education Foundation (SEF) had scored as good as private schools. However, KP and Balochistan only recently formed education foundations, called the KP Elementary Education Foundation and Balochistan Education Foundation respectively. Both the provinces should expand the foundations so as to make quality of education as good as the PEF and SEF. KP and Balochistan also need to conduct standardised tests for classes 5 and 8, the way Punjab and Sindh have been done for the past five years. This would also help improve the data that is available on learning outcomes at public schools. Sindh needs to expand the biometric verification system, and Balochistan needs to install one to ensure teacher attendance. The system has helped improve teacher attendance in Punjab and KP.



Lastly, on a positive note, since 2013 each of the four provinces has been recruiting teachers on the basis of merit via the National Testing Service (NTS). This should reduce nepotism and streamline the process of recruiting qualified teachers, resulting in more consistent and well-rounded teaching. This could only serve to benefit students' learning and their grades.

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Source: <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/310728-education-concerns>

## **Budgeting Education By Mushtaq Rajpar**

A month is left in the current parliament's tenure, whose members will not have enough time to debate the results of the Pakistan Economic Survey 2017 (PES) which brought to our notice undressed 'regional and gender disparity' in development outcomes in the country. While Budget 2018-2019 offers plans, estimates and promise, the PES informs us what has been achieved and where we stand on key economic indicators in the country.

In the case of provinces, other than 'Budget White Papers' there are no other published documents which inform citizens on the performance of their governments during the outgoing fiscal years. The major source of information remains the budget speech – which gives data, one estimate in the start of the year and another revised estimate at the end of the year with alterations and amendments in what is called the supplementary budget. This supplementary budget would be acceptable in times of emergencies, but governments in Pakistan, federal and provincial, have made it a practice of getting mini-budgets approved at the year's end. The PML-N has set a new record of submitting a Rs600 billion supplementary budget for the outgoing fiscal year outside budget approval.

The PES could have been helpful in educating citizens on the progress of CPEC-related projects and investment, but the survey repeats numbers without getting into how much has actually landed in Pakistan, and in which areas, and what to expect in a timeframe. It seems that data was suppressed.

The PES declares that Pakistan has 70 percent literacy ratio among men, and 48 percent among women. This seems to have not changed in the last four years. The federal government could add up only Rs4 billion in the education budget in the last four years from 2013-2018; it started with Rs87 billion and ended at Rs91 billion. This shows the much reduced role of the federal government in the education sector.

As mentioned above, the PES claims that Pakistan has attained 70 percent literacy among its male population. We seem to be among those rare countries which prefer to see literacy on a gender basis – because the overall literacy figure is not very impressive.

The survey exposes all three provinces, except Balochistan (the province's data is not mentioned in the report. Either the provincial bureaucracy is too lazy to compile the data on time or has failed to send the data to the federal government on time ahead of publication of the PES). In all three provinces, education spending declined between 2015 and 2017. The Punjab government saw a cut of Rs30 billion, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Rs2.75 billion, and Sindh Rs360 million. For Sindh, this is a shocking number because the province had allocated Rs170 billion for education and ended up spending Rs134 billion. Reacting to these figures, some senior officials in the provincial bureaucracy rejected them, saying that the PES is not reliable.

According to official figures, Sindh is ahead of KP and Balochistan in female literacy – KP has 36 percent female while in Sindh it is 48 percent. Sindh's number goes higher because of its major urban population; in rural districts, female literacy is less than 20 percent. Sadly, Balochistan has miserable figures on female literacy; it declined from 25 percent in 2013 to 23 percent in 2016.

But, despite the decline in expenditure in KP, the PES acknowledges the KP government for bringing down illiteracy. The report states: "The greatest decline in literacy rate from 2013-16 has been in KP, where it was at 53pc in 2013 but now rests at 36pc." A 17 percent increase in literacy in the past five years is very impressive performance by the PTI-led government.

Health and education are provincial subjects. The federal government's focus has been on infrastructure development, energy projects and poverty alleviation through the Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP). On health, the survey states that the per-capita expenditure on health is higher in Sindh than in Punjab. Sindh's health budget has more than doubled in the last five years, from Rs45 billion to Rs100 billion, with new big hospitals opening up in several cities outside Karachi – in Sehwan, Sukkur and Benazirabad.

Punjab's population is more than double than that of Sindh, but its health budgetary allocation does not reflect that population difference. Sindh spends Rs100 billion on a population of 47 million while Punjab spends Rs158 billion on 110 million people. Does that mean Sindh has better health services than Punjab? Does that

mean that Sindh spends more on buying medicines than Punjab? Does it mean that people in Sindh get free medicines in government hospitals?

The fact is that Pakistan has a rather poor standing globally as regards health budgets. We are among those countries which spend less than one percent of GDP on health, and in our case expenditure has decline from 0.60 to 0.49 percent over the years.

The PES is not just the report card of a government; it tells us about the state of the economy and human development or the lack of it. In the past, such reports used to be very comprehensive when it came to social development issues. It seems there is a deliberate attempt to suppress reporting of province-wide data on development because the punching reality fuels anger and protest among provinces, as people realise the alarming regional imbalance and exploitation.

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Source: <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/311840-budgeting-education>

# **New Education Policy Unlikely to Win Green Light By Riazul Haq**

ISLAMABAD: After four years of hard work, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz government is unlikely to launch National Education Policy after facing multiple hitches at the time when it was all set to announce it.

The Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training was all set to announce formal launch of the country's education policy after 2009 but first the bureaucratic hurdles and now other formalities have come in the way.

When The Express Tribune asked about the policy, Minister of State for Education Baligh-ur-Rehman was unsure about the launch date. "I am optimistic that we will do it by the end of our tenure," he said.

He added that there were several issues involved in the matter and "let's hope for the best."

Education policy may be launched by end of April

Rehman said after the completion of the policy drafting, it will be shared with the federal cabinet for discussion and approval.

As per the schedule the cabinet meeting is held on every Tuesday and there are only three weeks left for this government and same is the number of the remaining cabinet meetings. When asked whether or not the policy will be presented before the cabinet in the upcoming meeting he replied with a "no".

Another obstacle that can make it impossible for the newly drafted policy to sail through in this short time is placing it before the Council of Common Interests (CCI)—a shared forum among provinces for common issues. The minister also confirmed that it would be shared with CCI as well.

In 2014, a 26-member advisory council, comprising senior educationists and policymakers, was established to revamp and implement the existing policy from 2009. A rough draft of the policy was finalised in October 2016 but after receiving feedback from related bureaucrats and provinces, it remained just a draft.

One of the senior members of the council talked on the condition of anonymity and expressed disappointment over “all the hard work going down the drain.”

“We were sitting the other day with other members of the committee and were totally dejected over the situation that has emerged after such hard work,” he said adding they never expected it would all boil down to such sad state of affairs.

According to another member of the committee, Punjab has turned out to be a hard nut to crack refusing to cooperate with the federal education ministry about education policy.

Punjab has been to date refusing to give its comment about the policy while the rest of provinces have submitted their replies. The province is of the view that after the 18th Amendment federal government has no right to involve in any such subject that has been devolved.

The new education policy has 19 chapters that specifically focuses on early childhood education, primary, secondary and higher secondary level.

According to a member of the advisory council, each and every chapter mentions the purpose and objective of the policy. “It has details about sustainable development goals with regard to international and national obligations”.

Meanwhile, currently only the unreleased 2009 policy is informally being followed across the country and right after the 18th Amendment even that was ignored.

Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1703873/1-new-education-policy-unlikely-win-green-light/>

# **Education on the backbench By Shabana Mahfooz**

The issue of increase in tuition fees by private schools is not new and has been debated upon much in the past. But with the devolution of education after the 18th Amendment, each province has a different case to deal with.

Last year, negotiations between school associations and the Punjab government resulted in an agreement that 'if there is a reasonable justification for increasing existing fees at more than 5 percent, the school in-charge, at least three months before the commencement of the next academic year, would have to apply to the registering authority incorporating a justification.'

This year, the Sindh High Court quashed a government rule which restricted increase in tuition fees by private schools to five percent, terming it 'constitutionally impermissible.' The provincial government, on the directions of the court, formed a 12-member committee which was tasked to draft rules for fee regulation. Amid ongoing deliberations, the parents and schools have agreed on an inflationary mechanism.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, however, has become a battleground between private schools and the state. The Private Schools Regularity Authority Act 2017 had previously allowed a 10 percent annual raise in fee for private schools in the province. But in November last year, the Peshawar High Court in a judgement directed the province's Private Schools Regulatory Authority (PSRA) to allow increase in tuition fees by private schools not more than three percent per annum, not allow charges of more than half of the tuition fee from second and third children of the same parent(s) and 50 percent of the tuition fee during vacations of more than 30 days.

When a vast majority of private schools in KP observed a two-day strike in response to these orders, the PSRA requested the State Bank to seal the accounts of 22 non-compliant schools. Around 40 'non conforming' private schools have already been sealed earlier.

This decision sent shockwaves across the country. A prominent school in Karachi has sent an open letter to parents, teachers and officials in the education department in which it has expressed concern over a period of uncertainty in private education in Pakistan. Schools fear that the government is deliberating on a “pseudo-de-facto-nationalisation” of private schools, much as they did in the early 1970s, a move largely believed to have brought down the education system in the country.

In the letter, the association does not hesitate to say that the recent regulations imposed in KP ‘if not struck down by the Supreme Court, would sound the death knell of private education in KPK ....and would then flow over to other provinces in the country.’

Sources reveal that a mainstream network of education institutions, running hundreds of schools across the country, has already started buying property overseas and plans to shift its investment abroad if it becomes inevitable. And this is happening at a time when half of the 50 million children of school-going age in Pakistan are not attending school and when public schools are openly criticised for poor infrastructure, lack of teachers and low standard of education.

Pakistan Education Statistics 2015-16 reported that in the same year there were more than 150,000 primary, middle and high public-sector schools across the country, out of which more than 6,000 schools were non functional and more than a 1,000 closed. From the state, these are the schools available for nearly 50 million children of school-going age in the country. Where the private schools enter to fill the gap at a cost, they are being overly regulated to push them to a point where they may not be able to operate at all.

Imagine a situation where private hospitals are struck down with orders, restricting the fee they charge from their patients for services provided. If the regulated price structure imposed does not cover the cost of investment incurred by the hospital administration on infrastructure and its maintenance – usually in a wide contrast to government hospitals, latest technology and equipment – what would be the result? Since provision of healthcare is a responsibility of the state, hospital owners would simply shrug their shoulders and choose to shut down their businesses.



Imagine if this situation emerged in the education sector of the country. Already, it seems close to reality. With hundreds and even perhaps thousands of schools feared to be shut down if they are forced to operate in unrealistic conditions, many more hundreds of thousands of children will have no schools to go to. State-run schools, already low in number, and a few missionary and NGO-run schools would not be able to accommodate the influx of students. They would also not be able to hire all the unemployed school staff and pay them their previous salaries, nor bear the rental expenditures of abandoned buildings. With many decisions that will be taken in the next couple of months, there is a frightening possibility that when children return after their summer vacations, they may find a lock on the main gate of their schools.

The choice of school by parents for their child is arbitrary. If private schools do not provide quality education and charge exorbitant fees, why do parents still send their children to them? Instead of hammering regulations on a private enterprise that is allowed to make monetary gains, why doesn't the state increase its education budget and subsequently raise the standard and numerical strength of public schools? For far too long has criticism been pointed in the wrong direction. Parents, private schools and every segment of society must demand from the government to provide quality education as ordained in the constitution of Pakistan rather than force the hand of private enterprise to fulfill the duties of the state.

In the short-to-medium term, the fee issue can be solved with consensus, not with an iron fist. A regulatory mechanism, agreed to by all stakeholders, is the key to the solution. In the long term, the government must fulfil its constitutional obligations.

The writer is a freelance journalist. She has a keen interest in issues regarding women, religion and foreign affairs.

Source : <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/318459-education-on-the-backbench>

## WORLD

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### **Watch Out For Water Wars! By Khalid Saleem**

COMING upon one of those billboards that blight the skyline of the major cities of this blessed land, one learnt to one's horror that a certain bottled brand had the distinction of being "Pakistan's favorite water". This was news indeed, since local lore one had grown up with always had it that any locality's favorite water was the one that came out of the deep well next to the mosque. At least this was the case, a few decades ago, which was presumably the last time 'elders' gathered round to consider the issue. Maybe, unbeknown to one, the situation had radically changed after nine/eleven, just as everything else has. But, then, why announce it on billboards?

The one reason that one can think of for this haste to announce it from the housetops (read, billboards) is that our economy whiz kids have all of a sudden realized that there is big money to be made from water. This commodity, that was once not only freely available but was also considered nature's gift to humankind, has now – thanks to the mixed priorities of our merry band of planners – become a saleable commodity and one out of which millions can be earned without much effort. The only hurdle in the way of the cut-throat brigade aforementioned was the way this precious commodity was available in plenty in this Land of the Pure (read Poor). So, what better way to vault this hurdle than to contaminate our natural sources of water so as to oblige an already impoverished multitude to get addicted to bottled water they could ill afford? What will they think of next? Bottled fresh air, perhaps!

One would crave the indulgence of the gentle reader to digress a bit from the matter at hand. One may be old fashioned, but one can distinctly remember the time when the ultimate thirst quencher was, well, plain water! When one felt thirsty one instinctively went for a refreshing glass of fresh water. And if one felt like living it up a bit when the weather was warm, one opted for the luxury of iced water. That appears now to be history. This is not the done thing any more if you happen to

belong to the benighted but bejeweled brigade. It is considered to be infra-dig to imbibe water if you happen to be thirsty; you are supposed to go for what is euphemistically called 'a beverage'. For those who still thirst for plain old water, the powers that be happen to have another trick up their sleeve. They have thought up what is now known as 'designer water'. Public Relations agents have thereby managed to give a whole new meaning to the phrase 'liquid assets'.

The resultant 'war of beverages' has been on for a while. Aerated waters and colas have enjoyed a monopoly of sorts over the beverage market for quite some time now. The investors, it would appear, are further looking at the emerging market of some twenty billion dollars for what are known as 'alternative beverages'. The mind boggles! If this were the story confined merely to the so-called developed world one would not get overly excited about the affair. But there is more to it than meets the eye. The irony is that while this game is being played in the prosperous societies – and by association in the prosperous segments of the poorer societies – the overwhelming majority of the world's population does not have access to clean drinking water. Those (among them the inhabitants of our blessed land) whom nature has endowed with abundant water resources are being deliberately denied access to this natural resource by their 'planners' in order to swell the local market for the beverage multinational giants. Meanwhile, children of numerous societies around the world continue to die by the hundreds of thousand every day because they are condemned to drinking contaminated water.

At this point, one could perhaps take the liberty of reminding the multinational beverage giants of their duty towards humanity at large. Profits from the sale of bottled beverages (even if we are to count only the developing world markets) are astronomical. Would it be too much to expect these multinational giants to put aside a small proportion of their profits (say ten percent) to be utilized – under the general supervision of the United Nations – for projects intended for the express purpose of making clean drinking water available to the deprived sections of the world populace? Such projects could help raise the image of the United Nations from an ineffectual debating society to that of a utilitarian Organization working for the general uplift of the 'peoples' it is supposed to represent.

History as we know it has seen wars over the control of various natural resources. The most recent have been the wars for the control of oil. It appears highly likely that the wars of the foreseeable future will be on the control of the world's water

resources. In the Middle East and occupied Palestine the struggle for the control of the sources of water is already on. India's obduracy about Jammu and Kashmir can be directly traced to her desire to control the upper reaches of the sources of water flowing into Pakistan. An authority on ecology once said: "there is no problem faced by a developing country that cannot be traced back to water: either its shortage or its surfeit". The world has learned the hard way to take water seriously. As always, we are several steps behind. Still, it is never too late to make amends. There are bitter lessons to be learnt from history. The world may be in for "water wars" to follow the ones for the control of fuel oil. As they say, fore-warned is fore-armed.

— The writer is a former ambassador and former assistant secretary general of OIC.

Source: <https://pakobserver.net/watch-out-for-water-wars/>

# **Taking a Cue From The Koreans By Talat Masood**

Lately, there have been some significant international developments that raise hope in a world that otherwise seems so torn in conflict and major power rivalry. The recent historic meeting of North and South Korean leaders even though symbolic in nature was a major diplomatic achievement considering they have been bitter adversaries. If this is followed up by a meeting next month between Kim Jong-un, the North Korean supreme leader, and President Trump and results in initiating a process of engagement for North Korea to denuclearise and providing space for the US to recognise the regime it would truly be a game changer. It would of course be premature to feel elevated about this development except to recognise it provides an opening and opportunity that has arisen worth trying after years of bickering. Only a few months back President Trump used the harshest language against the North Korean leader and threatened to blow up the country to ashes. Kim Jong-un has been equally rash in verbal duels. How this change has come about is the subject of intense scrutiny by astute observers of this region. Have the threats of President Trump worked along with the severe tightening of sanctions. Or was it a positive role of China that persuaded the North Korean leader to engage with America and come to terms with South Korea. Undoubtedly, South Korean President Moon's statesman-like approach in meeting Kim Jong-un despite skepticism in the US and within his country was a bold move that contributed in reducing tension.

There is plenty of skepticism in certain quarters, especially in the US about Leader Kim's real intentions. They are not clear about what does he imply when he talks of complete disarmament of the region. Equally unclear is President Trump's position. His demands may be too one-sided that the North Korean leader may find unacceptable. Even if we do presume that something positive would emerge being in the larger interest of both countries and the region, it would be a long drawn process stretching over several months and beyond.

Another major development last week was Prime Minister Modi's informal summit with President Xi in the picturesque city of Wuhan. It is generally believed it was a serious attempt by leaders of the two neighbouring nuclear powers to improve their countries' relationship on the basis of mutual trust and good neighbourliness. The

China Daily which often represents the official viewpoint mentioned that the “two leaders would focus apart from other issues on matters related to global governance and common international challenges.” It is obvious that China and India are giving greater weightage to how they can cooperate for the common good than to expend their national effort in strategic competition. India having established a strong economic and strategic relationship with the US is interested in widening its reach and influence by moderating relations with China and maintaining historical closeness to Russia. It is also possible PM Modi is realising that the global power centre is gradually shifting towards China and Asian countries in which India would be a major player. This realignment of forces in the next decade or beyond would allow far greater freedom for strategic manoeuvre. For Modi stability in Sino-Indian relations will be helpful as India goes for elections in 2019, so that he could claim success not only in his economic policies but also as a responsible leader in stabilising relations with China.

Already the bilateral trade between China and India is flourishing and if presuming they are also able to improve their political relationship would it modify India’s behaviour towards Pakistan as well? In all probability it would. A glimpse of this trend we are witnessing in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation where India and Pakistan both as members are going to participate in a joint military exercise with Russia.

In sharp contrast, the world is witnessing some dangerous power play in the Middle East between Iran and Saudi Arabia placing Muslim countries and Pakistan in particular in a difficult situation. Pakistan realising the importance of Iran as an important neighbour and having a large Shia population prefers to play neutral. But in reality since the Iranian revolution in the late '70s, Pakistan has leaned more towards Saudi Arabia. Pakistan’s proximity to Saudi Arabia is influenced by strong affinity of our people and leaders to Islam’s holiest places. It is further reinforced by security considerations of the military and political leanings of the PML-N government.

In Pakistan continuous targeting of Shias and especially the Hazara community by extremist militant groups should be a matter of deep concern for the government and security organisations.

The sectarian divide in the Middle East apart from its deleterious effects on the Muslims in general has benefited Israel the most. Palestinians' just struggle for an independent homeland has fallen by the wayside, as Arab countries have preferred to befriend Israel to counter Iran rather than support the Palestinian cause.

The sectarian hostility has destroyed Yemen and is playing havoc in Syria, giving space to major regional and global powers for advancing their narrow vested interests at the expense of the people of this region. There is hardly a Muslim country that one could categorise as an embodiment of progress and stability. Can the recent positive international developments provide an incentive to them to also take bold diplomatic and political initiatives?

Are India and Pakistan prepared to shed their 70 years of baggage to develop a more functional and amiable relationship. Is Pakistan prepared to fully satisfy the world that it no more relies on the use of proxies? Similarly, is India prepared to dismount from the high horse, abandon its antagonistic policy and engage politically with Pakistan? If after about six and a half decades of intense hostility the two Koreas are willing to talk. And the American president who until recently was threatening to wipe North Korea out of existence would be engaging in dialogue with impulsive Kim, why not the Indians and Pakistanis?

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Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1700080/6-taking-cue-koreans/>

# **India Poised to Turn SCO into SAARC? By**

## **Iqbal Khan**

TONE of Shanghai Cooperation Organization's (SCO) recent foreign minister level meeting was set by the Indian decision of not endorsing China's One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative. But to India's surprise, no crisis of the type occurred which India frequently keeps causing during SAARC meetings. Result of this SCO meeting was once again a Doklam like fiasco, India was isolated as a lone voice. "All parties support the use of the potential of the countries, international organizations and multilateral institutions in the region to establish a broad, open, mutually beneficial and equal partnership in the SCO region," the statement issued by the SCO foreign ministers said. "The foreign ministers of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan reiterated their support for the BRI". India was not mentioned in the paragraph of the joint communique by the SCO member countries expressing support for OBOR. Despite best efforts of the member countries including Russia, India refused to join in appreciating the OBOR.

However, Delhi may tone down its position ahead of the SCO Summit in June and confine its opposition to the BRI's flagship project China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). India has already allocated huge amount to subvert CPEC. China has rejected Indian contention for opposing the CPEC. India has disregarded the SCO spirit by opposing OBOR; a project focusing on enhancing global connectivity. India's participation in OBOR would lead to the transformation of its foreign policy as well, since India would no longer be waging the Hybrid War on CPEC. Modi is thrown into a dilemma from which he might never recover.

India does not have the resources to push back Chinese influence. Yet it is likely to stay engaged in this useless pursuit, as it sounds sweet in American ears; and India is duly rewarded through pumping in strategic advantages. India is also likely to take part in joint naval exercises with America, Japan and Australia in the South China Sea to irk China. China is concerned about US efforts to draw India into a maritime 'quad' in a part of the world they have begun calling the 'Indo-Pacific' instead of the 'Asia-Pacific', which places China too firmly at the centre. Though Russia and China haven't publicly complained about India's evolving military-strategic partnership with the US, but that does not mean that they don't have



serious reservations about it. Both Pakistan and India are slated to participate in a joint military exercise with Russia and China under the SCO banner in the domain of counter terrorism. This is for the first time that Pakistani and Indian troops would take part in any joint military exercise. Exercise shall be held in Russia's Ural Mountains in August-September. "This is under the ambit of the SCO", said Pakistan Foreign Office spokesperson during his weekly briefing. Joint venture, "Peace Mission 2018", will focus on preventing terror attacks and dismantling terror networks. The development is significant given the fact that Pakistan and India have tense ties. SCO holds such exercises regularly but this is the first time Pakistan and India would participate. For the fight against terrorism to be system-wide, the role of the SCO's Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) is poised to become increasingly significant. It will enable Pakistan to take-up India's terrorist acts to this forum.

India's hostility towards China is not sustainable for India, it is certainly a case of strategic overreach. And if there was any doubt, strategic embarrassment in Doklam has made the things abundantly clear to all stake holders—India is no match to China. But now India cannot wriggle out of the situation because America and its allies have invested a lot of political, psychological and strategic capital for propping up India to take up heavy lifting against China. They won't let India digest the strategic gains and become indifferent towards America-China dynamics. India is so deep into it that it may not be able to extricate safely from anti-China role; now, it may have no choice but to engage China, in a hostile way, as an American proxy. For the time being it will restrict itself to a spoiler's role; whereby, it will oppose everything that could strengthen China. Prime Minister Narendra Modi would do it even at the cost of India's own wellbeing and its people's prosperity.

Modi's dilemma is that India can neither befooled China nor America through its usual stunts. Battle lines are firmly drawn. Modi's electoral rhetoric about China, now reinforced by brother Trump's trade wars, has shrunk escape space for India considerably. With China in front, and RSS-cum-Trump at the rear, Modi rushed to China, on April 27, for buying time. China is a magnanimous state, it extended helping hand to Modi, but those at Modi's rear may not, even Sonia's Congress is drawing pleasure by coaxing Modi for a tougher stance against China.

China, with an economy five times bigger than India's, asserts itself in the region. Differences between the two are significant. China is treading carefully to avoid

giving Pakistan a cause for alarm. Ahead of Xi-Modi talks, China reassured Pakistan that their relations were as firm as ever and would 'never rust'. For its part, India was pleased when China dropped its objections to international efforts to put Pakistan on a 'grey list' of countries deemed to be making inadequate efforts to tackle terror financing. Strategic security paradigm of the world is evolving and undergoing a fast shift. All regional countries need to commit themselves to finding solutions to the conflicts through dialogue and in line with the UN resolutions. Hopefully, the good sense would prevail and India would desist from degenerating SCO into SAARC.

—The writer is a freelance columnist based in Islamabad.

Source: <https://pakobserver.net/india-poised-to-turn-sco-into-saarc/>

# **Time for a New U.S. Foreign Policy**

## **Narrative By Ian Bremmer and Joe Kennedy**

### **III**

During the 2016 presidential campaign, Donald Trump told a powerful story about the United States' role in global affairs. It was a dramatic narrative full of free-riding allies, unchecked globalization, and nuclear brinkmanship. Refugees and immigrants were cast as villains, repressive regimes like Russia and China were regarded with admiration, and human rights and democratic freedoms were pushed to the sidelines. As a candidate, Trump painted a gloomy portrait of American weakness and decline, trends that he promised to reverse.

To the surprise of some and the fears of many, Trump's dark vision resonated and continues to resonate over a year into his presidency. A quarter century as the world's sole superpower has numbed much of the country to the role of global affairs in daily life. A July 2017 Pew survey found that nearly half of Americans agreed with the statement that the United States needs to "pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home."

It's an understandable feeling. American families are strapped. They're focused on their jobs, their homes, their kids, and their savings. They're anxious about the health care bills they have to pay today, not the troubles of tomorrow happening thousands of miles away.

Add to that the perception that global engagement has left many Americans worse off, and the disdain for foreign policy compounds. For them, globalization represents a complex system of influence, wealth, and power that buoys the rich and well connected at the expense of everyone else. Working-class sons and daughters are sacrificed for wars with misguided motives and uncertain ends. Their jobs are sent overseas, their family businesses are surrendered to some greater good they can't take part in, and their communities become economic afterthoughts. On top of that, Americans feel less safe. Terrorism has struck at home. The Islamic State (ISIS) and other extremists seem too powerful. Victory in Afghanistan, Iraq, and elsewhere remains elusive despite years of sacrifice. It is

easy to understand why many Americans wonder what foreign policy has done for them.

Fifteen months into his tenure, Trump is still trying to exploit these feelings of frustration. His improvised international agenda is based on telling America, time and again, that it has to choose: safety at home or peace abroad, human rights or a steady paycheck, compassion or strength, mercy or muscle.

These are ultimately false choices. In today's interconnected world, the distinction between global and domestic challenges is artificial. The United States turning its back on the world will do nothing to keep U.S. citizens—or the country—secure and prosperous. Trump's "America first" approach to foreign affairs will lead instead to America alone, and allow others to write the rules that shape the future.

Trump's improvised international agenda is based on telling America, time and again, that it has to choose: safety at home or peace abroad, human rights or a steady paycheck, compassion or strength, mercy or muscle. These are ultimately false choices. In today's interconnected world, the distinction between global and domestic challenges is artificial.

Today, American families are paying for the United States' failure to address climate change with skyrocketing flood insurance bills and town budgets broken by the destruction that hurricanes, mudslides, nor'easters, and wildfires leave in their wake. They're feeling the inadequacies of U.S. efforts to combat drug trafficking in an addiction epidemic that grows more horrific by the day. Their privacy and personal security is threatened by international cyberattacks, their social media platforms are infiltrated by malicious foreign actors, and their most precious democratic right, their vote, is in Russian President Vladimir Putin's crosshairs. American men and women continue to don uniforms and leave their families behind to fight conflicts with no clear goal or exit strategy in place.

Foreign policy is not something that happens an ocean away. It affects not only the wars we fight but the bills we pay. Not just the weapons we use abroad but the computers we use at home. Not only crisis and disease on another continent but illness and injustice down the street.

Make no mistake: the global threats that Americans face today are serious. China's rising power, Russia's wide-ranging interference, Europe's growing division, and the United States' abdication of international leadership means that a new world order is on the horizon. We've already caught glimpses. Although the United States remains the world's largest economy, it is China that is now the world's most forceful economic actor, channeling its political and economic heft into its state-owned enterprises. Apple may be the world's largest corporation by market value, but its CEO Tim Cook is responsible to Apple shareholders, not U.S. lawmakers; Chinese billionaire Jack Ma doesn't have the same luxury. In China, the rise of state capitalism and its staying power pose a considerable challenge for the global free market. How the United States responds won't only set the stage for the security of American families for generations to come; it will determine whether the country's proudest democratic ideals sink or swim.

Getting this right requires something better than Trump's short-sighted and selfish approach to foreign affairs. It requires an American electorate fully engaged in an active foreign policy that works in tandem with a domestic agenda to promote democracy, individual freedom, and human dignity. If we want the American people to be as engaged on foreign policy as they've been on health care or on gun control or for the #metoo movement, then we need to offer a more compelling story about American foreign policy and why it matters.

## A NEW FOREIGN POLICY STORY

Roughly 3,500 miles separate Paris, France from Fall River, Massachusetts. For this working-class community in southeastern New England, climate change is a central part of daily life. For years, the United States' inadequate response to global warming has wreaked havoc on local infrastructure, municipal budgets, and flood insurance rates across the region. The city is struggling to pay off \$174 million in mandated sewage updates so that their aging infrastructure can handle the influx of extreme weather without putting public health and safety at risk. Average flood insurance premiums throughout the area have increased by 12 percent over the last six years. For communities like this one, the Trump administration's decision to withdraw the United States (the largest CO2 emitter in history) from the Paris agreement isn't some talking point; it is a reality that will affect their bottom line every single day.

Trump's "America first" approach to foreign affairs will lead instead to America alone, and allow others to write the rules that shape the future.

It would take you around 24 hours to get from Atlanta to Afghanistan. But in the state of Georgia, hundreds of thousands of families bear the burden of U.S. wars in the Middle East; the state has more military enlistees per civilian adults than any other in the nation. South Carolina and Texas aren't far behind. For these families and communities and countless others across the country, the U.S. wars in Iraq and Afghanistan aren't simply stories featured in The New York Times; they are hard realities, told through searing human loss and staggering economic costs. It's estimated that since 9/11, American taxpayers have paid more than \$5.6 trillion, money that could have gone to our struggling schools or crumbling bridges. As a presidential candidate, Trump railed against wars fought without a strategic vision, conflicts that will cost the American taxpayer for decades to come. But as president, his scattershot foreign policy risks plunging the United States into an unnecessary military confrontation, by choice or by accident, with Iran, North Korea, Russia, and even NATO-ally Turkey.

West Virginia isn't exactly a border state. In fact, it's almost 2,000 miles to Laredo, the nearest crossing into Mexico. But no state has been more ravaged by the United States' drug addiction epidemic. This American tragedy is a confluence of government abdication, private sector profiteering, and foreign exploitation. Lax drug prescribing practices and loosely regulated pharmaceutical companies got America hooked on pain pills. A horrifically underfunded mental health system ensured that it stayed that way. The price of addiction rose and drug cartels in Mexico seized the opportunity to meet American demand; today 95 percent of U.S. heroin originates in Mexico. As the crisis evolved, the drugs did too. Fentanyl, a deadly synthetic opioid, consists of chemicals made in rogue Chinese labs that are shipped directly into the United States or through Mexico, where it is largely smuggled into the United States through official ports of entry. In other words, Trump's \$70 billion border wall won't stop this epidemic. Increased mental health funding, pharmaceutical accountability, and real engagement across the borders could.

There are over 6,500 miles between Nebraska and Syria. Still, the state has taken in more refugees per capita (76 per 100,000 residents) than anywhere else in the country. For these communities and families, debates about refugee policy don't

play out in the halls of Washington or stages of international institutions, but in their community centers, churches, schools, service agencies, and other local institutions forced to provide for the refugees because the country is unable and unwilling to do so through sensible immigration policy.

Russia is some 5,000 miles away from Wisconsin. But that didn't keep Midwestern voters safe from the efforts of our Russian adversary to tamper with and influence their votes in 2016. Wisconsin was one of seven states (along with Alaska, Arizona, California, Florida, Illinois, and Texas) that had their state websites or voter registration databases compromised ahead of the 2016 elections, according to U.S. intelligence officials. It's since been discovered that foreign actors also successfully hacked into the U.S. power grid and other critical infrastructure. Without even leaving their homes, U.S. enemies seized on the echo chambers created by social media to further fracture our society. This new cyber front knows no boundaries or borders.

Nearly 7,000 miles separate Scranton, Pennsylvania and Beijing, China. But when it comes to the debate about U.S. trade policy, no two cities better illustrate the interconnection of our domestic and foreign policy choices. Globalization has undoubtedly benefited American consumers, businesses, and the country's overall prosperity in countless ways; the average American enjoys a standard of living that citizens in developing countries can only dream of. We must admit, however, that free trade has not always been fair trade. Industrial communities and American manufacturing workers have been hit disproportionately by global trade patterns. There's a valid reason why protectionist proposals (on both sides of the aisle) have resonated with voters. But the answer isn't nationalist half-measures like the tariffs recently announced by the president, which benefit targeted communities while opening other key industries to the impacts of a trade war. Races to the bottom can be just as ferocious within countries as between them.

Democracy is messy. It moves more slowly than we might like and frustrates those who seek quick fixes. But 250 years ago, America made a choice: free will is worth the fight. Americans foresaw that the greatest return on their investment would not come in the form of battle victories or even GDP. It would come from the power of a people whose freedom has not been bargained away.

HOW WE GOT HERE

No story exists in a vacuum, particularly when it comes to global affairs. Any attempt to get the American public invested in an active foreign policy demands a clear picture of the world that we are navigating today. Only then can we understand the urgency: China is waiting in the wings. That is not just a threat to our economic clout or global reputation. It is a threat to the democratic values and individual freedoms that the United States has spent generations defending at home and abroad.

When the United States devised the current global governance architecture in the wake of World War II, U.S. leaders understood that America's self-interest would be furthered by arrangements that other states understood would treat them fairly, too. Instead of trying to create a world where some states were "winners" and others were "losers," U.S. leaders had the confidence to create a world where the United States and many other nations could benefit together. This system was not perfect, but it provided the basis for decades of economic growth and played no small part in the United States' Cold War victory.

Today, however, non-Western powers are gaining political and economic influence, and no longer feel that the global architecture created in the late 1940s fits their purposes and their ambitions. They're right. But in response, the Trump administration seems content to let the old order collapse—and even help accelerate that process—while seeming unwilling to use American power to create a new and better one.

That's a mistake. The United States should find reasonable ways to give emerging powers greater say in the current international system. If institutions like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations Security Council don't end up better reflecting the de facto power ordering of today's world, alternative institutions like China's Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank will emerge to aggressively challenge them. And we must accept that some new, alternative institutions, backed by emerging powers, will arise regardless; they don't see it in terms of either/or the way that Americans do.

Does that mean the United States just hands over the keys to alternative architecture upstarts like China and Russia? Absolutely not. But it does mean that the United States needs to stop viewing the world through a zero-sum lens when it comes to foreign demands for a greater say in global institutions. Instead, we



should be confident that we can negotiate new arrangements that will safeguard our interests while acknowledging the interests of others. Once we've established that we're open to changing the rules of the game, we're free to stake out and defend our own positions. That means setting clear red lines for what we will or won't accept. We should also draw a distinction between the at times constructive "revisionism" of China or India, compared to the far more destructive "revisionism" of Russia, and insist that we be leaders in the conversation and fairly represented in whatever new institutions or standards that these emerging powers propose.

## THE MORAL TO OUR STORY

Trump is offering the American public a slate of false choices when it comes to U.S. foreign policy. But the truth is that there is a real choice to be made, and it matters. Does the United States reaffirm itself to the cause of freedom, human dignity, and democracy at home and abroad—or allow it to be chipped away? Does it compromise the values, promises, and foundational liberties etched in the U.S. Constitution because of the latest insult or opportunity that arises?

The era of Pax Americana is over, but the next chapter of America's role in the world is still being written. We are headed toward a new world order, and the United States should take a leadership role in shaping what that order will be. If it doesn't, the outcome will be decided without it, its interests, and its values.

Put another way: China has an alternative model for global leadership and it's ready to go. It is a model centered on government, rather than the individual, a model defined by conformity rather than freedom. It is a transactional model based on state capitalism, one that benefits those who pay fealty to Beijing; it is not one that is based on mutual benefit and growth, that values and respects the rights of individuals (and countries) to seek their own success in the free market, or that in so doing benefits the world at large.

Democracy is messy. It moves more slowly than we might like and frustrates those who seek quick fixes. But 250 years ago, America made a choice: free will is worth the fight. Americans foresaw that the greatest return on their investment would not come in the form of battle victories or even GDP. It would come from the power of a people whose freedom has not been bargained away.

Source: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-04-30/time-new-us-foreign-policy-narrative?cid=int-fls&pgtype=hpg>

# **Here Is Why North Korea Will Give Up Its Nuclear Weapons By Gordon G. Chang**

“If we meet often and build trust with the United States and if an end to the war and nonaggression are promised, why would we live in difficulty with nuclear weapons?” Kim Jong-un told South Korean president Moon Jae-in on Friday. “I know the Americans are inherently disposed against us, but when they talk with us, they will see that I am not the kind of person who would shoot nuclear weapons to the south, over the Pacific, or at the United States.”

Sunday, South Korean officials revealed Kim’s words, which reinforce the promises he made in the Panmunjom Declaration for Peace, Prosperity, and Unification of the Korean Peninsula, signed at his historic summit with Moon.

The Declaration promises, among other things, the “complete denuclearization” of the Korean Peninsula.

Color just about everyone skeptical that the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea will give up its most destructive weapons. As Chris Nelson wrote just hours after the Declaration was signed, “No credible expert on the DPRK argues there is a price which, being met, the Kim Regime will ever relinquish all its nukes, period, given Libya and Iraq.”

There is indeed such a price, and it could be incredibly low. The Kimster will almost certainly give up his nukes if he believes he would lose power if he does not do so. President Donald Trump, therefore, may just have to ask nicely.

How can this be so?

As Nelson suggests, it is exceedingly unlikely that Kim wants to surrender his nuclear weapons. Yes, it appears he agreed to do so Friday, but, as Sung-Yoon Lee of the Fletcher School told the National Interest, “Kim Jong Un’s ploys are completely unoriginal and rather lazy.”

Lee’s right about Kim’s unoriginality. The North Koreans have just recycled old language into new pledges. Friday’s promise follows similar ones the North made

in the Joint Declaration of the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, signed January 1992; the Agreed Framework of October 1994; and the Joint Statement of the Fourth Round of the Six-Party Talks, issued September 2005. These vows were made after the most important one of all: the commitment in the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT). Pyongyang acceded to the global pact in December 1985.

In view of the four-decade trail of broken commitments, just about nobody believes Kim's promise in Friday's declaration.

This time, however, there are two principal reasons for Kim to comply. First, there are Trump's threatening words—backed up by those of National Security Advisor John Bolton when he was a Fox News contributor—and those of Trump surrogates like Sen. Lindsey Graham. “The loud talk about ‘fire and fury,’ combined with the sight of aircraft carriers sailing towards Korean shores, have not failed to impress concerned parties, including the North and South Koreans, as well as the Chinese,” Andrei Lankov of Kookmin University wrote last month. “Towards the end of 2017, the positions of all these countries underwent rather dramatic changes—and the best or only explanation for this is simple: these countries were increasingly afraid of a war breaking out.”

The threat of strikes on his nuclear and missile facilities is the best explanation why Kim made concessions to Trump—such as last Saturday's announcement of the suspension of testing and the closing of a test site, even before meeting the American president.

There is another reason why Kim could decide, with surprisingly little resistance, to turn over his nukes: Trump's sanctions have substantially depleted Kim's coffers. Office No. 39, the family slush fund, is low on cash according to Chinese sources, and South Korean sources believe Pyongyang could exhaust its foreign currency reserves by as early as October. The elite trooper who defected last November had uncooked kernels of corn in his digestive tract, suggesting the army cannot feed even its most privileged soldiers serving in some of its most sensitive posts.

Without cash, Kim cannot launch missiles; detonate nukes; or keep himself in power with “gift politics,” the buying of loyalty by handing out luxury items to senior regime elements.

So far, sanctions have been tight, but they have been designed only to get Kim to the negotiating table. In this regard, they have apparently succeeded. Trump stated last Tuesday that Kim was in a hurry to talk, wanting to meet “as soon as possible.”

That’s a sign the North Korean leader needs relief from coercive measures. Yet an eagerness to meet does not, of course, necessarily translate into making major concessions.

Trump can force concessions by tightening the sanctions on Kim, and, if that doesn’t work, by stepping up the pressure on his great-power sponsors, Russia and China. Trump has signaled that he would target Chinese banks—a weak point for Beijing.

China’s banks, despite warnings from both the Obama and current administration, have continued to handle cash for the North Koreans. Trump officials, according to Bloomberg, decided earlier this year not to enforce money-laundering laws against the second- and third-largest Chinese banking institutions, China Construction Bank and Agricultural Bank of China. Both banks are suspected of handling dirty transactions for North Korea.

The largest and fourth-largest banks, the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China and Bank of China, are almost certainly engaging in this activity as well.

That makes all of China’s so-called “Big Four” banks vulnerable to either large—hundred-million-dollar or billion-dollar—fines or designation as “primary money laundering concerns” pursuant to Section 311 of the Patriot Act. Designation would disconnect a bank from the global banking system, essentially a death sentence for that institution and perhaps for the already fragile Chinese banking and financial systems.

Beijing is enforcing sanctions against the North better than two years ago, but not compared to two months ago. North Korean workers are now returning to China,

a clear violation of UN Security Council measures. There is fresh Chinese investment into the Rajin-Sonbong special economic zone, another apparent violation. China is also importing sanctioned iron alloys from the North.

And then there is the matter of gifts Xi Jinping showered on Kim Jong-un and his wife last month in Beijing. The giving of those items—porcelain, jewelry, and other valuables estimated to be worth \$394,000—was a blatant contravention of UN rules.

Trump, by threatening China, may be able to force Beijing to cut off Kim completely. Should China completely sever commercial and financial ties with him, North Korea will have no choice but to obtain relief from Trump.

“A new history begins now,” Kim wrote on Friday in Moon Jae-in’s visitor’s book in the Peace House. Those words sound like typical North Korean propaganda, but Trump has the leverage to force Mr. Kim to make the bold statement true.

Gordon G. Chang is the author of Nuclear Showdown: North Korea Takes On the World. Follow him on Twitter @GordonGChang.

Source: <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/here-why-north-korea-will-give-its-nuclear-weapons-25625>

# **Modi in China and the Future of Sino-Indian Ties** **By Saadat Hassan**

Just recently, Indian Prime Minister (PM) Narendra Modi wrapped up a visit to China, the fourth since he assumes office. Indian media has projected Modi's informal visit to Wuhan China as an indication of Sino-Indian rapprochement. One hopes this is true, as both countries are important engines of economic growth, economic globalisation and make positive contributions toward peace and development.

In 24 hours, both have six rounds of meetings and the agenda includes trade, strategic military relations, tourism and other regional issues. However, there were no agreements or announcements following the joint statement. Chinese vice Foreign Minister Kong Xuanyou stated that china will not stress on India joining China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) infrastructure project, as India has reservations on CPEC, which is a flagship project of BRI. President Xi and PM Modi took a long walk along the side of the Wuhan East Lake, followed by a boat ride and lunch together.

The Prime Minister was accompanied by National Security Advisor Ajit Doval, Foreign Secretary Vijay Gokhale and Indian Ambassador to China Gautam Bambawale. His Counterpart Xi led a high-powered delegation which included Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee, Ding Xuexiang, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Yang Jiechi and State Councillor and Minister of Foreign Affairs Wang Yi. Adding to that, President Xi took PM Modi on personal tour of a major museum in Wuhan and Modi presented a gift to Xi Jinping the paintings of Chinese artist Xu Beihong who taught in Visva Bharati University in West Bengal.

An editorial published by a state-owned online Chinese daily stated that the best part of the informal meeting was that it came with no baggage, only expectations. It further added that 'heart-to-heart communication' showed their 'opened mutual chemistry' which, in turn, will be helpful in enhancing the mutual trust between New Delhi and Beijing, paving the way for the establishment of close bilateral ties in the long-run. Another Chinese daily reported ahead of Modi's visit that China will

continue to persuade India and Pakistan to resolve the Kashmir conflict through bilateral peace talks.

An editorial published by a state-owned online Chinese daily stated that the best part of the 'informal' meeting was that it came with 'no baggage, only expectations'

China is also attempting to convince India that CPEC is just for economic cooperation, and does not influence China's impartiality with regards to Kashmir. Having said that, this informal visit, broadly taken as an attempt to reset bilateral relations and rebuild trust, follows an extended period of diplomatic distancing between the two neighbouring nuclear powers.

An op-ed in China Daily stated that two leaders focused on many key issues, specifically global governance and shared international challenges. The international edition of the ruling Communist Party's official People's Daily stated in a front-page commentary piece 'two great countries ought to have great cooperation', and showed a large picture of the two leaders shaking hands.

China and India recently locked horns during the Doklam dispute. This 72-day military standoff was the result of the increasing mistrust between the two countries. Modi and Xi emphasised the need for greater cooperation. For this reason, cross border movement was encouraged. At the Wuhan, informal summit, both leaders agreed to undertake joint economic and developmental projects in war-torn Afghanistan, which lies in China and India's backyard.

However, it wasn't all smooth sailing. Foreign Secretary Gokhale — considered the architect of Sino-Indian rapprochement — commented during the press briefing that Beijing has repeatedly blocked New Delhi's bid to designate Jaish-e-Muhammad Chief Masood Azhar as a global terrorist in the UN. Similarly, India's membership bid to the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) was also opposed by Beijing. The reason for this was that India has not signed the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty or the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. This issue also came under discussion between Xi and Modi.

Theoretical analysis of the relationship between China and India can make for a captivating case study due to its strategic complexity. It involves an intricate web



of interests, ranging from tough stands on the unmarked boundaries issue to recognition of Tibet by India as part of China.

Other relevant issues include the search for energy resources, increasing bilateral trade, perceptions of encirclement and increased cooperation on international forums as well as different domestic political systems. Hyper-realists claim that due to the unsettled boundary issues, the forecasts of perfection in China-India relations are unlikely, but both have reasons to join hands in the field of investment, trade, energy resources, counter terrorism and development in Afghanistan.

On the other hand, liberals forecast that the incentive for economic development will push India and China towards peace. Today, China and India are one of the world's biggest — if not the biggest — trading partners. Trade between the two countries has already touched \$88 billion; and the target is \$100 billion in 2018. Pragmatists add another dimension and said that prospects of China-India relations are not a case of conflict or cooperation, but conflict and cooperation.

The geopolitics of Sino-Indian relations are marked by different strategies, including Chinese cooperation with Pakistan, India's 'look east' policy, the struggle for influence in the Indian ocean, China's string of pearls strategy.

Despite all this Sino-Indian cooperation is paving the way for a unipolar to multipolar world. Both are the world's two most populated countries. They have consistently achieved the world's highest annual GDP growth rates over the past decade. Furthermore, both their economies were the most resilient in the world in the face of the 2008 global recession.

In conclusion; territorial disputes, regional geopolitics, and economic competition, catalysed by misperceptions, will ensure that Sino-India relations will remain competitive in nature. However, the high cost of war, growing economic interaction, and the imperative for peaceful economic development will also help keep the level and nature of competition at a pragmatic level.

Published in Daily Times, May 3rd 2018.

Source: <https://dailytimes.com.pk/235170/modi-in-china-and-the-future-of-sino-indian-ties/>

## **Meeting Between Putin And Trump Not Enough To Improve Relations – Analysis**

Russian President Vladimir Putin is ready for a meeting with his US counterpart Donald Trump, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov said in an interview with RIA Novosti.

At the same time, Russia hopes that US President Donald Trump concretizes his proposal on the visit of Russian leader Vladimir Putin to Washington, he added.

“We proceed from the fact that the US president in a telephone conversation – this has already become known, there is no secret – he sent such an invitation, said that he would be happy to see in the White House, then he would be happy to meet as part of the return visit. And he returned to this topic a couple of times, so we of course let our American colleagues know that we do not want to be intrusive, but we do not want to be impolite, and that given that President Trump has made such a proposal, we proceed from the fact that he concretizes it,” Sergey Lavrov said.

Earlier the White House representatives said that they continue to work out the possibility for Donald Trump and Vladimir Putin meeting, despite the significantly complicated relations between Moscow and Washington, as well as another round of anti-Russian sanctions.

“As the President said, we want good relations with Russia, but it will depend on some actions of the Russians. Meanwhile, the President will continue to take a tough stance on Russia, until we see the implementation of these changes. We will continue to work on what you need to do to this meeting with Vladimir Putin took place at some point,” the White House Press Secretary Sarah Sanders assured.

Meanwhile, the Federation Council of Russia urged US officials to refuse the distribution of false information until the meeting of the two leaders, in order not to aggravate an already difficult situation.

“Alas, the US President Donald Trump joined those spreading fake news. We can feel the influence of his new team. [...] In this regard, I suggest that our overseas

opponents declare the so-called 'day of silence' for the period remaining until the meeting, making a breather in the information war. Evidently, this applies exclusively to officials, the media is quite another matter," said Franz Klintsevich, a member of the Federation Council committee on defense and security.

Analyzing the likelihood of a personal meeting between the heads of Russia and the United States, Hugh Gusterson, Professor of Anthropology and International Affairs at George Washington University, president of the American Ethnological Society, stressed that it is very hard to predict anything when it comes to Donald Trump.

"His advisers are surely telling him that relations between Russia and the US are so unstable that a meeting is too risky. They are also warning him that it would be dangerous for him politically to be seen with Putin when there is a widespread perception in the US that he is in some way indebted to or compromised by President Putin. But Trump often ignores advice," the expert told PenzaNews.

From his point of view, the results of a potential meeting will not be of great importance for the further development of relations, even if such negotiations take place.

"Given the animosity toward Russia right now throughout the US national security state, it is hard to imagine that a meeting between a weakened US President and his Russian counterpart will do much to improve the situation," Hugh Gusterson said stressing that relations between the US and Russia are the worst they have been in a long time.

A similar opinion was expressed by Michael O'Hanlon, Senior Fellow at Brookings University and an author of several publications for the National Interest magazine, who also drew attention to the significant cooling of bilateral relations.

"Relations between Moscow and Washington are at their worst since the early 1980s; they are also somewhat dangerous in military terms," the analyst explained.

At the same time, he positively assessed the prospect of a meeting between the presidents of Russia and the United States.

“The meetings Donald Trump and Vladimir Putin have already had [within the G20 and APEC summits] have been somewhat useful in preventing things from getting even worse,” Michael O’Hanlon reminded.

“But simple conversation can’t paper over the profound issues or differences in policy right now, so any summit would have to be accompanied by limited expectations unless a big new idea were to be discussed that could somehow mitigate tensions. For example, this idea could be about the creation of a new east European security order of the type I wrote about in my book *Beyond NATO: A New Security Architecture for Eastern Europe*,” the expert explained.

In turn, Roberto Castaldi, Research Director of International Centre for European and global governance, Director of the Research Centre on Multi-Level Integration and Governance Processes at eCampus University, doubted the soon emergence of favorable conditions for the summit of Russian and American leaders.

“I don’t think the meeting between Trump and Putin will take place soon, considering the tensions in Syria. The situation is very dangerous and fragile,” the analyst said.

In his opinion, in modern conditions, the foreign policy of the United States is more focused on the Asia-Pacific region than it is aimed at developing cooperation with Russia.

“The global challenge for hegemony is between the US and China. Russia is a military power, but its economy is too weak to compete for global leadership. This has structurally shifted the American strategic focus towards the Pacific,” Roberto Castaldi explained.

Meanwhile, Evgeniya Voyko, Associate Professor of the department of political science at the Financial University under the Government of the Russian Federation, expressed the opposite opinion, stressing that we cannot rule out the possibility of the two leaders’ negotiations.

“In addition, we should remember that this will not be the first meeting of the two leaders – they already had the opportunity to communicate at the summits. At the same time, I am skeptical about the possible positive outcome of potential

negotiations: first of all, because it is impossible to resolve any global issues in such a narrow format,” the expert said.

From her point of view, both countries have an established opinion on certain issues that neither side will change after a one-time meeting, albeit at the level of the presidents.

“There is a position of Washington in relation to the Russian Federation and its vision of the situation around Ukraine and the Crimea. There is a position of Moscow that is ready for cooperation, but will not compromise its own interests. The meeting of the two countries’ presidents can take place, but what will it lead to? Will this be a signal, including for Europeans, that it is necessary to reach an agreement with Russia? I think not. They have quite unequivocal views on this matter,” Evgeniya Voyko said.

At the same time, Ilgar Velizade, Head of the Baku-based South Caucasus Club of Political Scientists, expressed confidence that the complicated relations between Russia and the United States lay a negative impact on the entire global political agenda.

“Current relations between Russia and the West can be described as Cold War-2 or Global Hybrid War-1. In both cases, we are talking about serious destructive processes destabilizing the entire international agenda,” the expert said.

In his view, the potential meeting of the two leaders can somewhat ease the tension between Moscow and Washington, but one cannot definitely speak about the positive outcome of the talks.

“According to the experience of the cold war, such meetings always or in most cases led to the thaw in relations between superpowers. Will there be the thaw this time, and what kind of the thaw it will be, time will tell,” Ilgar Velizade concluded.

Source: <https://penzanews.ru/en/analysis/65310-2018>

Source: <http://www.eurasiareview.com/30042018-meeting-between-putin-and-trump-not-enough-to-improve-relations-analysis/>



## **After Obama, a Nobel prize for Trump — or not so Fast?**

A decade after Barack Obama won the Nobel Peace Prize, could his White House successor Donald Trump follow suit for navigating the thorny North Korean nuclear standoff?

The very idea, put forward by a handful of Republican lawmakers in a Wednesday letter nominating the US president for the esteemed award, is enough to make his American and international detractors cringe.

And many observers have been left flummoxed by a debate widely seen as premature — to put it mildly.

But the whispers are no doubt sweet music to the ears of the 71-year-old businessman, who assumed the presidency with no political, military or diplomatic experience, and whose thirst for recognition is firmly established.

“That’s very nice, thank you. That’s very nice,” a smiling Trump said on Saturday as supporters at a campaign-style rally in Michigan chanted “No-bel! No-bel!”

“I just want to get the job done,” he proclaimed, after fondly pronouncing the word “Nobel”.

Three days later in the Oval Office, Trump returned to the topic, saying it was “very generous” of South Korea’s President Moon Jae-in to suggest the US leader — rather than himself — was deserving of the prestigious prize.

“I appreciate it but the main thing is to get it done,” Trump said. “I want to get peace.”

The spectacular Korean detente of recent months, with a summit approaching between Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong Un, and the — still theoretical — prospect of denuclearization, have fed hopes of a historic turning point in the region.

But as remarkable as the imagery and symbolism have been recently, many analysts point out that it is early — very early indeed — to speculate on the outcome of ongoing negotiations with a regime that has been led with an iron fist by the Kim dynasty for nearly 70 years.

‘Surreal’

“It’s surreal in the sense that it’s clearly premature to be talking about giving anybody a Nobel Peace Prize,” said Aaron David Miller, a former US diplomat and negotiator in several Democratic and Republican administrations.

But “if in fact the diplomacy goes the right way”, the scenario is “conceivable”, he told AFP.

The Nobel chatter also reflects an impassioned debate taking place over the exact role of America’s president in the ongoing diplomatic overtures.

On both sides of the US political divide, the reasoning can border on the absurd, with one camp asserting that Trump played no part in the ongoing detente on the Korean peninsula, while the other attributes it solely to his intervention.

In Washington’s fevered political climate — in which “it’s virtually impossible for one party to give credit to the other” — Trump’s personality and “inability to think about the ‘we’ rather than just the ‘me’” is further reinforcing the antagonism, Miller said.

“The aversion to giving him the Nobel on the Democratic side is caught up in the aversion to him.”

For Trump’s fervent supporters, the looming summit with Kim — all but unimaginable just months ago — is proof that his often-impulsive presidency can break through barriers, change the rules of the diplomatic game, and succeed where his predecessors have failed.

On Wednesday, 18 House Republicans sent a letter to the Norwegian Nobel Committee urging it to consider Trump for next year’s award in recognition of “his tireless work to bring peace to our world”.



For his staunchest opponents, by contrast, the actions of the young administration, Trump's rejection of many of the pillars of multilateralism, and his bombastic style and vituperations should disqualify him from the Nobel race.

Roosevelt, Wilson, Carter, Obama

The award of the prize to Trump's Democratic predecessor, just a few months after he took office, had itself aroused surprise and strong reactions.

"I am at the beginning, and not the end, of my labors on the world stage," Obama said on December 10, 2009 in Oslo, as he acknowledged "the considerable controversy" surrounding the committee's decision at the dawn of his first term.

Beyond Obama, three other US presidents have received the award: Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and Jimmy Carter.

Anticipating the Trump-Kim summit, and the protracted diplomatic negotiations that lie ahead, some have opted for a humorous approach.

Washington Post columnist Dana Milbank penned a spoof acceptance speech by Trump, complete with the leader's trademark verbal tics.

"The haters and the liars say I don't deserve this award [...] Wrong!" said Milbank's Trump.

"I was, like, really smart, when I made peace with Rocket Man. By calling him short and fat and saying I would totally destroy him with fire and fury from my big and powerful nuclear button, I got him to negotiate."

Source: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1405377/after-obama-a-nobel-prize-for-trump-or-not-so->

# **The US and China Are Finally Having It Out**

## **By Thomas L. Friedman**

With the arrival in Beijing this week of America's top trade negotiators, you might think that the U.S. and China are about to enter high-level talks to avoid a trade war and that this is a story for the business pages. Think again. This is one for the history books.

Five days of meetings in Beijing with Chinese, U.S. and European government officials and business leaders made it crystal clear to me that what's going on right now is nothing less than a struggle to redefine the rules governing the economic and power relations of the world's oldest and newest superpowers — America and China. This is not a trade tiff.

"This is a defining moment for U.S.-China relations," said Ruan Zongze, executive vice president of the Chinese Foreign Ministry's research institute. "This is about a lot more than trade and tariffs. This is about the future."

In one corner stand President Trump and his team of China trade hard-liners, whose instinct is basically right: This is a fight worth having now, before it is too late, before China gets too big.

And in the other corner stands President Xi Jinping of China, whose instinct may also be right — this is a fight worth having now, because it is too late — China is just too big.

Or, as one Chinese expert put it at a Tsinghua University dialogue on trade I attended, "No one can contain China anymore." You hear that confidence in Beijing a lot today from Chinese: Our one-party system and unified society can take the pain of a trade war far longer than you Americans can. And there is a trade imbalance today because we've been investing in our future and you Americans have been eating yours.

A Chinese economist who worked in the West summarized it this way: "You brought China into the world and changed China," but now China is in the world and it is becoming "self-propelled."

Here's how we got here: In Act I, U.S.-China relations were all geopolitics, with the U.S. and China against the Soviet Union. That lasted until the late 1970s, when Act II began: China shifted toward capitalism, becoming a huge factory and new market — and 30 years later turned into the world's second-largest economy.

In large part this was due to the work ethic of the Chinese people, the long-term thinking of China's leaders and the government's massive investments in infrastructure and education. But in part it was also due to China's willingness and ability to bend or ignore rules of the World Trade Organization and, at times, outright cheat.

In some cases China used industrial espionage to just steal innovations from the West. Other moves were more subtle: When China joined the W.T.O. in 2001, it was allowed in as a "developing nation," subject to very low tariffs on its exports to our country but permitted to impose high tariffs to protect its own rising industries from U.S. and European competition.

The assumption was that as China grew, and the W.T.O. moved to a new regime, China would quickly cut its tariffs — like its 25 percent tax on car imports, compared with the 2.5 percent tariff imposed by the U.S. But the W.T.O. still has not completed a new trade round and China has refused to voluntarily lower its tariffs.

Moreover, China developed an industrial policy that often bent W.T.O. rules. The government gave away cheap land, and state-guided banks granted cheap loans for new industries, but foreign companies that wanted access to China's market were forced to pay to play — to have a Chinese partner and be willing to transfer their advanced technology to them.

As a result, over time, Beijing was able to force multinationals to shift more and more of their supply chains to China, and grow Chinese competitors to Western companies in its protected market, and then, once they were big enough, unleash them on the world as giants.

Even when the U.S. protested to the W.T.O. — as in the case of how China unfairly kept U.S. credit card companies out, then lost the arbitration case at the W.T.O. — China still dragged its feet before following through on promises made 17 years

earlier to open up. By then, Chinese companies, like UnionPay, so dominated China's credit card market that U.S. companies, like Visa, were left with the crumbs.

Meanwhile, Chinese government-guided companies and investment funds went abroad and began to buy up strategic industries to bring their technology back to China — like Germany's biggest and best robotics company, Kuka.

U.S. and European businesses tolerated all of this because they were still making money in China or were afraid to be frozen out of its massive, growing market — until a couple years ago, when more and more told their governments: This is not working anymore. That ushered in Act III.

ACT III opened in October 2015, when China announced its new long-term vision: "Made in China 2025," a plan to dominate 10 next-generation industries, including robotics, self-driving cars, electric vehicles, artificial intelligence, biotech and aerospace.

When the U.S. and Europe saw this, they basically said: Wow. We were ready to turn the other cheek when your combination of hard work, cheating and industrial policy was focused on low-end industries. But if you use the same strategies to dominate these high-end industries, we're toast. We need some new rules.

And I heard this as much from E.U. officials as U.S. ones. That is why many E.U. countries are now scrambling to pass new laws to prevent China from buying up their most advanced industries. And that is why China is telling E.U. countries, as one E.U. official put it, "Whatever you do, don't join the U.S. camp" on trade. The last thing Beijing wants is a U.S.-E.U. united front demanding it play fair.

Don't get me wrong. I am a free trader and genuinely not afraid of some state-directed 2025 plan beating Western free-market innovators. I welcome China focusing more on 21st-century industries. It could be better for everyone.

Economics is not like war — they can win and we can win. On one condition — we all play by the same rules: hard work and innovation, not hard work and stealing intellectual property, massive government interventions, ignoring W.T.O. rules, lack of reciprocity and forcing Western companies to pay to play inside China.

That is what this moment is about — that's why it's a fight worth having. Don't let the fact that Trump is leading the charge distract from the vital importance of the U.S., Europe and China all agreeing on the same rules for 2025 — before it really is too late.

Have no doubt, though: Both Presidents Trump and Xi are approaching this moment with enormously high-risk strategies.

At a time when we are at a historic juncture in defining the West's economic relations with China — clearly our No. 1 priority — Trump is also risking a trade war with the very allies we need to move China in the right direction — Japan, South Korea, Europe and Canada — by threatening them with steel and aluminum tariffs if they don't meet his demands. Trump seems to believe that he can reshape how China approaches the next era of global trade without allies — just American brute force. Good luck with that.

As one E.U. official warned me: "If your concern is U.S. jobs, China is the big challenge and you should not be starting a steel war with Europe. Nobody is going to go with you on China if you're hitting us on steel." Added one longtime U.S. observer in Beijing: "If we make this the U.S. versus China alone, we lose."

Worse, Trump tore up the Trans-Pacific Partnership, which would have brought together the most powerful economies on the Pacific Rim around a set of trade rules perfectly aligned with U.S. interests and focused on all those things, like intellectual property, that we want China to embrace as it moves to 2025.

In short, with a lot of allies in Europe and on the Pacific, we might be able to move China in the right direction. But Trump is alienating them all. How foolish is that?

Trump also has nothing to say about investing in the real source of long-term U.S. strength — infrastructure and education.

But Xi's bet is also no slam dunk. China is a much more open country today than it was 25 years ago — but it's also much less open than it was five years ago. Xi's allies argue that his crackdown on corruption; his repeal of term limits, which position him to rule for what could be decades; and his tightening of the control

that the Communist Party wields over every institution was urgent because collective rule did not work. China's society, government and military were being eaten away by corruption from within, those allies say.

That may have been true. But creating a regime of one-man rule; controlling the internet, free speech and universities more tightly than ever; and resurrecting the teaching of Marxist thought cannot be the best way to stimulate and attract the most creative and innovative minds that China needs to propel a start-up economy and deliver on "Made in China 2025."

Will China's best and brightest want to work in such a system? I don't know. China's autocracy has managed to produce a tremendous number of patents and start-ups so far, so maybe Xi can pull this off. But it's a big bet.

As I said, this is not just a front-page business news story. What's being written is the first page of a whole new chapter in the history of U.S.-China relations. And how it gets written and how it ends will shape the Trump and Xi legacies — and touch every major economy in the world.

Source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/01/opinion/america-china-trump-trade.html?ref=collection%2Fsectioncollection%2Fopinion>

#### Iran Nuclear Deal: May 12 and Beyond By Tariq Niaz Bhatti

IRAN nuclear deal is due for US presidential waiver on May 12, 2018. President Trump's bellicose tone suggests it will surely withdraw from the deal signed in 2015 triggering series of US sanctions against Iran. New US NSA statements, an Iran Hawk, also points towards the same outcome. President Trump is wary of Iran's Israel-specific ballistic missile programme and its interventionist stance in the ME notably in Yemen, Lebanon and Syria. Iran stance stems from its desire to seek legitimacy for theocracy at home by confronting Israel and Sunni Islam, hence, most of its actions have religious overtones.

Post nuclear deal security situation in the ME has shown no improvements instead it has deteriorated. The question arises, will scraping the deal help in any way bring about durable peace in the region or it will further plunge the region into chaos? French President Macron during his recent visit to US, proposed a new deal aimed

at curbing Iran military power and regional activities to exist alongside the three years old deal. Germany and Britain who helped negotiate the deal in 2015, have also voiced their concerns over scraping the deal altogether which will gravely impact the security situation in the ME.

Battle of Chaldiran between sixteenth century Persian Safavid's Empire and Turks Ottoman Empire resulted in Ottoman victory and helped shape the contours of modern ME. Both empires were competing for Iraq and greater Syria. Safavids propagated Shia Islam and their defeat led to creation of relatively compact, Persian oriented Shia nation state in the Iranian Plateau. Its relatively small size as compared to its neighboring empires like Ottoman and Mughals helped in its existence over centuries which later evolved into a modern Shia theocratic state of Iran in 1979. Safavids influenced surrounding regions of Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Southern Iraq and western and central Afghanistan which holds sizeable Shia population amid majority Sunnis. This century old Sunni-Shia divide and interventionist stance of modern Iran had led to many wars in ME and permanent state of instability in the region.

Iran's threat to withdraw from the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, is the clearest indication of how it will react should Donald Trump pull US out of the deal. Trump has vowed not to waive the sanctions again unless European nations manage to make radical changes to the nuclear deal, including curbs on Iran's missile development. This programme is not covered by the deal, and Tehran says it will not bow to pressure to halt it. More than 500 parliamentarians from France, Germany and the UK have written to their US counterparts urging them to persuade President Trump not to abandon the deal. In their joint statement they have urged a White House rethink before a pull out of the deal commonly known as Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) is undertaken.

Senior members of Israeli security establishment are also predicting the month of May will be one of the most volatile periods. Aluf Amos Yadlin, the former head of Israeli Defense Forces and Military Intelligence Directorate, said in an interview published in April 22, "I have not seen a May this dangerous since May 1967." On April 30 Israeli PM Netanyahu showcased a vast archives of Iran's own documentations showing Tehran wanted to develop nuclear weapons arsenal, lied

to the international community about it and taken steps to proceed to the bomb within the bounds of nuclear deal.

Keeping in view the offensive and defensive strategies of US and P-5+1 regarding the deal, it looks most probable that President Trump will withdraw thus triggering waves of sanctions on Iran in times to come. This unilateral US action will have devastating effect on the regional peace and will prompt Israel to initiate military action against Iran, Syria, Hezbollah and the Lebanese army as well as Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Salafist groups in Gaza. From Israeli point of view situation in the ME is ripe in terms of possible confrontation with Iran as Syrian President is battling to survive and Hezbollah meanwhile wants to retain its arsenal of rockets and missiles for “Judgment day”. Assuming Iran has to face Israel alone, that present opportunity to Israel to create new rules of the game and secure its red lines in Syria. With ongoing KSA-Israel rapprochement and mounting impact of sanctions, Iran’s march towards the bomb which is estimated to be seven years away, will see considerable time reduction.

Evolving security situation in the ME will set Pakistan a tight rope walk. Role and employment of its troops deployed in KSA for internal security and training missions will come under serious public debate if Iran-Israel conflict engulfs the GCC countries. Rising oil prices will definitely add more burden to the fast depleting foreign exchange reserves that will start with the talks of imminence of Iran-Israel war.

— The writer is freelance columnist based in Islamabad.

Source: <https://pakobserver.net/iran-nuclear-deal-may-12-and-beyond/>



# **Putin to Begin Fourth Term, But What Happens in 2024?**

MOSCOW: Vladimir Putin will be inaugurated for a historic fourth term on Monday, extending his almost two-decade rule by another six years after predictably winning Russia's March presidential election.

But with no successor and no political competition, what are the possible scenarios when his term ends in 2024?

Without constitutional reform, Putin will not be able to run for a fifth time — Russian law forbids serving more than two consecutive terms.

Putin, who will turn 72 in 2024, could decide to leave the Kremlin after 24 years in power, making way for a successor.

Russian politics is now dominated by infighting between rival clans of technocrats and the 'siloviki' — representatives of the security services and the army.

"There is already a fight for influence," said political analyst Nikolai Petrov. "Nobody will wait passively, each group will try to promote its interests," he added.

In a March interview to American TV channel NBC, Putin said he had been thinking of a potential successor since 2000. "There is no harm in thinking about it but at the end of the day it will be the Russian people who decide."

But in making sure no one can compete with him, no politician is currently popular enough to succeed the Kremlin chief. Many analysts say Putin leaving power in six years is unlikely.

One way Putin could continue ruling Russia after 2024 is to stay in power in a different role.

The Russian strongman could revisit his 2008 move, which saw him put forward Dmitry Medvedev as president while he himself became prime minister before returning to the Kremlin in 2012.

“Putin may prepare the regime for a transfer of power. But not from Putin to another president but from Putin to Putin in some other role,” said Petrov.

But memories of mass protests in Moscow when Putin and Medvedev swapped back and Putin returned to the Kremlin may put the Russian leader off this option.

Netanyahu to meet Putin in Moscow ahead of Iran deal deadline

Putin’s age also makes this scenario problematic. Putin will be 78 in 2030, when he is constitutionally allowed to run for another term.

Konstantin Kalachev, head of the Political Expert Group think tank in Moscow, said Putin knows his successor will have to introduce unpopular economic reforms and wants to “go down in history as the man who did not lose at anything”.

Putin could choose to follow China’s Xi Jinping in abolishing presidential term limits, thus allowing him to remain president for life.

Kremlin cracking down on internet to muzzle critics, say experts

“I don’t think he will refuse power in 2024 even if he has had enough, he is visibly tired,” said independent political analyst Dmitry Oreshkin.

“He can’t leave because he does not believe that anyone will protect him,” he added, saying that Putin has built a system in which everything depends on who is at the top.

So far, Putin has ruled out ruling Russia for life.

Navalny, 1,600 supporters detained at anti-Putin rallies

“I never changed the constitution, especially for it to benefit me and I do not have this kind of intention today,” he told NBC in March.

Oreshkin said Putin does not want to be remembered for changing the constitution and that if he were to remain president for life, it would be done ‘more elegantly’ than in China.

Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1704149/3-putin-begin-fourth-term-happens-2024/>

# **Kim-Trump Summit Faces Big Challenges**

## **By Troy Stangarone**

After a year of rising concerns about a possible conflict over the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's nuclear programme, tensions on the Korean Peninsula have considerably eased.

On April 27, DPRK leader Kim Jong-un and Republic of Korea President Moon Jae-in held a historic meeting at the border village of Panmunjom. The meeting kicked off a new era of summit diplomacy and is likely to be followed by a summit between US President Donald Trump and Kim, which could pave the way for a new beginning on the Korean Peninsula.

The inter-Korean summit was a success by many measures, even if some of the key details remain to be worked out. In a break with the past, Kim agreed to meet Moon at the Peace House in the demilitarised zone, making him the first DPRK leader to travel south of the demilitarised zone. There was also a frankness in how Kim spoke of the economic difficulties facing the DPRK.

But perhaps the most significant factor in the Panmunjom agreement was the two sides' commitment to realise denuclearisation, which incidentally is the first direct reference to denuclearisation in an inter-Korean document.

The document focuses on three areas of inter-Korean cooperation: the development of co-prosperity, the reduction of military tensions, and the development of permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula.

One of the key elements of the Panmunjom agreement on co-prosperity is the consensus to implement all prior inter-Korean declarations and agreements that would provide the DPRK with clear economic benefits if it follows through by abandoning its nuclear program. In terms of easing tensions, the agreement reaffirms a non-aggression pact, calls for the end of hostile acts, and phased disarmament.

The two sides also agreed to seek a peace treaty to end the Korean War by the end of 2018. While denuclearisation is the last element of the agreement,

nominally, the adoption of all prior inter-Korean declarations and agreements should also commit the DPRK to the 1992 Joint Declaration on the Denuclearisation of the Korea Peninsula.

While helping to create a framework for cooperation, details will still need to be worked out on the phased approach to disarmament agreed to in the agreement. But perhaps most important will be defining how the economic and social cooperation agreed upon will be conducted while sanctions are still in place.

If the summit with the ROK president opened the door to a denuclearised peninsula, it will be up to Trump to close the deal on denuclearisation. But expectations should be managed. The Panmunjom agreement is intentionally ambiguous in some regards and any deal reached by Trump and Kim at their planned meeting will be about top-down aspirations, rather than a detailed pact. However, if the planned Kim-Trump summit is successful, there are certain elements we should look for in any agreement.

The most important element will be how the two sides define denuclearisation. The United States and the DPRK have historically had different definitions of what denuclearisation means. For the US, denuclearisation has meant the complete, verifiable, and irreversible dismantling of the DPRK's nuclear program. In contrast, Pyongyang has often referred to the "denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula", by which it means the removal of Washington's nuclear umbrella and US troops from the peninsula as part of the process of denuclearisation.

An important first step will be arriving at a common definition of denuclearisation.

Timelines will also be important. The Panmunjom agreement places clear benchmarks, even if further details are still needed, for the end of hostile acts in the demilitarised zone by May 1, military talks in May, family reunions on Aug 15, and the conclusion of a peace treaty by the end of the year. Any US-DPRK agreement will need to clearly define when denuclearisation will be concluded, when inspections can begin, and when sanctions relief can start.

The US has suggested that denuclearisation be relatively quick, as was the case with Libya, before sanctions relief can begin, while the DPRK has suggested a phased approach that would provide some benefits before complete

denuclearisation is achieved. Details on denuclearisation and other issues will need to be negotiated after the summit, but a clear timetable need to be established.

While there are clear elements the US should seek in any agreement, the DPRK will have priorities as well. These are likely to include the conclusion of a peace treaty, security guarantees, and sanctions relief, but will also likely include a request for Washington to provide direct economic aid for Pyongyang as part of any agreement.

The author is senior director of Korea Economic Institute of America.—China Daily

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Source: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1406503/kim-trump-summit-faces-big-challenges>

# **Trump Has Opened The Door to War By** **Salman Shoaib**

Almost the entire world supported the nuclear deal with Iran, including the large majority of America's allies. But Trump has shown time and time again that he is only interested in one audience — his Republican base. A recent CNN poll indicated that 63% of Americans support the Iran agreement whereas 29% oppose it — but the more important statistic is that 51% of Republicans, mostly comprising Trump's base, are against.

Practically the entire world is questioning Trump's strategy — if there is no deal then what is the path to curtailing Iran's nuclear ambitions? By all accounts, Iran was living up their end of the bargain — the International Atomic Energy Agency, the European and Asian signatories, even the US authorities all agreed. The US press pointed out that there doesn't seem to be a strategy in Trump's announcement. Despite a loose indication of openness to a new deal, no steps were taken towards this, and Trump announced severe sanctions as a starting point.

But it would be a mistake to assume that Trump has no idea of where this may lead. Though probably of average intelligence and possibly functionally illiterate, Trump does have a fairly clear idea of what he is doing. He may be short on specifics and the logic may be ill thought through. But the general direction is clear — Trump wants to actively push regime change in Iran. His National Security Adviser, John Bolton, has been lobbying for this for many years. His Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo, is well known to be an Iran hawk. And possibly his two closest international allies, Israel and Saudi Arabia, are already engaged in conflict with Iran, and have actively lobbied the US to pull out of this deal.

Trump probably never understood the details of the deal — rather he decided he didn't like it and then found reasons why. His objection seems to be that the deal doesn't curtail the ballistic missile capabilities of Iran, its international support for America's perceived enemies (particularly Hezbollah and Bashar al Assad) and that it has a sunset provision in 15 years. His renunciation speech also sought to create the completely unfounded fear that American cities were under threat from Iran's missiles. Never mind that no Irani has ever been implicated in a terrorist

attack on American soil. Trump wants to mislead the American public into believing that the Mullahs in Tehran could contemplate a direct attack on the USA. That, of course, would be national suicide.

And what is America's record of regime in the Middle East? Ironically the troubles with Iran began when the USA played an instrumental role in removing the democratically-elected Prime Minister Mossadegh for nationalising the oil industry in the 1950s. And the recent record is even worse. Afghanistan is a complete mess. Iraq is the same. Libya is wracked with turmoil and insecurity, with Gaddafi's son Saif planning to stand in the 2018 elections (there is nostalgia for the old days of stability before the US and Europe helped remove his father). And the attempted regime change in Syria (initiated under Obama) has pretty much wrecked the country. So despite all these failures, which Trump is fully aware of, and his disdain for "stupid wars" in the Middle East, why would he seek to engage in a conflict with Iran?

It is true that Trump never liked the Iran deal, and also simply wishes to undo all aspects of President Obama's legacy. But we should also pay attention to the story in Wag the Dog, a film where the US president fakes a war to distract from a sex scandal. Trump understands that with a Mueller investigation in full swing, and an unfolding sex scandal, international conflict could help change the topic and rally the country around him. The US president is intentionally keeping the door open to another war in the Middle East.

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Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1706267/6-trump-opened-door-war/>



# **US-China Relations: A New Cold War? By**

## **Syed M. Saad Zaidi**

The renowned political scientist Thucydides stated, “The strong do what they can, and the weak suffer what they must.” To date, Thucydides thesis is relevant in global politics as the powerful still define the world’s political affairs. In contemporary times, we see a chicken game being played between the world’s sole hegemon – USA – and the world’s fastest growing economy and dominant power – China- with their tit-for-tat actions.

Warships from both the states are facing-off one another in the disputed South China Sea; increasing the chances of an accidental war. Furthermore; Washington slapped Beijing with 25 percent tariffs on more than 1,300 imports as China was blamed for infringing US intellectual property rights. Resultantly, Beijing too imposed taxes by increasing 25 percent tariffs on 106 American imports. These strategically targeted offensives from both sides have escalated tensions and worsened the relations between the two states to an extent that many political analysts believe that the foundation is being laid for a ‘new cold war’.

Recently, the Trump administration has promulgated the ‘Taiwan Travel Act’. As per this act, visits between officials from the United States and Taiwan at all levels are allowed as well as encouraged. Hence; it is in clash with the US commitment to Beijing – in the ‘Joint Communiques’. This tampering with the one-China framework is a recipe for disaster. Recently President Xi Jinping emphasised that China “will never allow anyone, any organisation, or any political party, at any time or in any form, to separate any part of Chinese territory from China!” Therefore, if the US defies the Joint Communiques, an agreement that every US President since the establishment of US – China diplomatic relations in 1979, including Trump, has endorsed will most definitely lead to hostilities between the two states.

Also, the recent tariff wars between the two super powers is destabilising the global political economy. The world’s sole hegemon – USA – thought that it could easily cow China in a trade dispute. But, China under President Xi Jinping is now exchanging threats of tit-for-tat tariffs. Even after President Trump’s announcement about raising the stakes another \$100 billion, China vows to defend itself “at any cost.”

China will most likely retaliate to the American threat by cutting off America's supply of rare earth metals. In 2014, after a collision between China's and Japan's ship, China did cut off exports of rare metals to Japan; this led to the World Trade Organisation spat with America, Japan, and other countries on one side, and China on the other. Hence, if the USA imposes further taxes on the Chinese products then it indeed it will be initiating a trade a war between the two states, such a war that many economists see America losing.

Many political analyst view that the pressing concern of American is that it knows it may soon no longer be the world's sole superpower. As the gap between US unchallenged hegemony is rapidly diminishing due to the rapid expansion of the Chinese economy, and resurgence of Russia as a regional competitor.

History teaches us one valuable lesson that whenever the supremacy of a hegemon is challenged by a rising power then, in majority of cases, war is inevitable to decide which power will gain ascendancy over the other. Hence, the odds-on hostilities breaking out between China and the US are high.

Although, China to date has pursued a 'dove' policy by strengthening their military capabilities proportional to their socio-economic growth; to defend and safeguard China. Thus, China has acted all along its development as a cautious power and has tried to not to openly challenge America's hegemony, while asserting itself in the region. But there are hawks in the US establishment who consider that if China is not deterred now, it will be too powerful later and harder to contain. Furthermore, Washington's policy of encircling China by building military bases around China and forming alliances from India to Australia to restrict Beijing has further intensified the already tensed environment in the world political scenario. Therefore, if these hostilities keep building up between the two dominant powers of the twenty-first century then surely it will lead to a hegemonic tussle between the two that many leading political analysts consider to be a 'new cold war'.

America under Trump's presidency most definitely seems determined on reigniting old rivalries with China and Russia as he recently harshly criticized the countries on their economic, political and military ideologies. In several recent policy statements, President Trump suggested that the US considers both China and Russia to be major rivals and both these states along with other rogue regimes

and terrorist organizations, “challenge US economy, interests and values”. Furthermore, President Trump was of the view that the only way to deter these threats were by “unmatched power”. Therefore, America will continue to increase its power – it be military, economic or political – to ensure its safety and more importantly its status of the worlds sole hegemon.

As America intends to continue to strengthen its power by further developing its military capabilities and increasing its political-diplomatic sphere of influence; therefore, a global arms race and tug of war over power will surely instigate. Henceforth, the idea of the beginning of a ‘new cold war’ is not as vague as liberals consider.

The United States of America is now pursuing a unilateral approach to maintain its hegemonic status in the global political arena. Thus, US is more than often seen flexing its muscles in world affairs, the latest missile attacks on Syria to deter the alleged chemical weapons by the Al-Assad regime is a prime example of USA’s arrogance. At the same time, China is now playing a proactive role in the world affairs, under President Xi Jinping. It is seen even countering US led initiatives, it be via the establishment of Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank (AIIB) to give a parallel economic world order or creating international organizations such as BRICS. Hence, a zero-sum game is in motion i.e. one or the other side will come out of this competition or as many are terming it the ‘new cold war’ victorious while the other will lose its prestige globally.

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Source: <https://nation.com.pk/11-May-2018/us-china-relations-a-new-cold-war>

# **Trump's Policies Threaten World Peace By** **Mohammad Jamil**

PRESIDENT Donald Trump is going ahead with the policies he promised during election and before taking office. He believes that agreement with Iran during Obama's presidency has fundamental flaws: it does not address Iran's ballistic missile programme or its regional "expansion" policy, and does not prevent its acquisition of nuclear capability at some point down the road. Last week, he withdrew from the deal with Iran and announced revival of sanctions against Iran. He made this move despite the fact that the IAEA, the UN agency that monitors nuclear compliance claimed Tehran so far complied with the 2015 Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA). Tehran had previously warned it could go back to enriching uranium the way it did before the agreement was signed, if Washington pulled out. Tehran is weighing its options, as other parties to JCPOA vis-à-vis Britain, Germany and France have regretted the decision.

The EU declared that it would remain a party to the JCPOA, but National Security Adviser John Bolton warned the Europeans that any of their companies that are doing business in Iran have just six months to wind down their operations otherwise they would face US sanctions. UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres has expressed his deep concern along with America's closest allies, such as Australia and Japan. Turkey also disapproves of the move. Moscow has expressed its disappointment at the US decision, noting that this unilateral action constitutes a breach of international law. China has joined Russia in reaffirming its own commitment to the JCPOA. European countries remember that the US had attacked Iraq with the support of Coalition of the Willing and lied that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction, as those weapons including Uranium imported from Nigeria were never found.

By withdrawing from the deal with Iran, what message the US has given to the North Korea; and whether North Korea would trust any agreements it might reach with the United States? Anyhow, it is yet to be seen what transpires in meeting between President Donald Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong Un on 12th June 2018 in Singapore. It is not difficult to reach the conclusion that the US has had always double standards – one for the Muslim countries and the other one for rest of the world. Iran is being pushed against the wall because it is an Islamic

country, whereas Trump has chosen a different course for North Korea. Even America's attitude towards Pakistan is reflective of the fact that it cannot digest a Muslim country having nuclear capability. Anyhow, EU, Russia, China and other countries feel that the US action would force Iran to resume uranium enrichment, and the US would then resort to military action.

America's friends and allies are wary of Trump's policies. Washington has already made unilateral decisions to leave the Paris climate accord and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) without any deference to the opinions of anyone else including its best friends. NAFTA and the trade agreements with China are to be either renegotiated on America's terms or canceled. One would not know whether European countries would pressurize the US to abandon such policies that are fraught with serious dangers. In Syria, the US-led SDF is ramping up its operations to create further chaos. With the deal with Iran torn up, the scenario and consequences of that conflict can be predicted and described as horrendous. According to Trump's watchers and analysts, a short victorious war is exactly what is required to boost the US president's approval ratings and improve the Republicans' chances before the November 2018 mid-term elections.

In his inaugural speech after taking oath, Donald Trump had said: "From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land. From this day forward, it's going to be only America first. For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry; subsidized the armies of other countries, while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military. We've defended other nations' borders while refusing to defend our own." Furthermore, President Trump and his trade team are set on a path of protectionism and economic nationalism. Meanwhile, the United States has imposed travel restrictions on Pakistani diplomats. Pakistan's Ambassador to the US Aizaz Chaudhry said. "In my opinion, this is not the right decision. Both countries have to come close to each other, and measures like these do not help us to that end." Pakistani diplomats previously were allowed to travel throughout the United States without limits.

In a quid pro quo, Pakistani authorities have imposed restrictions on the movement of US diplomats in the country. The move comes after the US required Pakistani diplomats to get permission five days in advance to travel more than 25 miles from their embassy. The measures are likely to strain ties between the two sides. It was unclear what prompted the moves but the developments come weeks after

Pakistan barred a US diplomat from leaving the country after he killed a Pakistani motorcyclist in Islamabad. US military attaché Col Joseph Emanuel Hall was not arrested because he enjoyed diplomatic immunity; however, he is accused of crossing a red light and killing Pakistani citizen Ateeq Baig on April 07. Last week, the US has sent a plane to get Col Joseph, who was stopped by FIA from boarding the plane.

—The writer is a senior journalist based in Lahore.

Source: <https://pakobserver.net/trumps-policies-threaten-world-peace/>

# **The New World Order: Donald Trump goes it alone** **By Gideon Rachman**

Can America run the world without allies? That, in essence, is the question raised by US president Donald Trump's decision to pull out of a painstakingly constructed international agreement to restrain Iran's nuclear ambitions.

The unilateral exercise of US power is an idea that has long attracted John Bolton, the White House's newly appointed national security adviser. Speaking in 2000, Mr Bolton suggested: "If I were redoing the [UN] Security Council today, I'd have one permanent member because that's the real reflection of the distribution of power in the world."

Now Mr Bolton is working for a US president who shares his dismissive attitude to international co-operation. In pulling the US out of the Iran nuclear deal, Mr Trump has rejected personal entreaties from the leaders of France, Germany and the UK.

The Iran decision is just the latest and most serious example of the Trump administration's aggressive unilateralism. Last June, Mr Trump withdrew the US from another big international agreement — the Paris accord on climate change. Next week, the US will take the symbolic step of relocating its embassy in Israel to Jerusalem — a move that has been rejected by all its major allies. Mr Trump is also launching an assault on the global trading system — by threatening to impose swingeing tariffs, not just on China, but also on key allies such as Japan, Canada and the EU.

These policies are not just "America First". Increasingly, they look like "America Alone". The Trump administration's stance on Iran is rejected by all the other signatories to the Iran deal (France, Germany, the UK, China, Russia, the EU) — although it does have the support of Israel and Saudi Arabia. Similarly, Mr Trump's approach to trade and climate change has not attracted any significant allied support.

Search for allies: Donald and Melania Trump leaving Riyadh en route to Israel last year © AFP

American unilateralism will have direct consequences in the Middle East. It will also have indirect consequences for the wider world.

Jake Sullivan, an official in the Obama administration who took a leading role in secret US-Iran talks, thinks that Tehran will feel compelled to respond to the American withdrawal, “but not in a way that generates an immediate crisis”. He suggests that the Iranians will try to choose relatively unprovocative steps, such as “stepping up research and development on advanced centrifuges”.

Even a relatively cautious response, however, will empower those in the US, Saudi Arabia and Israel who want to see military action against Iran. The president himself may see his gambit simply as a means to ratchet up pressure on Iran — and so force deeper concessions. By contrast, key Trump advisers such as Mr Bolton may genuinely want a war — with the ultimate goal of provoking regime change in Iran. In a 2015 newspaper opinion article about Iran, Mr Bolton argued that “only military action . . . can accomplish what is required”.

Trump with French president Emmanuel Macron in Washington © Reuters

Even if it does not lead to a new conflict in the Middle East, the decision to rip up the Iran deal has opened up a grave rift within the western alliance. When George W Bush chose to invade Iraq in 2003, the US broke with France and Germany. But the Bush administration did still have some important European allies over Iraq — including the UK, Spain, the Netherlands and Poland. Yet on Iran, the US has no evident European support.

Instead, there is quiet fury in Europe. The Europeans have discussed whether they can continue with the Iran deal by simply refusing to be bound by US sanctions. But that will be very difficult, for reasons that go to the heart of America’s unilateral power. The US can make European companies such as Airbus and Total choose between the American and Iranian markets.

America’s economic power goes well beyond market access. In extremis, European executives who continue to do business in Iran could become subject to arrest if they travel to the US. And European banks that do business with Iran could find themselves shut out of the US financial system, or subject to prosecution and massive fines in America. “German companies doing business in Iran should wind



down operations immediately,” Richard Grenell, the new US ambassador to Germany, warned on Twitter on Tuesday.

All of this reflects the role of the US dollar as the world’s reserve currency — something that was labelled as an “exorbitant privilege” by Valéry Giscard d’Estaing, a former French president. It is the dollar, as much as American military might, that allows the US to coerce its allies — as well as its adversaries.

The power of American sanctions and the reach of the US judicial system has been demonstrated in recent years. It is what allowed the US recently to crack down on the business of Oleg Deripaska, a Russian oligarch with links to the Putin government. European businesses and banks were forced to cut links with Mr Deripaska’s Rusal, by the threat of secondary US sanctions. Even executives from Fifa, world football’s organising body, discovered the international power of the dollar when they were arrested in Switzerland in 2015 and later extradited to the US to face corruption charges. Their legal vulnerability, it turned out, was that they had used American banks.

America’s central role in the global financial system hands any US administration an immensely powerful economic weapon. But the weapon’s power could be eroded if it is used too often. Both Russia and China have discussed trying to set up alternative international payments systems that bypass the US and use currencies other than the dollar. The Europeans may now also be tempted to join this effort, particularly if it provides an opportunity to boost the international role of the euro.

But the euro is still a relatively new currency, the Chinese renminbi is not fully convertible and the rouble is not a plausible challenger. Moreover, even companies trading outside the US and using euros are still potentially subject to the threat of exclusion from American markets. The day when an international business can cheerfully swear off using the dollar and avoid US markets still seems a long way off.

Such clout might tempt Mr Trump to believe that he has considerable scope for cost-free unilateralism. America’s allies may harrumph that it is unacceptable for the US to walk away from the Iran deal or the Paris climate accord, but there is not

much they can do about it. After all, European allies depend not only on the dollar, but also, as Mr Trump repeatedly reminds them, on American military protection.

There is talk that Europeans will now be prompted to “do more” for their own defence, as well as deepening the integration of the euro. German chancellor Angela Merkel has made it clear she believes the US “is fundamentally abdicating its global leadership role”, says Mr Sullivan. But any steps are still likely to be incremental — given the political and practical difficulties of integration.

Iranian president Hassan Rouhani after America’s withdrawal from the nuclear deal

America’s Asian allies face a similar dilemma. Japan is clearly unhappy about measures such as the withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership deal and the threat of steel tariffs. But Tokyo, which is watching warily as Mr Trump plans talks with North Korean leader Kim Jong Un , has no easy alternative to the US security guarantee.

However, the Trump administration’s unilateralism will not be cost-free — even if the costs are not immediately apparent. Its network of alliances sets the US apart from the nations that the administration has identified as America’s strategic competitors — Russia and China. Its allies do bring real assets to the table. Military bases overseas are the basis of its global reach. Intelligence-sharing between allies helps the US to contain the terrorist threat. In addition, like-minded partners help to mould legal and trading standards.

Above all, these alliances give the US legitimacy when it seeks to exercise power. It is not feasible for America to respond to every challenge through the use of military might or economic sanctions. In normal times, the US relies on the “rules-based international order” — a network of laws and institutions that it and its allies have largely shaped over many decades. In seeking to respond to Russia’s annexation of Crimea, or China’s claims in the South China Sea, the US has appealed to international law and sought to rally the support of other nations at the UN and elsewhere.

White House hawks: (From left) Steven Mnuchin, John Bolton and Mike Pence © Getty

But for a rules-based order to work, the US has to be able to demonstrate that it is willing, on occasion, to be constrained by the rules — by accepting unwelcome judgments at the World Trade Organization, for example, or provisions in the Iran nuclear agreement that are not ideal.

It is those constraints on American power that Mr Trump and advisers like Mr Bolton no longer seem ready to accept. So rather than relying on a system built around rules, the Trump administration is seeking to move to a power-based order — in which the US lays down the law and others are compelled to follow. That may work for a while, but it is also an invitation to rivals to test America's will through unilateral actions in Europe, Asia and the Middle East. And that is a recipe for a much more dangerous world.

Source: <https://www.ft.com/content/4db98f9e-54fa-11e8-b24e-cad6aa67e23e>

## **Carnage in Gaza By Zahid Hussain**

IT was the massacre of unarmed Palestinians, and not the celebrations of the relocation of the US embassy to Jerusalem, that stood out this week. Over 60 Palestinians have been killed and 2,700 injured in Gaza as Israeli forces fired on protesters, killing mostly teenagers.

In fact, the Israelis not only used live bullets but also fighter jets and a tank to prevent protesters from breaking the barricade. According to one report quoting doctors, some of the exit wounds caused by Israeli ammunition were 'fist-size'. This kind of brutality has not been seen since the 2014 Israel-Gaza conflict.

It all happened a mere 90 to 100 kilometres from the site of celebrations at the newly built American embassy in the occupied land. The bloodbath continued as participants from both Israel and the United States sang 'Hallelujah' and the Israeli prime minister declared it a "glorious day".

May 14 was also the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the state of Israel. Palestinians refer to the day after as Nakba, or the catastrophe, when, in 1948, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were forced to flee or were expelled from their homes and became refugees.

Donald Trump's decision to shift the US embassy to Jerusalem has given a bloodier turn to the Palestinian issue and has led to diminishing hopes of any solution to the conflict. The move is a manifestation of the close alliance between President Trump and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

The use of brute force has failed to deter the Palestinian resistance against Israeli occupation.

Despite the US support to Israel, the previous administrations in Washington had refrained from taking the controversial step. There had been some effort to understand and respond to the Palestinian narrative. But Trump's blatant support for Israeli expansionism has made the peace negotiations more difficult.

Read: Israel's man in the White House

In his recorded message at the Jerusalem ceremony, Trump declared that his greatest hope is to achieve peace. Amusingly, he has also claimed that he has an interest in solving the “toughest deal of all”. While condoning the carnage of unarmed Palestinians, Trump says he still intends to present a detailed peace initiative.

His move has plunged the region into greater turmoil and effectively brought to an end any arbitration role for the US in peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. While fully endorsing the Israeli narrative, the Trump administration has crossed a red line.

As one analyst put it, “it is an unravelling of the peace process framework which for the past 25 years has led to neither peace nor all-out war”. Not surprisingly, the Israeli prime minister sounded more triumphant and defiant in his celebratory speech. “We are in Jerusalem and we are here to stay,” he declared.

Most shamefully, the American and Israeli officials put the blame for the violence on the protesters. The use of brute force, however, has failed to deter the Palestinian resistance against Israeli occupation. Hundreds of casualties in Gaza are likely to trigger an uprising or intifada spreading to the West Bank.

It is evident that the Trump administration is complicit in the Israeli violence against the hapless Palestinian population. Washington has also blocked the call for a UN investigation into the incident. The move has further emboldened Israeli expansionism and rendered the Middle East situation more explosive.

While the US moves and the carnage in Gaza have evoked strong condemnation by the international community, there is no effective voice for the support of the Palestinians’ right to their homeland despite several UN resolutions. The silence of Saudi Arabia and some other Arab countries over the plight of the Palestinian people is particularly disturbing.

It reflects the realignment of forces in the Middle East. It is true that key Arab countries seem more willing to sanction a settlement less favourable to the Palestinians than before because they want Israel as an ally against Iran.

The Jerusalem ceremony took place days after Trump announced the US would unilaterally pull out from the Iranian nuclear deal. Not surprisingly, the controversial decision to reimpose US sanctions on Tehran has been welcomed by Israel and Saudi Arabia.

Both countries have been opposed to the treaty signed by Britain, France, Germany, Russia and China besides the United States. Opposition to Iran has brought the two countries on the same side of the Middle East civil war. That has also led to Saudi Arabia's increasing tilt towards Israel on the Palestinian issue.

The comments made by the Saudi crown prince, Mohammad bin Salman, during his recent visit to the United States illustrate the shift in the kingdom's position on the Palestinian issue. He reportedly scolded the Palestinian leadership for what he described as a decades-long history of "rejecting peace with Israel", adding they should either begin to accept peace proposals or "shut up".

A leaked Israeli foreign ministry cable sent by a diplomat from the Israeli consulate in New York said that the crown prince's comments, made during the closed meetings, apparently caused people to "literally fall off their chairs".

He made it clear that the Palestinian cause was not a priority for the makers of foreign policy in Riyadh and that the kingdom has to face much wider threats in the region, such as Iran. Although the king tried to exercise damage control because of his son's outrageous remarks, it does not signify very much as the crown prince is effectively in charge.

Not surprisingly, the US move to shift its embassy to Jerusalem did not evoke much opposition from the kingdom and other Gulf countries. It has indeed emboldened Israel. There is a clear indication that the cooperation between Riyadh and Israel could further increase with the rising tensions in the Middle East following the US withdrawal from the Iranian nuclear deal.

That may also allow Israel to continue using brute force to suppress the Palestinian resistance movement. Undoubtedly, there have been mass protests in some Muslim countries, but is this enough to draw the attention of the international community to Israel's expansionist objectives under the patronage of the United States?

Source: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1408004/carnage-in-gaza>

# **Syria: New Cold War Turning Hot By Tariq Niaz Bhatti**

THE 2003 US invasion of Iraq shattered the delicate sectarian balance in the valley of two rivers. US sponsored Iraq liberation formula failed and paved the way for a sectarian war which continues to this day. Sensing the gravity of situation King Abdullah of Jordan warned of rise of Iranian influence in the Middle East. In 2004 he argued . The ensuing chaos saw political realignments and spread of militant sectarian organization in the entire region. As of today, the super powers of cold war era are back in business in a new cold war in the ME.

Recent withdrawal of US from the Iran Nuclear Deal seems outcome of a carefully thought out US strategy to stem the rising tide of Iran's regional influence. US action has a destabilizing effect in the regional geopolitics as it has added belligerency amongst regional contenders. Iran, after dominating Iraq, wants to increase its economic, military and political influence in Syria. Towards this it asked the Assad regime to lease land for constructing a port near Tartus on Mediterranean Sea. Though Syria has officially denied permission under intense Russian pressure but Iran is seeking the same through unconnected private parties. Iranian companies have also been investing in Syrian telecom and mining sectors thus indirectly enhancing its economic footprint in battle ravaged Syria.

Presence of strong Al-Quds brigades and increased flow of Iranian weapons is strengthening IRGC role and permanent presence of Iranian military in Syria. Hezbollah gains in the Lebanese Parliamentary elections will help bolster its resistance against Israel specially in the vicinity of occupied Golan heights. For KSA, Assad's regime survival, Hezbollah's election performance and unending civil war in Yemen are indicators of its decreasing influence in the region. KSA-Israel rapprochement, formation of KSA led Islamic coalition of forces and US withdrawal from JCPOA are three main efforts intended to exert a pull on rising Iranian economic political and military influence in the region.

Netanyahu, Israeli icon of belligerency, showing no faith in political settlement of Palestinian issue has resorted to more provocation as part of Israel proactive strategy. Viewing Iran's increasing military presence close to Golan heights as violation of its red line, Israel has struck Iranian military facilities in Syria thrice in

the past one month. Israel considers game changing Iranian weaponry in Syria like Fatah-110 missile or Iranian attack drones flying along Golan heights as existential threat. Furthermore, Israel had been extra sensitive to presence of Shiite Hezbollah militia or Iranian air force close to its border with Syria. Latest Israeli preemptive strikes to thwart Iranian retaliatory attacks vindicate the assertion. On Thursday 10 May, Israel claimed to have destroyed nearly all Iranian military installations and facilities close to Israel- Syria border in mid-night raids in response to the alleged Iranian rocket attacks. So far Iran has shown marked patience to Israeli provocations but mounting Iranian losses may not hold its resolve for very long.

Iran is stressing the P5-1 to provide guarantees for their continued support to the nuclear deal even after imposition of US sanctions. That means Iran is keeping its option like nixing NPT and reverting back to Uranium enrichment, open. It depends how long the resolve of P5-1 in support of Iran nuclear deal can hold against US pressure. Meanwhile new political alignments are complicating the matters in the ME and may turn the cold war hot in the near future. In view of Israeli provocations Iran will further strengthen its military presence in Syria and may push in game changing weapons there. On the other hand, Israel with its sophisticated weapons and intelligence gathering tools will continue with its surgical strikes to spoil rebuilding of Iranian military in Syria beyond a specified level. Belligerents who are settling scores through air raids and rocket fires at present may, in second stage, resort to open confrontation if the situation is not defused in time. Widening sectarian divide under the shadows of ongoing cold war in the ME is detrimental to the safety and security of Gulf Arab states and Muslim countries in South and Central Asia. Most of the Muslim countries face insurgencies due to rise of radicalism and sectarianism in their societies. Any further flaring up of Iran-Israel conflict in Syria will raise the dangerous question of siding with opposing camps led by either Iran or KSA that will surely disturb the sectarian harmony in most of Islamic countries.

— The writer is freelance columnist based in Islamabad.

Source: <https://pakobserver.net/syria-new-cold-war-turning-hot/>



## **Growing World Disorder By Javid Husain**

Following the end of the Cold War and the phasing out of the US “unipolar moment” in the broad sweep of history, the world is in search of a new equilibrium among the various centers of power, which would establish a rule-based order to promote peace, stability, justice, and human progress. Unfortunately, what we see instead is growing world disorder. Instead of equilibrium, we see a growing challenge to the existing US-led and West-dominated international system from the emerging powers, particularly China, and a re-assertive Russia, which are demanding the accommodation of their interests. Apologists of the present system claim that it is rule-based and that it provides fair opportunities to its participants to advance their legitimate national interests. The reality is that its rules are skewed in favor of the US and other Western powers. Further, the US and its allies in the West have, on occasions, blatantly violated even these rules when their narrow national interests so demanded. In other words, it is realpolitik rather than idealism or international morality which increasingly dictates the policies of the major powers, especially in the consideration of strategic issues of peace and security. Therefore, there is growing unpredictability or disorder on the international scene. The civilizational fault-lines and the activities of non-state terrorist groups have further aggravated the situation and accelerated the slide of the international community towards uncertainty and disorder.

The main institutions and the rules underpinning the present international system were designed primarily by the US and its allies, which had emerged as victors of World War II, so as to give them the commanding position in the consideration of strategically important international political, security, and economic issues. This explains why the US, UK, and France occupy three of the five permanent seats on the UN Security Council. Consequently no important decision of the UNSC, which carries the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, can be taken without their approval or concurrence. The same is true about the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund where the US and other Western countries dominate the decision making process. Little wonder that the US has been resisting efforts by China, the second biggest economy in the world, to increase its power and influence in these bodies which virtually control the international finance. This has forced China to establish such financial institutions as the New Development Bank and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank

(AIIB) to increase its clout in international financial dealings. China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), of which CPEC is a component, is also aimed at enhancing China's economic cooperation with and influence in Eurasian countries.

As China's economic power grows dramatically, its military expenditure and strength will increase correspondingly. These developments will enable China to challenge the unquestioned dominance of the US and other Western countries in various regions of the world, especially those in its periphery in the East China Sea and the South China Sea. The US is strengthening its alliances and increasing the presence of its forces in the Asia-Pacific region to face the anticipated challenge from China. Meanwhile, China is strengthening its strategic cooperation with Russia, which is being subjected to NATO's expansionist ambitions in Ukraine and other countries in its near abroad. In response to the US policy of enhancing strategic partnership with India to block the expansion of China's influence in South Asia and the Indian Ocean region, China will continue the process of building up its strategic cooperation with Pakistan. The US-China rivalry and the resultant tensions will undoubtedly have destabilizing influences and even cause local conflicts, especially in the Asia-Pacific region, thus, further intensifying the trend towards growing global disorder.

The US invasion of Iraq of 2003 without any authorization by the UN Security Council served to highlight the tendency of major powers to sacrifice international law and morality at the altar of realpolitik. Several other powers have been equally guilty of disregard of the principles of international law in handling world affairs since the end of the Cold War. A relevant example is the way the European powers handled the Bosnian crisis in 1990's. The involvement of external powers, both regional and non-regional, in Syria's internal affairs again exhibits the same tendency. The advent of the Trump administration in the US has accentuated these dangerous tendencies. President Trump's renunciation of the Iran nuclear deal, even though Iran had scrupulously adhered to its obligations, has exposed America's unreliability and untrustworthiness in international affairs. If the US can so lightly walk away from an international agreement concluded after a great deal of effort, no country would be able to rely on its commitments and promises, thus, aggravating arbitrariness and disorder in international affairs. Besides other negative consequences, it will create new difficulties for the US in its planned negotiations with North Korea to achieve denuclearization of the Korean peninsula.

It is difficult to ignore the role of civilizational fault-lines in aggravating the world disorder. Huntington's thesis that clashes between civilizations would be the greatest threat to world peace in the post-Cold War era does call for a careful consideration. There is no doubt that cultural self-identity that leads to designating "others" as aliens or enemies is a powerful force in explaining many important developments (e.g. Palestine and Kashmir) in international politics as they are rather than as they ought to be. But it is critically important not to allow this thesis to become the basis of policies that ignite or aggravate inter-civilizational conflicts with catastrophic consequences for mankind. Therefore, on the one hand, we need to take into account the possibility that inter-civilizational factors may be responsible for some of the international conflicts and tensions. On the other, due emphasis must be placed on dialogue among civilizations for defusing international tensions, resolving inter-civilizational conflicts, and reversing the trend towards growing world disorder.

Finally, it cannot be denied that international terrorism poses a grave threat to global peace and stability as evidenced by 9/11, the subsequent US invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, and other terrorism-related developments that have deeply destabilized the West Asia region as well as several African countries besides having negative repercussions on the global security. There cannot be two opinions, therefore, about the necessity of fighting and eliminating the menace of international terrorism defined as the indiscriminate use of violence against innocent civilians. The decision of FATF to place Pakistan on the grey list highlights the dangers of daylight between our declaratory and operational anti-terrorism policies.

The foregoing considerations and the resultant growing world disorder have serious policy implications for Pakistan. Firstly, in the present anarchic international system, power is the ultimate arbiter of strategic issues of peace and security rather than principles of international law or morality. It is only through national power that we can hope to safeguard our vital national interests. We must, therefore, build up our economic and military power besides strengthening internal political stability and practicing pro-active diplomacy. Secondly, our voice and views will carry weight in world capitals corresponding to our national power. Thus, the impact of our political, diplomatic, and moral support to the Kashmir cause will vary in accordance with our national power. Thirdly, we need to remove the ambiguities in our anti-terrorism policies. Our failure to do so will invite serious

problems for the country. Finally, in the modern world, economic strength, especially scientific and technological advancement, constitutes the backbone of a nation's power. Unfortunately, to our detriment this is precisely the area in which we are lagging far behind our mortal enemy, India.

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# **A Peaceful North Korea By Dr. Ahmad Rashid Malik**

India has not shown any major concerns about the North Korean nuclear issue. There has been no vital or weak nuclear links between India and North Korea . So it is interesting to note the Singh's visit to North Korea at this point in time – right before North Korea's moot with the United States in Singapore.

Since the establishment of the North Korean diplomatic relations, India maintained diplomatic relations with North Korea and established its embassy there. As relations went bad between the United States and North Korea , the U.S. Government asked India to shut down its embassy in North Korea . India rejected the U.S. demand, showing India's autonomy over the issue. This means that India is more concerned about its own foreign policy than that of the U.S. over North Korea .

In fact, India's legitimate concern is about Pakistan's involvement in North Korea's missile and nuclear program. Singh expressed such concerns, which were rejected by Pyongyang. The Indian "misfire" in North Korea could create a big concern about its policy toward the Korean Peninsula. Both the White House and New Delhi needed to be extra careful toward questioning North Korean policies in the region.

Instead of India, China has greater role to play in North Korea . For the longest time, China has been the custodian of North Korea and it accepted that role of China. It provided essential items to North Korea to run the affairs of the State. India does not enjoy such a status.

North Korea has decided to dismantle the Punggye-ri nuclear test site destroying tunnels, using explosives, building, and security posts. This is also welcome internationally. The side of the Punggye-ri is close to the Chinese border. Abandoning of this site will bring enormous benefits to the people of North Korea .

Prospects of denuclearization looks brighter on the Korean Peninsula brighter than before. Washington looks relatively calm and quiet about North Korea's nuclear program. It is may because of Chinese support. Chinese policy towards the Korean

Peninsula will play a bigger role. A peaceful rise of China by bringing North Korea in its fold – the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) strategy – is the call of the day.

If China offers BRI facility to the Korean Peninsula, North Korea is essential as it provides linkages to both South Korea and Russia. South Korea embraced the BRI in December last when President Moon Jae-in visited Beijing. Therefore, without including North Korea in BRI, there is no further progress of the initiative and it needed to be included to build a better bridge across different parts of Asia to ensure greater connectivity and manufacturing in greater Asia. The inclusion of North Korea in last BRI Summit in Beijing was in that direction.

Both the United States and North Korea are moving toward a Summit in Singapore next month. Hope they would be able to resolve all the outstanding issues including missile and nuclear issues. If these issues are a friendly resolution between the two countries, a new foundation will be provided to Asia-Pacific. The task is daunting but not impossible given the will of doing so between the two nuclear powers.

Many attempts to resolve the Korean dispute in the past have remained unsuccessful because of the hard stand taken by both side especially after 2007. Now the attitude of the two sides looks changed. They are showing will and resilience. If this attitude continues, it is likely that both side could resolve a number of critical issues.

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Source: <https://nation.com.pk/23-May-2018/a-peaceful-north-korea>

## **Iran Still Implementing Nuclear Deal: IAEA**

VIENNA: Iran is still implementing the 2015 accord over its nuclear programme, just weeks after Washington ditched the accord, according to a report by the UN's nuclear watchdog.

The International Atomic Energy Agency report, seen by AFP Thursday, shows that Iran is abiding by the deal's key restrictions on its nuclear facilities in return for relief from damaging economic sanctions.

The latest assessment from the IAEA comes after US President Donald Trump withdrew the United States from the accord earlier this month, putting its future in jeopardy.

The IAEA urged Iran to stick with the accord and even go beyond its legal obligations so as to boost international confidence in Tehran's commitments.

A senior diplomat at IAEA headquarters said this was not prompted by any lack of co-operation or change of behaviour on Iran's part.

The IAEA is "encouraging (Iran) to go above and beyond the requirements" of the deal in order to boost confidence, the diplomat said, adding that Tehran could for example invite inspectors to sites they had not demanded access to.

No compromise in sight on Iran nuclear deal, Germany says

Signatories Britain, France, Germany plus the European Union, Russia and China have been trying to salvage the deal after Trump's decision but Iran has warned that if it suffers as a result the reintroduction of US economic sanctions, it could walk away from the accord.

As in previous reports, the IAEA confirmed that the number of centrifuges to enrich uranium at Iran's Natanz plant had been kept below the agreed level of 5,060, while its total stockpile of low-enriched uranium "has not exceeded 300 kilogrammes (660 pounds)".

Uranium when enriched to high levels can be used in a nuclear weapon. At lower enrichment levels, it is used for peaceful applications such as power generation — Iran's stated aim.

Since the deal came into effect, Iran has twice inched over the agreed volume of heavy water, a reactor coolant.

However, the latest report said that for the past three months the volume had remained below the agreed maximum of 130 tonnes.

Apart from the relatively minor breaches of heavy water levels, IAEA reports have consistently shown Iran adhering to the terms of the deal in the two years since it came into force.

In the IAEA's previous report it had said that Iran had informed it of a decision to "construct naval nuclear propulsion in the future".

Pompeo: US will walk away from North Korea summit rather than take bad deal

Press reports have previously said that Iran wants to develop nuclear-powered ships or submarines.

The latest report says that Iran has assured the IAEA that more information will be provided in due course and that "for the first five years, no facility will be involved".

On Wednesday, Iranian supreme leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei said Iran would not discuss its missile programme in any new deal, as demanded by the US, and said European countries had to compensate Iran if it experienced a dip in oil sales.

US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo had warned on Monday that Iran would be hit with the "strongest sanctions in history" and cautioned European firms against continuing to do business in the country.

On Friday, the remaining parties to the accord will meet in Vienna at Iran's request to discuss the implementation of the deal and ways to save it without Washington's participation.



Source: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1718245/3-iran-still-implementing-nuclear-deal-iaea/>

## The Unclimbable Summit | Editorial

Pundits and commentators found themselves scrambling for the wisdom of hindsight when President Trump announced the cancelling of the summit meeting to be held in Singapore on June 12th, when he and President Kim Jong-un would have changed the world. Hopes, especially in South Korea, were dashed and the Great Deal Maker had to admit defeat in a letter to the North Korean leader that was part fawning and part belligerence and from the syntax clearly dictated by the president himself. Both sides blamed the other for the failure to make a historic meeting but the writing was on the wall for days beforehand and all Trump was doing was bowing to the inevitable.

The ingredients for failure were on the table from the outset. A different perception of what 'denuclearisation' meant on either side, with the North Koreans favouring a phased process and the Americans a one-stop operation that swept the board clean was perhaps the greatest flaw. Then there was the unseemly scramble to put together the mechanics of a complex meeting and have ducks in a row before the two leaders sat down in Singapore. With the NK team failing to show up to meet the American planners that quickly became a non-starter. There was nowhere else to go other than out the door.

In real terms, the situation on the Korean Peninsula is almost exactly where it was when the ceasefire was signed on July 27th 1953. Both sides are returned to a default threatening posture and now, unlike then, both sides have the capacity to inflict catastrophic damage. They are unlikely to go to the nuclear option even though America would 'win' a nuclear exchange because there is profit for neither in it. Managed instability is and will remain the norm with fluctuations of temperature along the way. China has no investment in the collapse of NK and the prospect of millions of refugees flooding in. President Trump looks something of a chump. He called it wrong and he got played by Kim Jong-un. The newbie, the Apprentice, got himself fired. Game over, for now.

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# **India's Fragile Balance Between The US And Russia – Analysis By Luciane Noronha M. de Oliveira**

Last month, U.S Admiral Philip S. Davidson, the nominee for the Pacific Command Commander warned the American Senate that India could be sanctioned through the Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) if the S-400 missile system deal with Russia was signed. At that moment, he pointed out that this movement would cause setbacks for Indo-US relations by the time that both are becoming increasingly close partners in strategic affairs. The deal signed in 2016 between Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his counterpart, Vladimir Putin, will provide the South Asian country with four units of Russia's most advanced long-range surface-to-air missile defense system.

The CAATSA was signed into law on August 2017 by Donald Trump. According to the official document, it aims to apply sanctions to Iran, North Korea and Russia – the new "Axis of Evil" of current American administration. In Iranian case, the main goal is to make it difficult for Teeran to obtain external cooperation (material and/or financial) for its nuclear program. As for North Korea, the sanctions obstruct its international trade and diplomatic relations with American allies and forbid US financial institutions to provide services to Pyongyang. Last but not least, it lists several sectors of Russian industry that could suffer sanctions and authorizes the punishment of US allies who buy Russian military equipment – and that's where New Delhi could face a tough foreign policy challenge.

India's approach to the US is historically volatile. During much of its post-independence history, Indian leaders changed drastically their mindset regarding Washington as foreign policy paradigms shifted. In the 1950s, non-alignment drifted India way from American influence and ended up pushing it closer to the Soviets. Ironically, despite claiming its non-aligned flag, India was clearly in the Soviet Union sphere of influence during most of the Cold War. Hostilities between New Delhi and the United States grew as Indira Gandhi came to power, mainly for mutual lack of interest in engaging a peaceful dialogue and because of Indira's nuclear aspirations.

In the end of the 1980s, when the Soviet bloc was showing signals of political and economic exhaustion, Rajiv Gandhi tried to resume talks with the West. However, social turmoils and Indian intervention in South Asian countries dominated much of his agenda, pushing the West to the sidelines of his foreign policy priorities. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, India was forced to review its dependence on Russia in international affairs and its ties with the US as it became the only super power after the end of the Cold War. While the remaining idealism from the Nehru era was (rightfully) abandoned at that time, India continued to be dependent on Russian arms imports for the modernization of its military.

In the Modi years, the multi-alignment paradigm managed to solve old distrusts between the US and India. As Washington realized that New Delhi could play an important role as a partner in strategic issues, bilateral ties finally seemed to gain momentum. For the U.S, countering China and having a reliable partner in Afghanistan and the Indo-Pacific explain much of the interest in India's friendship.

As for New Delhi, countering China in the Indo-Pacific is a common interest, but it also expected to reduce its historical dependence on Russian arms and support in global affairs. According to a report by SIPRI, the U.S arms exports to India grew by 550% between 2013 and 2017. It is the second largest arms supplier to India now, accounting for nearly 30% of its military imports. Russia is still the largest arms supplier, with 62% of total Indian arms imports in the same period of time. Besides that, the IBM has more employees in India than in American soil and the US has the largest Indian community outside India. The United States now is also India's top foreign investor.

Despite the positive data regarding growing investments and arms trade, the current confrontations between Washington and Moscow poses a risk to New Delhi's multialignment approach. Like in the Cold War, the US is demanding its allies and partners to act fully in favor of its interests in global affairs, polarizing the world once again between democracy supporters and the "Evil Axis". The CAATSA is another chapter of this trend, as it means to sanction friendly countries who trade with rival countries.

This puts India in a delicate balance between both countries as they clash in peripheral conflicts. New Delhi needs both the US and Russia for the same reasons: arms supply and strategic partnerships among areas of interest. If it

chooses to tilt towards Russia it could worsen its dependency pattern on Moscow and it would put India in the path of becoming another hostile country. Besides that, it could hamper the sending of billions of dollars in remittances of Indian residents in the US which could subsequently impact India's economy. Last but not least, it could deteriorate India's relations with European countries, as there would certainly be restrictions for trade and investment. On the other hand, aligning to the US could undermine India's ambitions in Central Asia, a major sphere of Russian influence, and push Moscow closer to China and Pakistan as a counterbalance measure. This trilateral configuration would create a strategic siege against India in South Asia, thus jeopardizing its regional influence.

It is paramount for India to find the right balance between both countries, as US-Russia standoff seems nowhere near a solution. This will be one of the biggest challenges for Narendra Modi's last year in term. Multialignment needs to be strengthened as the basis for New Delhi's foreign policy, as it cannot repeat the mistakes of Nehru and Indira Gandhi. With the current increasing great power competition, the CAATSA interference might be just the beginning of further American meddling in Indian interests.

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# **Nuclear Supplier Group's Upcoming Plenary**

## **By Beenish Altaf**

With the approaching of the twenty-eighth Plenary Meeting of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), an elite nuclear cartel to control nuclear commerce, the fingers are crossed once again with regards to the non-NPT state's membership issue. With this in the contemporary international security environment, the NSG membership debate has emerged as an urgent issue for the states in Asia, explicitly.

It is known to all that post- Indo US nuclear deal, the US is lobbying and pressurising the rest of the states in order to accommodate India into the NSG club. For this purpose the international community is continually portraying India's nuclear track record as A grade. This could be to achieve their (big powers) self-centered goals. After the US, many other countries have followed suit by engaging India into similar kind of Uranium deals (Indo-US Nuclear Deal) for a dual purpose. Undoubtedly, India is one of the worst proliferators; it once had scornful disdain for non-proliferation regimes, which has now been conveniently forgotten by the world. Consequently, it has negative implications for the South Asian nuclear region.

Previously, several countries, apart from China, were defying the US pressure and insisting on a two-step approach for admission of non-NPT states into the NSG and for the need to develop an objective and equitable criteria, which would be applicable to all the applicants in future. On the other hand, India has ruled out the possibility of joining the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as a non-nuclear weapon state. Amandeep Singh Gill, permanent representative of India to the Conference on Disarmament, told the UN General Assembly recently that the question of India joining 6th NPT as NNWS (non-nuclear weapon states) can not arise in the near future.

Without a doubt, India is one of the worst proliferators. It once had a scornful disdain for non-proliferation regimes, which the world has now conveniently forgotten

In the backdrop of China's continued efforts to block India's entry into the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), Indian official said that it has taken up with Beijing all the

concerning issues during the recent Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Dialogue between the two sides.

The Indian delegation at the talks was led by Pankaj Sharma, Joint Secretary (Disarmament and International Security Affairs) in the MEA, while the Chinese side was led by Wang Qun, Director General of Department of Arms Control at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China. This is a step that India considers as a much needed one, especially after its entry into three of the four multilateral export control regimes over the last two years.

If India wants recognition as a nuclear weapons state, it should be required to meet the nuclear group's standards, including opening negotiations with Pakistan and China on curbing nuclear weapons and halting the production of nuclear fuel for bombs. In this regard, President SVI Dr Zafar Iqbal Cheema said that India's alone entry into NSG would put back Pakistani efforts for developing its infrastructure and industry by decades. Therefore, such an eventuality would have serious consequences for national security and economic and industrial development of Pakistan.

Nevertheless, the outcome of this forthcoming plenary meeting on the enlargement of cartel's memberships would not come as a surprise because no major breakthrough for non-NPT states accession to NSG is expected for the foreseeable future, viewing no change in China's position for accepting new or non-NPT countries into its fold.

However, it is yet to be seen what consensus participating Governments will reach on the admission of new states into its folds. However, Pakistan feels encouraged by the increasing number of states supporting neutral formula and realizing Pakistan's concerns about preferential treatment extended to India.

It is hoped that NSG members would adopt an impartial criteria for all non-NPT countries in the forthcoming plenary meeting. Otherwise, another exemption for India would accelerate arms race in South Asian region by infuriating Pakistan to expand its nuclear capabilities and will also question international efforts to curb proliferation. To sum-up, criteria-based NSG membership is a mutually beneficial proposition because it will benefit the strategic restraint, the stability in South Asia, the Non-proliferation regime, NPT and NSG.

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