
MUSLIM RULE IN THE SUBCONTINENT

Arrival of Muhammad Bin Qasim

- Pirates
- Capturing the Muslims
- Letter by Hajjaj Bin Yousaf
- Refusal of Raja Dahir
- Expedition under Ubaidullah
- Muhammad Bin Qasim's expedition
- Growth of Islam

Ghaznavids: Promoters of Islam in India

- Launched 17 campaigns into India annexing the Punjab and consolidating North-Eastern India

Ghurid Dynasty (1149-1206)

- Shahabuddin Ghauri captured Multan and Uch in 1175 and Lahore in 1186
- Shahabuddin Ghauri was assassinated in 1206 near Jhelum
- In 1206, the slave, Qutbuddin Aibak proclaimed the Delhi Sultanate and became the first Sultan

The Slave or Mamluk Dynasty (1206-1290)

- After Aibak his son ascended the throne, but he was removed due to his incompetence
- He was succeeded by Iltutmish who ruled for 25 years
- Iltutmish carried out several reforms such as organizing the ruling elite, division of his empire into big and small pieces of lands, and the introduction of silver and copper coins
- Iltutmish was succeeded by Balban **Khilji Dynasty (1290-1320)**
- First king of this dynasty was Jalaluddin Khilji who ascended the throne in 1290 but was murdered by his nephew Alauddin Khalji who became the new ruler
- He tackled the Mongol menace in the frontier regions

- He conquered the kingdoms of Gujrat, Malwa and Rajasthan and followed the policy of consolidation
- Alauddin took various measures for prevention of rebellions
- He made several sweeping reforms in the field of revenue system
- The khilji dynasty could not survive after his death and was overthrown by the Tughlaqs

Tughlaq Dynasty(1320-1413)

- Tughlaq dynasty was instituted by GhiyasuddinTughlaq
- He restored peace and order and built the fortified city of Tughlaqabad in Delhi
- After Ghiyasuddin, Firoz Shah Tughlaq came to power
- He is known for his public works
- He constructed dams, canals, mosques and madrasas
- Firoz Shah Tughlaq adopted policy of appeasement to gain the support of the nobles, the army and the ulemas
- The death of Firoz Shah led to the decay and disintegration of the Sultanate
- During the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud, the last ruler of the dynasty, Timur, the Mongol, king from Central Asia invaded India which proved to be a fatal blow to the Sultanate of Delhi
- By 1412 the Sultanate disintegrated and numerous new kingdoms emerged in its place

Sayyid Dynasty(1414-1451)

- Tughlaq dynasty ended after invasion of Timur
- Timur's nominee captured Delhi and was proclaimed the new Sultan and the first ruler of Sayyid Dynasty
- Their short-lived rule was taken over by the Lodhis **Lodhi Dynasty (1451-1526)**
- BahlulLodhi established himself in Punjab after Timur's invasion
- The most important Lodhi Sultan was SikandarLodhi who controlled the Ganges Valley as far as Bengal
- He moved his capital from Delhi to Agra
- The last Lodhi Sultan was Ibrahim Lodhi who was defeated and killed by Babar in the first battle of Panipat in 1526 AD
- With the fall of the Lodhis, the Sultanate of Delhi also ended

RISE AND FALL OF MUGHAL EMPIRE

Babar (1526-1530)

- Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur was the founder of Mughal Empire in India
- Babur established his empire by defeating Ibrahim Lodhi at the battle of Panipat
- His kingdom extended from Kabul and Kandahar in the North-West to Bihar in the East and from the Himalayas in the North to Gwalior in the South
- After four years of ruling India, Babur died in 1530 at the age of forty seven

Humayun (1530-1556)

- He was a better scholar than soldier
- At continual odds with the Afghans, their rebel leader Sher Shah Suri forced him to leave India and seek refuge in Persia
- Humayun took back his father's territory in India after the death of Sher Shah Suri in 1556 and ruled only for seven months

Akbar(1556-1605)

- He was fourteen years old when he ascended the throne in 1556
- He extended the Mughal frontiers to the Bay of Bengal in the East and the Persian border with Afghanistan in the North-West

Jahangir (1605-1627)

- Jahangir built a reputation for being just during his regime

Shah Jehan(1628-1658)

- He was a significant patron of arts and of architecture
- He built the Red Fort and TajMahal
- Shah Jahan initiated a return to Islamic orthodoxy

Aurangzeb(1658-1707)

- He ruled the empire with an iron hand
- He continued and strengthened the return to Islamic laws initiated by his father
- Aurangzeb continued to extend the borders to encompass Afghanistan
- He died in 1707

- After his death, Mughal Empire collapsed due to internal conflicts among the successors and was reduced to the area around Delhi
- The last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar was imprisoned by the British after the mutiny of 1857.

Causes of Downfall of Mughal Empire:

1) Introduction:

- By the beginning of the 18th century, symptoms of degeneration had appeared in the Mughal system
- Marhathas and Sikhs had shaken the empire to its foundation by inflicting defeat on the Mughals

2) Causes of downfall of Muslim Empire in the Subcontinent: a)

Immensity of the empire:

- Covered almost the whole of India
- Running the administration became difficult because of enormous distances

b) Centralised administration:

- Absence of a system of democratic decentralization
- Provincial governments looked to the Emperor for orders

c) Incompetent successors of Aurangzeb:

- Rulers like Muhammad Shah Rangila loved singing and dancing, more than the affairs of the empire
- Jahandar Shah ruled at the advice of a dancing girl named LalKumari

d) Weak central government:

- When rulers lost their grip over the central government, Marhathas, Sikhs and Jats set up several independent states in their respective areas
- Provinces like Oudh and Bengal were under powerful rulers who paid nominal respect to Delhi

e) No rules for succession:

- Death of a ruler was followed by battles for succession
- This divided the nobles and the army

f) Faltered economy:

- Wars of Mughal army affected agriculture seriously
- Unsafe trade routes made the markets of Delhi, Agra, Mathura and Lahore desolate
- Jagirs were not the permanent possession of its holder; therefore, landowners did not take any interest in increasing their agricultural output

g) Lack of resources and chicanery of nobility:

- Dearth of resources and jagirs led to rivalry among nobles for possessing the existing jagirs

- Because Bengal, Gujrat, Deccan and Oudh became autonomous, the financial resources of the government became scarce
- h) Lagging behind in education:**
- No durable foundation for the scientific advancement of India had been laid by the Mughals
 - Mughal rule had left India largely incapable of dealing with the challenges of European military ascendance
- i) Epicurean lifestyle**
- The royal court of Mughal were replete with jesters, musicians and flatterers
 - The extravagant and oblivious lifestyle of Mughals opened the door for plots and intrigues by the nobles
- j) Weak military force:**
- Muslim rulers did not gave importance to bigger arsenals, modern weaponry and latest techniques of warfare
 - Muslim army depended on arrows, lances and swords
 - It lacked training, discipline and cohesion
- k) Lack of Naval Power:**
- Muslim rulers gave no importance to navy whereas the European countries had developed their own fleets
- l) Foreign invasions:**
- Attack of Nadir Shah of Iran gave a fatal blow to the Mughal kingdom
 - Marhathas paralyzed the remaining power of the Mughals
 - The invasion of Ahmed Shah Abdali dismantled the remaining prestige of the Muslims
- m) Foreign conspiracies:**
- The English caballed with Meer Jafar and became the masters of the Bengal
 - In Mysore, they won over Meer Sadiq to betray Tipu Sultan
- n) Internal conspiracies:**
- Royal court became an arena of conspiracies where noble quarreled among themselves for power
- o) Loss of spirit of Jihad**
- Akbar caused harm to the spirit of Jihad by preferring Hindus over Muslims
 - After Akbar, the requirement of fresh blood to the army from martial races of Central Asia had been stopped
 - The local recruits loved life of ease
- p) Treachery and betrayal**
- Henchmen like Meer Jafar of Bengal and Meer Sadiq of Deccan placed the nation at stake for their vested interests
- q) Lack of nationalism**

- This was because Mughal Empire at that time lacked the elements that constitute a modern nation

Conclusion:

- To sum up, Mughal Rulers failed to keep pace with the changing scenario of the subcontinent. Their political, economic and military system failed to live up to the demands of time. Moreover, the weakening of central government paved the way for internal chaos which led to the colonization of India by British.

MOVEMENTS FOR REFORMS

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi

Introduction

- Popularly known as MujadidAlifSani was born on 26th June, 1564 in Sirhind, a city of East Punjab
- Learned Quran by heart and studied Hadith and Tafsir

Religious conditions of Muslims during his time

- Excessive reliance on jurisprudence
- Influence of Hindus
- Establishment of Deen-e-Elahi
- Innovations in religion

Shaikh Ahmed's revival efforts

- Preparation of disciples
- Correspondence with eminent men
- Enlistment of great nobles

- Emphasis on Tauheed
- Efforts to settle differences between scholars and mystics
- Exposed the fallacy of Din-e- Elahi
- Negation of Wahdat-Ul- Wajud and emphasis on Wahdat -Ul- Shahud
- Presented the concept of two-nation theory

Imprisonment and release of Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindi

- He was imprisoned because of his efforts for religious reforms and his refusal to prostrate before the Emperor Jahangir
- He was released after two years. He preferred to stay at the royal court for preaching his views to the nobles.

Shah Waliullah (1703-1762)

Introduction

- Shah Waliullah was born on February 21, 1703. His real name was Qutub-ud-din, but he became famous as Shah Waliullah
- His father was Shah Abdul Rahim who founded Madrassah Rahimiyah in Delhi
- By the age of 17, he was permitted by his father to provide spiritual guidance to his fellow Muslims

Religious Efforts

- Crusade against sectarianism (*Izalatulkhifa* and *khilafatikhulfa*)
- Translation of the Holy Quran into Persian
- Balance between four schools of thought (*Al-Insaf fi Bayan Sahib AL Ikhtilaf*) • Reintroduced Ijtehad
- Socio-moral regeneration
- Importance of jihad

Economic Efforts

- Raised voice for economic equilibrium
- Removal of inequalities
- Disliked heavy taxes

Political Services

- Provided leadership
- He was well aware of the threat posed by the rise of Marathas and Sikhs • Letter to Ahmed Shah Abdali

Syed Ahmed Shaheed Brailvi (1786-1831)

Introduction

- Syed Ahmad was born in a small town of Rai Bareli near Lucknow.
- He picked up the course of two-pronged struggle aimed at purification of Muslim society and the destruction of non Muslim power in India

Preparation of Jihad against Sikhs

- Main objective to establish a state based on Islamic principles
- Punjab was ruled by Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh
- Holy places turned into temples
- Left for Makkah in 1821 with Maulana Ismael Shaheed and Maulana Abdul Hayee to perform Hajj
- Preparations for Jihad were made again

Declaration of War

- Picked up Punjab to start
- If Punjab and NWFP had been liberated from Sikhs, Muslims would regain position
- Shah Ismael and Abdul Hayee started from Rae Bareli
- Started battle by challenging Sikh army at Akora on December 21, 1826
- Second Battle at Hazro
- Set out for Kashmir and Peshawar
- Attacked and occupied Peshawar in 1830

Enforcement of Shariah

- Syed Ahmed declared *khalifah*
- Established Islamic government
- Reduced influence of tribal chiefs
- In November, 1831 withdrew from Peshawar in favour of Sultan Muhammad Khan

Battle of Balakot: May 6, 1831

- In battle of Balakot 1831, a surprise attack was led by Sikhs and six hundred Muslims were killed along with Syed Ahmed.
- *Jihad* of Syed Ahmad inspired many Muslims. It is the forerunner of Pakistan movement as the aim of this movement was to safeguard Muslim interest and achieve a homeland where they can practise their religion, culture and freedoms.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898)

Introduction

- He was a great visionary, statesman and Muslim reformer of the 19th century, the like of who is rare. He wanted to make the community and country progressive and take them forward on modern lines.
- His supreme interest was intellectual development of the people through modern education. He was the first Indian Muslim to contribute to the intellectual and institutional foundation of Muslims' modernization in Southern Asia.

Sir Syed's Crusade for the Muslim Uplift

Educational Work

The supreme interest of Sir Syed's life was education in its widest sense. For this purpose he established

1. Schools in Ghazipur, Muradabad
2. Established society in Ghazipur in 1864
3. Scientific Society of Aligarh

Published translations of many educational texts and issued a bilingual journal in Urdu and English. It was for the use of all citizens and was jointly operated by the Hindus and Muslims.

1. Monthly journal Tehzeeb-ul-ikhlaq
2. Mohammeden Anglo Oriental College
3. Mohammeden Educational Conference in 1886

Religious Reformation

Detailed reply to blasphemous book of William Muir "Life of Muhammad"

Political Services

1. Wrote pamphlet "Causes of the Indian Revolt 1857"
2. Established British Indian Association
3. First to coin word Two Nation Theory
4. Idea of separate electorates

Sir Syed's political views could be summed up as:

- i India is a continent, not a country
- ii It is inhabited by a vast population of different races and different creeds
- iii That among these, Hindus and Muslims, are the major nations on the basis of nationality, religion, customs, and historical traditions
- iv After the British quit, Hindus could not share the political power equally
- v That was simply impossible and inconceivable
- vi The Indian National Congress was not acceptable to the Muslims
- vii Muslims could not accept a democratic set-up of western type because with a one to four ratio of population, they could be enslaved by the Hindus
- viii There would be a disastrous civil war if the Congress persisted in its policy of yoking together the two nations

Deoband

Introduction:

- Aim of Deoband:
Social, economic and political renaissance of the Muslims
- Started with the establishment of a Madrassah at Deoband for religious education at a small town of Saharanpur on 14 April, 1866
- The first principal of Deoband was Maulana Qasim Nanotvi **Activities of Deoband:**
- Turn students into religious teachers for spreading the knowledge of Islam
- Personalities such as Maulana Ashraf Thanvi, Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madni, Maulana Shabir Ahmad Usmani and Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi broadened the religious knowledge of Muslims
- Quran, Hadith, Arabic, Islamic Jurisprudence, Philosophy and Islamic History were the main disciplines of the institution

Deoband role in politics of India:

- The movement aimed at cultivation of closer ties with Sultan of Turkey
- Later on the movement split into two groups
- The group setup under Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi and Maulana Shabir Ahmed Usmani worked to counter the influence of Congress. This group later on formed Jamiat Ulema Pakistan and supported the idea of Pakistan
- The other group included Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madni and Mufti Kifayat Ullah. This group worked in collaboration with Congress and opposed the idea of Partition **Deoband Vs Aligarh:**
- Both movements were pole apart in their ideologies
- Aligarh promoted reconciliation with the British whereas Deoband was opposed to it
- Aligarh stressed Western and English education while Deoband was devoted to imparting religious education

Nadwa Tul Ulema

Background:

- Aligarh focused on imparting Western education whereas Deoband was exclusively devoted to providing religious education
- Need for an institution for providing religious as well as Western education
- To fulfill this need Nadwa was created **Foundation of Nadwa:**
- Established in 1894 by Maulvi Abdul Ghafoor

Objectives of Nadwa:

- Providing religious and modern knowledge to the Muslims
- Reformation of Muslim society by promoting religious knowledge
- Remove sectarian differences among the ulema **Sindh Madrasah, Karachi**

Background:

- Aligarh movement inspired Muslims to form educational institutions
- Merger of Sindh with Bombay worsened the plight of Muslim because no attention was paid by the British to Muslims' education
- Need for an educational institution for meeting the educational needs of the Muslims

Foundation of Sindh Madrasah, Karachi:

- Syed Hasan Ali Afandi founded Sindh Madrassah in a small building in 1885
- Later on land was acquired for the construction of a building which was inaugurated in 1886 by Lord Dufferin

Objective of Sindh Madrasah, Karachi:

- Imparting religious and western education to the students

IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN

Introduction

- Ideology means science of ideas
- System of ideas which reflect way of thinking of a nation
- "Ideology means the study of origin, evolution and nature of ideas."- Autoinede Tracy

Ideology of Pakistan

- Based on the details of Islamic system
- It was a reaction to Hindu and British exploitation of Muslims of subcontinent
- Creation of Pakistan was unique in the sense that it was based on ideological commitments in the light of religion of Islam

Pre-Independence Period

- Two Nation Theory: Ideology of Pakistan was founded on Two Nation Theory
- Sir Syed the pioneer of TwoNation Theory used the term' two nation' for Hindus and Muslims

- Establishment of All India Muslim League (AIML) also marked separate identity of Muslims
- Annulment of partition of Bengal also made Muslims think that they are separate
- AllamaIqbal and Ideology of Pakistan:
- “Now I believe that the protection of separate national identity is in the best interests of both the Hindus and Muslims.” - AllamaIqbal
- “I am fully convinced that the Muslims of India will ultimately have to establish a separate homeland as they cannot live with Hindus in united India.”— AllamaIqbal
- Quaid-e-Azam and Ideology of Pakistan:
“Muslims are a nation by every definition of the word nation. They have every right to establish their separate homeland.” (March 23, 1940)
- “Pakistan was created the day when the first Indian national entered the fold of Islam.” (March 1944)

EVOLUTION OF DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN

- 1) Introducing the term democracy:
- 2) What is meant by evolution of democracy? 3) Essentials of democracy
 - Freedom of opinion
 - Equality and justice
 - Accountability and transparency
 - Fairness
 - Openness
 - Trust
- 4) Democracy in Pakistan, historical Context (Pre-independence and Post-independence)

Democratic Phases in Pakistan

- PHASE 1 1947.....1958
 - PHASE 2 1971.....1977
 - PHASE 3 1988.....1999
 - PHASE 4 2008.....2013
- 5) Challenges to democratic system of Pakistan
 - Military coup

- Flawed Constitutional arrangements
 - Social instability
 - Security threats
 - Fragile institutions
 - Civil-Military Oligarchy
- 6) Logical consequences of the frail democratic setup
- Debacle of East Pakistan.
 - Controlled media.
 - Economic instability
 - Mismanagement of the available resources.
 - Dispirit inclination of the Foreign Direct investment
 - Recurring foreign intervention into our national issues
 - Towering extremism
 - Tarnished Soft-image of Pakistan.
- 7) Pragmatic solutions:
- Rule of law and order.
 - Supremacy of the parliament.
 - By ensuring accountability
 - Free media is essential
 - Educational reforms.
 - Investment on human capital
 - Streamlining the foreign policy
 - Political stability
 - Constitutional crises should be managed
- 8) Conclusion.
- In transition
 - Bright future
 - Political leadership and civil society is united to protect and advance democracy

WATER ISSUES OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN

India and Pakistan can go on shouting on Kashmir for all the time to come, but an early settlement of the Indus waters is essential for the maintenance of peace in the sub-continent

Gulati

Introduction:

- Growing scarcity of water resources and each state embedded in the phrase “sovereignty over resources”.
- Management and control of water resources became conflict between India and Pakistan

History of the issue

- The Indus river system and its eastern tributaries: Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej rivers.
- At the time of India’s partition in 1947 boundaries were drawn without first considering the realities of the region
- Kashmir is located in the Indus river basin area and all resources of water originate in the occupied Kashmir

Water warfare

- Like most of the conflicts on 1 April, 1948 Delhi stopped the flow of water from the canals on its side denying the water to some 5.5percent of the sown area and almost 8 percent of the cultivated area
- Inter-dominion agreement was a bilateral accord comprising the release of sufficient water by India on heavy payment from Pakistan
- Situation led to a deadlock in 1951
- World banks’ proposal of 1954 in form of concrete plan for the future

Indus water treaty 1960

- The agreement was signed on September 19,1960 by Pakistan’s President Muhammad Ayub khan and Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the World Bank’s Mr.W.A.B Liff
- Pakistan was given access to western rivers: the Indus, Jhelum and Chenab while the treaty gave India exclusive use of the Ravi, Beas and Sutlej rivers
- The treaty established a permanent Indus commission

Pakistan’s perspective

Ayub khan said about Pakistan’s perspective that:

“The sources of rivers are in India...and India had made arrangements to divert the waters

...every factor was against us, the only sensible thing to do was to try and get a settlement; though it might be the second best, but if we did not we stood to lose everything.”

India's perspective

India is busy in building dams on all rivers flowing into Pakistan from occupied Kashmir in violation of Indus treaty. The stubborn attitude of India is making the situation very tough **Salal dam**

- India proposed to construct a dam over river Chenab in 1960; its capacity was 345 MW.
- The only dam where India and Pakistan reached an understanding without the help of a third party.

Wullar barrage

- In 1984 India announced plans to build the barrage on the Jhelum River at the mouth of Wullar Lake.
- Pakistan's concerns were that it will obstruct the flow of water to Pakistan and threaten the irrigation and power projects and will affect the water level downstream. Pakistan believe that India could use it as geo-strategic weapon
- India was of the view that it was not an effort to divert water flowing into Pakistan. The project is to make the river navigable during summer

Kishanganga Dam

- The controversial of all the projects is kishanganga dam
- Its capacity is 330 megawatt hydro-power plant
- India is diverting the water of Neelum to Wullar Barrage and Neelum valley is likely to dry up
- Experts believe that Pakistan's water availability could be reduced from 154MAF to 140MAF

Baglihar dam (1990)

India violated the Indus water treaty by constructing Baglihar dam on Chenab River. This dam is controversial because Pakistan claimed that dam will impede considerable water flow to disrupt the agriculture and general water supplies for its people. The objections raised by Pakistan are the following:

- Dam's storage capacity is so much

- The height of dam, i.e. 4.5 meters is excessive to provide India with more ability to accelerate, decelerate or block flow of river
- It would dry some 5.6 million acres of land

Nimo bazgo hydro power project

- The purpose of the construction of this dam is to meet the requirements of Indian army deployed at Siachen glacier
- It produces 219 megawatt of electricity. It has already started in clear violation of the Indus water treaty

These dams are building up on the tributaries of the Indus River:

- Dumkhar project
- The Chutak project
- Uri Todiam dam

Indian aqua bomb

According to study titled “mountains of concrete”,

Dam building in the Himalayas’ Pakistan is on the brink of water disaster and its availability has been decreased to 1200 cubic meter per person from 5,000 cubic meters in 1947 and is predicted to plunge to 800cubic meters by 2020.

- India ranks third in the world of dam building after US and china
- India played havoc with Pakistan’s agriculture and industry
- India is planning to build 10 to 20 more dams on Chenab River to manipulate the water flow

FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN POST 9/11

1) Introduction

2) Post 9/11 scenario and the dilemma attached to the period for Pakistan:

- Pakistan-afghan debacle in form of war on terror
- Counter terrorism, withdrawal of NATO
- Confidence and security-building measures with India
- Disturbed relations after Mumbai attacks

- Pakistan-US catastrophe even after being the most allied ally
- 3) The impacts of the proxy, upon the fiasco regional apparatus:
 - Regional politics
 - Non-traditional threats like water and trade
 - Insecurity for Pakistan at its western border
 - Backlash of severe militancy
- 4) Contemporary challenges confronting Pakistan's foreign Policy
 - Weak or borrowed policies
 - The protection of sovereignty
 - Vanishing the principle of parity with India
 - Failure to see the world through economic lens
 - Facing the challenge of being seen as nuclear state
 - Failing to play a proactive role towards Muslim nations
 - Relation with Iran as a challenge for Pakistan or a best option
 - Relations with China as an opportunity for the well being of Pakistan
- 5) How could the sufferings of foreign policy be addressed (suggestions)
 - By promoting the idealistic predicament of peaceful co-existence
 - Internal political stability as mean of compact foreign policy
 - Preference should also be given to address the economic threats
 - Settlement of all disputes at UN forum
- 6) Conclusion

PAKISTAN-INDIA RELATIONS

*Introduction:

Relations between Pakistan and India are a sad saga of mutual tensions, conflicts and wars. They are haunted by a bitter legacy of partition. These relations have remained strained for most of the periods, as the periods of peace and tranquility are far and few.

*Phases of relations:

- Period of utmost hostility [1947-1948]
- Arbitration and cold attitude [1949-1962]
- Hostility and war [1962-1965]
- Drift towards another war [1966-1971]
- Transitions and improved relations [1972-1979]
- Deterioration in relationship [1980-1988]
- Oscillating relationship [1988-1999]

- Hostility and tension [1999-2002]
- Improved relations [2003-2008]
- Hostility [2008-2010]
- Progress in relations [2010-2013]
- Emergence of hostility [2013-2015]

*Irritants/ issues of contention:

1-Territorial disputes:

- a-The state of Jammu and Kashmir
- B-Siachin
- C-Sir creek
- D-Raan of kuch

2-Water disputes:

Renowned Indian journalist Kuldip Nayer stated that:

"In order to sustain peace process India should abandon Baghliar project"

Former foreign minister Agha shahi stated that:

"India could misuse its upper riparian status as a strategic leverage in Kashmir dispute"

- A-Baghliar project
- B-Kishanganga dam
- C-Pakal dul dam

3-Issue of cross-border terrorism:

Renowned journalist Amaresh Mishra stated that:

"Government of India should realize the presence of Hindutava elements in attacks in India"

According to Indian journalist Arundhati Roy:

"India should stop traditional blame game and should see its own home grown terrorist groups"

4-Hawkish elements:

According to Hassan Askari Rizvi-defence analyst:

"The blame game with India and Pakistan serves the political agenda of both: hard-line Hindus and hard-line Muslims, who have always opposed normalization of Indo-Pakistan relations"

According to defence analyst-Bharat Verma:

"Indian agencies are not involved in Afghanistan in order to destabilize it. But we will be proud if RAW will be involved in activities against Pakistan in Afghanistan"

5-Involvement of India in Baluchistan:

"On December, 26 2006, then President Pervaiz Musharraf on CNN, clearly pointed out the involvement of Indian intelligence agencies in Baluchistan"

6-Increase of Indian role in Afghanistan

*Suggestions:

- 1-Resolve territorial conflicts
- 2-Pakistan should argue its case of water issue in UN
- 3-Issue of cross-border terrorism should be solved with mutual efforts
- 4-Both countries need to build alliances with moderate forces:

-Focus on regionalism:

According to defence analyst-Hassan Askari Rizvi:

"War or high degree of hostility will have more negative implications on India, which is aiming to play regional and global role and wants to be an active player in the process of globalization"

Creating and maintaining trade relations:

- MFN status
- Not creating hurdles in PAK-CHINA corridor which is beneficial for the region

-All types of diplomacy should be employed:

- Track 1: Official talks
 - Track 2: Confidence building measures [CBM's]
- Involvement of media and people to people contact

Current situation:

- Sushma Sawaraj, Indian Foreign Minister, told the Indian Parliament that war is not an option and dialogue is the only way forward with Pakistan
- Visit of Pakistan's investigation team to India to investigate the circumstances of the January attack on the Indian Air Force's base at Pathankot.

- From furious debate over the role of Indian spies inside Pakistan to the constant reassertion that the Kashmir dispute must be the centerpiece of any talks around which all other issues must resolve, the political environment inside Pakistan is not dialogue-enhancing at the moment.
- For dialogue to resume the foreign secretaries need to meet and the political leaderships of both countries need to provide the necessary impetus.

Conclusion:

PAKISTAN-CHINA RELATIONS

Introduction

A brotherly relation exists between the two, Pakistan being the earlier recognizer of China in United Nations Organization.

“Pakistan was one of the first countries to recognize New China. Ever since our diplomatic relations began in 1951, we have enjoyed mutual understanding, respect, trust and support and our friendship and cooperation have flourished. We are truly good neighbours, close friends, trusted partners and dear brothers.”

(President Hu Jintao, Islamabad, 24 November

2006) Four Baskets of Relationship

I. Political Relations

- Cold diplomatic relations because of Pakistan’s alignment with United States
- Communist ideology was another reason for the disturbed Pak –China relations
- Relations got converge at the time of China’s entry into UN
- Convergence at the time of Sino-Indian war
- Goodwill of relations afterwards

II. Strategic And Military Relations

As Mr. Abdul Sattar writes in Pakistan’s foreign policy 1947-2005, a concise history

“To help Pakistan’s defense capability after United States embargoed military sales, China agreed in 1966 to provide equipment for two divisions of the army as well as MIG air craft for the air force. It also gave \$60 million for development assistance in 1965, a further \$40 million in 1969 and \$200 million for the next five-year plan”.

- Strategic cooperation at several projects to enhance military and weaponry system
- Joint development of the JF-17 Thunder fighter aircraft
- The Karakorum-8 (K-8) is a single-engine, advanced jet trainer and light attack aircraft designed and manufactured jointly by Hongdu Aviation Industry Corporation (HAIC) of China and Pakistan
- Pakistan Aeronautical Complex (PAC)
- The Al-Khalid tank is jointly developed variants of a modern Main Battle Tank (MBT) by Pakistan and China during the 1990s.
- China is Pakistan’s top supplier of weapons, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), which tracks global arms sales, selling 51% of the weapons Islamabad imported in 2010-2014.
- On April 19, 2015, China concluded sale of eight conventional submarines worth \$5bn, biggest ever arms sale by China in its history.

III. Economic Relations

- Gwadar port as whole string of industrial plants, factories, electric and mechanical complexes, and power producing units including hydro and nuclear power plants.
- In South Asia, Pakistan is first country which has FTA (Free Trade Agreement) with China.
- Plan for energy and infrastructure projects in Pakistan worth 46 billion dollar.
- China Pakistan economic corridor CPEC which would include an intense cooperation between the two countries.
 1. The corridor will connect Gwadar Port in Balochistan (Pakistan) to Kashgar in north-western China, which will make Gwadar a significant deep sea port in the region.
 2. Opened for operations in 2007, the control of Gwadar Port was transferred to China’s state-owned China Overseas Ports Holding in February 2013.
 3. It will serve as a primary gateway for trade between China, Middle East and Africa.
 4. The corridor is expected to cut the 12,000-kilometre route that Middle East oil supplies must now take to reach Chinese ports.

5. Major physical infrastructure to be built includes 2,700-kilometre highway stretching from Kashgar to Gwadar through Khunjrab, railways links for freight trains between Gwadar and Khunjrab linking to China and having possible regional connectivity with Afghanistan, Iran and India, and the Karachi-Lahore motorway.
6. The project will also undertake the revival and extension of the Karakorum Highway that links Xinjiang with Pakistan's northern region Gilgit–Baltistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
7. Besides physical links connecting Pakistan and China, the project also envisages establishing several economic zones along the corridor.
8. An Energy Planning Working Group of the CPEC has been established that will undertake fast-track implementation of power projects related to the CPEC.
9. Those projects of 21,690 MW power productions will be undertaken with the assistance of China under the CPEC plan.
10. The “One Belt, One Road” project to connect inner China with the Middle East and Europe is linked to \$33bn worth of energy projects and coal-fired electricity plants and almost \$10bn on road and rail projects.
11. Money received by Pakistan for this project from China is greater than twice the amount of FDI Pakistan has received since 2008. It is also more than the entire assistance from the US which was Pakistan’s largest donor in 2002.
12. Project will take between 1 to 3 years to complete while infrastructure projects could take between 10 to 15 years to finish.
13. Job creation and economic growth will be indirect benefits of this project by Pakistan
14. This marks the first opportunity for Pakistan to change its economic geography since the 1960 Indus Waters Treaty.

IV. Cultural Relations

- Pakistan-China relations are an excellent example of shared perceptions on important issues and dependable friendship based on principles.
 - Pakistan has always had educational links with China
 - Pakistan’s excellent role in the removal of iron-curtain, and Nixon’s visit to China through the help of Pakistan.
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PAKISTAN-AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS

Introduction:

There are two parts of Pak Afghan relations:

- Part 1) Pakistan and Afghanistan Relations: 1947- 2001
- Part 2) Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations since 9/11 *Phases in Part 1:*
 - Phase (1): 1947-1963
 - Phase (2): 1963-1973
 - Phase (3): 1973-1978
 - Phase (4): 1979-1992
 - Phase (5): 1992-9/11-2001

Incidents in Phase 1: 1947- 2001

- i. Durand Line: The Pakistan-Afghan boundary was drawn in 1893 by Sir Mortimer Durand. This boundary is called the Durand Line. When Pakistan came into being, Afghanistan refused to accept the Durand line. They demand some territory of NWFP and Baluchistan.
- ii. Opposition in UNO: Afghanistan opposed the membership of Pakistan in UNO. iii. Afghanistan's covert operation in Pakistan: Irregular forces from Afghanistan crossed Pakistan's border to fabricate Paktoon uprising in Pakistani tribal areas in 1950-51. This deteriorated Pakistan and Afghanistan relations iv. Opposition of one unit by Afghanistan: In 1955, Pakistan restructured its administrative units to one unit. Afghanistan government vehemently opposed the decision of integrating the Pathan-dominated Northwest Province.
- v. Rulers' visits: Pakistan's President Iskandar Mirza visited Afghanistan in August 1956. Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy Prime Minister of Pakistan toured Afghanistan in 1957. These visits were reciprocated by Afghan ruler King Zahir Shah in 1958 and Prime Minister Sardar Daud Khan in 1959. These visits helped in cultivating attitude of reconciliation on both sides.
- vi. U-2 Incident: The 1960 U-2 incident was precipitated during the cold war on 1 May 1960. After the occurrence of U-2 incident, USSR supported every Afghan move to isolate or damage Pakistan in any aspect.

- vii. Termination of Relations: Continuous tussles between Pakistan and Afghanistan led to the termination of Pak- Afghan relations and closure of Afghanistan's consulates and trade offices in Peshawar and Quetta. In retaliation, Kabul broke off diplomatic relations, closed the border and suspended transit trade with Pakistan.

Incidents in Phase 2:

- i. Reinstatement of Relations: Iran's successful mediation for better relation between Pakistan and Afghanistan resulted in the 1963 Tehran Accord. Afghanistan and Pakistan agreed to restore diplomatic relations, re-open their closed borders and resume trade and commercial ties.
- ii. 1965 war: The relations were improved to such an extent that during the 1965 India-Pakistan war, Afghanistan sided with Pakistan which enabled Islamabad to fully concentrate on its war with India and worry less about the security of its western border.
- iii. 1971 war: King Zahir Shah, in his state visit of 1968, was given a very warm welcome by Pakistan. Islamabad decision to disband one unit led to further warmth in Pak-Afghan relations. During the 1971 war between India and Pakistan, Afghanistan refrained from taking advantage of Pakistan's preoccupation with war.

Incidents in Phase 3:

- i. Deposition of Zahir Shah: In July 1973, Sardar Daud, an ardent champion of Pakhtoonistan issue, deposed King Zahir Shah
- ii. Daud's Support to Separatists in Pakistan: It was feared that the Daud's comeback would once again arouse separatist movements amongst Pakhtoon and Balochi living across Durand Line. And it did happened in Balochistan when Afghanistan provided sanctuaries to the Murree and Bugti insurgents in mid 70s.
- iii. Pakistan Support to anti Daud forces: Considering Daud a serious threat to Pakistan's integration, Pakistan government decided to support anti Daud forces in destabilizing and bringing down Daud's regime
- iv. Daud's visit to Pakistan: Experiencing rise in Soviet influence in Afghanistan's internal affairs, Daud observed that anti Pakistan policies were doing Afghanistan more harm than good. He decided for reconciliation with Islamabad and invited Pakistan's Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto for Kabul's visit. Bhutto was given a warm welcome in Kabul in June 1976. Daud was given red carpet reception on his visit to Islamabad in August same year.
- v. Saur revolution: After elimination of Daud by communist forces in April 1978. Kabul was taken over by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). The country was renamed the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA).

- vi. Elimination of Tarraki: On September 16th 1979, Hafizullah Amin staged another coup against his own government, killing Taraki, and taking over as President of Afghanistan.

Incidents in Phase 4:

- i. Soviet invasion: The December, 27th 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan created a frightening situation for Pakistan.
- ii. American assistance to Pakistan: President Carter, on May 4, 1980, declared: “We will provide military equipment, food and other assistance to help Pakistan defend its independence and national security. The American’s supply of arms, ammunition and equipment to the Mujahideen, was funneled through Pakistan’s ISI.
- iii Geneva Pact: Finally, the Peace Accord between Pakistan and Afghanistan was signed in Geneva on April 14, 1988, with the two superpowers as its co-guarantors.

Incidents in Phase 5: 1992-9/11-2001:

- i. Peshawar accord: The Peshawar accord was the agreement between different leaders of Afghanistan about future government.
- ii. Tahreek e Taliban: Tehreek-i-Taliban Afghanistan emerged in and around Kandhar in September 1994 and began as a new movement. Within three years, Taliban were finally able to control 27 out of 32 provinces by the 3rd week of May 1997.
- iii. Pakistani Support to Taliban: Pakistan extended full diplomatic and economic support to the Taliban Government.

Part 2) Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations since 9/11

The horrific acts of September 11, 2001 changed the world, and Pakistan found itself between the devil and the deep sea. It marks a new phase of the Pakistan foreign policy in general and Pakistan’s Afghanistan policy in particular.

- i. Pakistan reaction: Pakistan was to either stand with America in its war against Al Qaida and Taliban or suffer U.S. retaliation on continuing with its pro Taliban stand. Pakistan opted to side with the international coalition.
- ii. Reestablishment of government in Kabul: After the disintegration of Taliban and surrender of Kabul, UN arranged meeting of selected Tribal chiefs in Bonn (Germany) to decide upon Afghan interim government under Hamid Karazi with six months mandate commencing from 22 December 2001.
- iii. Hamid Karzai visit to Pakistan: Pakistan supported the interim set up and Hamid Karzai paid an official visit to Pakistan in February 2002. Pakistan offered all sort of moral,

political and economic support to strengthen new government in Kabul under the presidency of Karzai.

- iv.** Foreign hand and particularly Indian Factors: On the contrary, Afghanistan's distant neighbor like India was provided opportunity to further its strategic interests against Pakistan. Since then, India has found a vast platform in Afghanistan to conduct its covert activities in Baluchistan through Balochi dissidents and in FATA through TTP in order to destabilize Pakistan.
- v.** Pak-Afghan relations in Asif Ali Zardari's Era: President Zardari made his first trip to Afghanistan in January 2009. In September 2010, Afghan President Hamid Karzai traveled to Pakistan addressing new tactics to fight militancy.
- vi.** Signing of an agreement: In order to enhance cooperation amongst the two countries, in October 2010, a Pakistan-Afghanistan Transit Trade Agreement was signed. **vii.** Country agreement for the establishment of joint chamber of commerce and industry: The countries also agreed to establish a joint chamber of commerce and industry.
- viii.** Bilateral trade between Pakistan and Afghanistan: Pakistan and Afghanistan have agreed to strengthen trade ties and double annual bilateral trade by 2015, after a twoday Joint Economic Commission (JEC) meeting January 16-17 in Islamabad Pakistan has been employing its leverage on the Afghan Taliban in order to bring them to the negotiating table for restoring peace in Afghanistan
- ix.** Despite the fact that Pakistan has taken stern action against militants operating from its soil, Afghanistan remains dubious about the sincerity of Pakistan in tackling the militants who are wreaking havocs in Afghanistan. On the other hand, Pakistan blames Afghanistan for not controlling Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan that has been responsible for perpetuating a bloodbath in Pakistan.

Conclusion

- Cooperation in trade, security and anti-terrorism is the only way forward for Pakistan and Afghanistan.
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PAKISTAN-RUSSIA RELATIONS

- 1947: USA & USSR both invited Pakistan at the same time to visit them. Pakistan refused the offer of USSR and visited USA
- 1950: USSR helped India in the Kashmir Dispute and also gave economical and technical support to them.
- 1955: Pakistan joined SEATO & CENTO. USSR took this as a firm declaration in the favor of USA.
- 1956: USSR offered Pakistan Government aid at an agreement of breaking alliance with USA. Pakistan refused
- 1960: A spy plane from USA base in Peshawar flew to USSR which was shot down there. Pakistan was blamed for sending plane. U-2 Spy Plane
- 1961: Pakistan's relations with the USA deteriorated. Soviets agreed to began exploring oil in Pakistan
- 1962: USA helped India in a war with China. The results led Pakistan and USSR closer •
- 1963: China began to give aid to Pakistan. USSR doubled that loan up to £11 Million. USSR also took the Neutral stance in the Kashmir Dispute (earlier it was helping India undisputedly)
- 1965: Ayub Khan made an official visit to USSR to make an agreement on trade and oil exploration.
- 1966: USSR mediated the famous Tashkent declaration in January 1966 to bring an end to the war between India and Pakistan
- 1968: Americans decided to close their Air Base in Peshawar; Soviets began to supply arms to Pakistan. Pakistan was now getting military aids from USA, China and USSR. This annoyed USSR.
- 1971: Pakistan helped to arrange a China-USA agreement. Soviet Union was annoyed as it implied a special relation between USA, China and Pakistan. Soviet Union signed a treaty of Peace and Co-operation in India guaranteeing Soviet help if India went to war with Pakistan
- 1972: Bhutto visited Soviet with a hope to rebuild good relations with USSR. In this meeting Soviets agreed to build a steel mill to Pakistan
- 1979: USSR wanted the occupation of Afghanistan. Pakistan was helping Afghanistan with aid from USA which deteriorated Pakistan's relations with United Soviet States of Russia. The militant trained by Pakistan succeeded in defeating the Soviet Union.
- 1984: Cold reception to Zia-ul-Haq when he went to attend a funeral of Andropov (General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) in USSR.

- 1988: Soviet disapproved Pakistan's Nuclear Program. Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan, but hostile relations between Pakistan and USSR continued.
- USSR disintegrated in 1991. Following 9/11, Pakistan supported international community which changed Russia's perception about Pakistan.
- Visit of former President Pervaiz Musharraf in 2003 gave new impetus to relations of Pakistan and Russia
- In the contemporary world, Russia and Pakistan have the unanimity of views on bringing regional peace, through restoration of normalization and stability in Afghanistan, following the withdrawal of US and NATO forces from Afghanistan in 2014.
- Pakistan seeks Russian economic assistance in the form of foreign direct investment (FDI) and technological cooperation particularly in the field of energy.
- Russia seems inclined to responding to these needs in addition to increasing the trade volume from current \$600 million to \$1 billion.
- In August 2013, Pakistan and Russia conducted their first-ever strategic dialogue in Moscow, a huge step for the development of strategic partnership in the decades to come.

Avenues for cooperation between Pakistan and Russia:

- Pakistan and Russia should sort out their future role to achieve peace in Afghanistan as early as possible. On its part, Russia should help Pakistan by investing in energy sector, steel mill, infrastructure development and agriculture, including water management.
- Pakistan should aim at making Russia a trading partner and supplier of military hardware for achieving diversity in all fields in the longer run.
- Moscow and Islamabad have many converging interests and objectives including regional security and stability, countering threats of terrorism, and curbing extremism in all forms and manifestations. Besides, controlling illicit arms trade, drug trafficking, money laundering, cross-border organized crime and establishing joint working groups on countering international terrorism.

Conclusion

Despite mayhem in the bilateral relationship of Pakistan and Russia, during Cold War, today there exist greater prospects for converting the challenges into opportunities for a win-win situation.

PAKISTAN-TURKEY RELATIONS

1. History

- Pak-Turkish relations are marked by the presence of common religion, culture and history. The Turks remember with affection the moral and material support they received from the Muslims of the Sub-Continent on the fall of the Ottoman Caliphate.

2. Introduction

- Turkey and Pakistan, which already enjoy strong ties due to shared history, common faith and cultural similarities, could further enhance relations with concerned efforts.

3. Pakistani perspective

• The Turkish government's technical and financial help enabled the Punjab government to launch various infrastructural development projects in the province besides the Metro Bus Service in Lahore.

- Turkish Prime minister Ahmet Davutoglu has signed a number of agreements on economic, diplomatic, strategic and military cooperation with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.
- The two countries have agreed to work towards a free trade agreement to enhance bilateral trade to \$3billion in two years and \$5-10 billion in the next few years.
- The Turkish PM has also lauded Pakistan's civil-military consensus on terrorism and counter-terrorism cooperation.

4. Dimensions of Pakistan-Turkey Relations

a) Cultural relations

- Pakistan and Turkey are mutually influenced by Arab, GREEK, Turko-Mongol and Persian cultures.
- The design of clothing of the two countries also has common origins in Central Asia.

i. Turkey-Pakistan Solidarity

- Turkey and Pakistan cemented their security relationship by signing the 1951 Treaty of Eternal Friendship.
- The agreement on Turkey-Pakistan Friendship and Cooperation was signed in February 1954.

ii. Tourism

- The number of Pakistani citizens visiting Turkey is on a steady rise in recent years.

iii. Flights

- Turkish Airlines has regular flight between Istanbul and Karachi. **iv. Turkey's**

Development Assistance And Contribution To Reconstruction

Activities In Pakistan

- Turkey pledged \$100 million to Pakistan at the Donors' Conference in Tokyo in April 2009.

v. Train Service

- A container train service was launched by the Prime Minister of Pakistan Yousaf Raza Gilani between Islamabad and Istanbul on 14 August 2009.
- There are also hopes the route will eventually provide a link to Europe and Central Asia, and carry passengers.

vi. Aid Exchange

- In the aftermath of the 2005 Kashmir earthquake, Turkey stepped up its efforts to help the Pakistani people of the affected areas.
- Turkey announced a package of \$150 million for the quake-hit people.

b) Turkey-Pakistan Economic and Trade Relations

i. Bilateral trade

- In the last decades, the trade volume between Turkey and Pakistan has grown.

ii. Investments

- Construction is the leading sector for Turkish investors in Pakistan.
- More than 85 Pakistani companies are operating in Turkey.

c) Legal framework

i. Trilateral Mechanisms including Afghanistan

- At the end of the 3rd Meeting of Turkey-Afghanistan-Pakistan Trilateral Summit, parties agreed on establishing a Working Group on Transportation.
- A trilateral mechanism was established under the name of "Istanbul Forum" with the participation of the Union.
- On October 24, 2009, Ankara and Islamabad agreed that Turkish Aerospace would undertake the modernization of F-16 fighter jets belonging to Pakistan.

ii. Strategic ties

- Both nations were part of Cold War alliance called the Central Treaty Organization.

d) Military Relations

- Pakistan and Turkey have maintained long-standing military ties with Turkey also providing training to Pakistani air force officers in upgrading its F-16 fleet.
- Turkey and Pakistan provided both political and military support to one another.

- Regarding the Cyprus issue, Pakistan gave Turkey its full support and provided with its military-logistic supplies.

e) The 2000s: Bilateral Security Cooperation against International Terrorism f)

Divergences in Relations

- Both Turkey and Pakistan at times have had conflicting interests and ambitions.
- During the Afghan civil war, Turkey became a strong supporter of the Northern Alliance due to its Uzbek and Turkmen members, with which Turkey shares cultural and linguistic ties.
- Turkey has also supported the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) in China and has voiced support to its members whom are ethnic Uyghurs that Turkey also shares cultural and linguistic ties with.

5. Recommendations

- There is great scope for economic cooperation, particularly in trade expansion.
- A display centre of Pakistani products can be opened in all major Turkish cities.
- Cooperation avenues can be explored in education sector.
- Pakistani students who have studied in Turkish Cyprus can form an association with their Turkish friends.
- Internet and media are already there to remove geographical distances.
- On the cultural front, Pakistani's TV and stage plays and some of the quality films can be exported to Turkey.

6. Conclusion

- However, global dynamics evolve, it can be said confidently that security and economic cooperation between the two countries will continue.

PAKISTAN-IRAN RELATIONS

Introduction:

- Relations of Iran and Pakistan have witnessed several ups and downs
- Pakistan and Iran relations were friendly before the Islamic revolution in Iran, and Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan
- After these events, bitterness crept in the relations of Iran and Pakistan

Iran and Pakistan Relations before 1979:

- Iran was the first country to recognize Pakistan as an independent and sovereign state after the latter's independence on August 14th 1947.
- Strong alliances with the U.S. over geostrategic interests tied Pakistan and Iran together and both remained in the capitalist block after signing the Central Treaty Organisation treaty in the early 1950s
- Iran supported Pakistan during the war of 1965 and 1971 by providing it with moral and diplomatic support
- Iran, Pakistan and Turkey formed Regional Cooperation for development to promote socio-economic development of member states

Iran and Pakistan Relations after 1979:

- Islamic revolution in Iran and the beginning of Saudi-Iran rivalry
- Iran's efforts of transporting Iranian revolution to Pakistan, and the promotion of Wahabism by Saudi Arabia in Pakistan to counter Shia Iran's influence in Pakistan led to a sectarian bloodbath in Pakistan
- Formation of sectarian militant groups and the beginning of proxy war between Saudi Arabia and Iran in Pakistan
- Pakistan support to Sunni militant groups during Soviet's occupation of Afghanistan embittered Iran

- After Soviet's departure from Afghanistan, Pakistan continued to support Sunni militants. On the other hand, Iran opted to support the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan
- Pakistan decided to remain neutral in Iran-Iraq war and made efforts to restore peace between Iran and Iraq
- Iran supported Pakistan after Pakistan carried out its nuclear tests
- Pakistan and Iran relations improved considerably after the fall of Taliban regime in Afghanistan as a result of United States invasion after 9\11
- Visit of President Khatimi of Iran to Pakistan in 2002 and the signing of various trade agreements
- During the current government of Nawaz Sharif, Pakistan's relations with Iran have taken the back seat because of Nawaz Sharif's tilt to Saudi Arabia
- Trade relations between two nations were obstructed due to imposition of sanction by United States on Iran. As a result, the project of transporting gas from Iran to Pakistan has not been completed. However, Iran has signed a deal to halt its nuclear program, and a deal between Iran and international powers have increased the prospects of increased trade between Pakistan and Iran

Major Irritants in Iran and Pakistan relations:

- a) Close ties of Pakistan with Saudi Arabia:
- b) Sectarian attacks in Pakistan:
Sectarian attacks in Pakistan against the Shia Muslims are viewed with great concern in Iran
- c) Alleged attacks of militant groups launched in Iran from Baluchistan, Pakistan:
Iran alleges Pakistan of supporting anti-Iran militants. Iran believes that Pakistan support these militants for causing unrest in Iran's Siestan and Baluchestan province
- d) Cross border attacks of Iran in Baluchistan, Pakistan:
On the pretext of targeting anti-Iran militants, Iran often carries out cross border attacks in Pakistan.
- e) Gawadar and Chabahar competition:
Iran is building Chabahar port in Southeastern Iran with the help of India. The aim of the port is to provide India access to Central Asia .Pakistan fears that after the construction of Chabahar, Indian presence in Iran and Central Asia would increase. On the other hand, Pakistan is constructing Gawadar with the aim of linking Pakistan to Central Asia. In these circumstances, competition is likely to increase between both ports.
- f) Contradictory interests in Afghanistan:

Iran opposes the return of Taliban to power in Afghanistan. Iran favors major role for non-Pashtun and Shia population in any ruling structure formed in Afghanistan. In contrast, Pakistan supports major role for Pashtuns in any government setup in Afghanistan.

Steps for Improving Pakistan's Relations with Iran

- a) Need for creating a balanced relation with Saudi Arabia and Iran
- b) By addressing the concerns of Iran relating to attacks launched by militants alleged to be based in Pakistan
- c) By holding meaningful talks with Iranian officials to increase border security in order to halt the infiltration of militants or smugglers in Iran

Conclusion:

- Pakistan should try to cultivate friendly relations with Iran because trade and cooperation with Iran is necessary for the development of Pakistan.

PAKISTAN-SAUDI ARABIA RELATIONS

Introduction:

- Saudi Arabia is a strategic partner of Pakistan
- The two countries' military, diplomatic and politico-economic ties date back to the 1960s

Saudi Arabia's support for Pakistan during its wars with India:

- Saudi Arabia strongly supported Pakistan in its wars with India in 1965 and 1971. Saudis have also been supporting Pakistan's stance on Kashmir

Pakistan and Saudi cooperation against Soviet Union in Afghanistan and their support for Taliban:

- Pakistani and Saudi interests have largely been in alignment in Afghanistan, particularly since the Soviet-Afghan war. Both countries initially supported the Afghan mujahidin and later the Afghan Taliban.
- Pakistani and Saudi support for the Taliban regime in Afghanistan in the 1990s greatly annoyed Iran. The Saudis' trust in the Taliban began to diminish after 1998, when they felt that the Taliban were unwilling to stop supporting Osama bin Laden

Financial assistance of Saudi Arabia to Pakistan:

- Saudi Arabia has been providing key financial assistance to Pakistan, including in the form of oil supplies at critical moments.
- When Pakistan conducted nuclear tests in 1998 the international community imposed sanctions against it, while Saudi Arabia provided the country with free oil
- Most recently, in early 2014 the Saudi government provided \$1.5 billion in financial assistance to Pakistan, apparently to help the country resolve the chronic circular debt problem in its power sector.

Defense and military ties between Saudi Arabia and Pakistan:

- Established in the 1960s, defense and military-to-military ties between the two countries, mainly linked to the training of Saudi military officers, have remained largely cordial.

A bilateral programme of cooperation on this issue was signed in 1967. Later, in December 1982, the Organisation of Saudi-Pakistani Armed Forces was founded. Since then Pakistani troops have been stationed in parts of Saudi Arabia, including a brigade in Tabuk and another at Khamis Mushahid.

- In the early 1990s, when Iraqi president Saddam Hussain invaded Kuwait, Pakistan sent another battalion to Saudi Arabia
- Also, the two countries held joint military exercises for the first time in 2004 named AlSamsaam (Sharp Sword), which continued in subsequent years.
- Pakistani troops took part in the North Thunder military exercises recently. The exercise included troops from twenty Muslim states. The purpose of the exercise was to sharpen counterterrorism skills.

Saudi Arabia ties with Pakistan during Pakistan People’s Party regime (2008-2013):

- The Saudis did not fully trust the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) government (2008-13), mainly due to the party’s so-called secular and anti-security establishment image and Saudi suspicions of President Asif Ali Zardari’s Shia background.
- Saudi distrust of the political leadership of the ruling party increased further when Zardari signed a gas pipeline deal with Iran on January 31st 2013
- However, military and defence links between the two countries remained strong during this period. The then-chief of army staff, General Kayani, described Saudi Arabia as “the most important country for Pakistan” in 2011 – the year when Osama bin Laden’s killing and NATO air strikes on the Salala border post in the Pakistani tribal areas had strained Pakistan’s relations with the U.S.

Saudi Arabia ties with the government of Nawaz Sharif (Current government) :

- The government led by Prime Minister Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, which came to power in 2013, regained an enthusiasm for diplomatic and strategic ties with Saudi Arabia. Due to Nawaz Sharif’s personal relations with the Saudi royal family and the latter’s support for and rescue of him after General Musharraf’s 1999 military takeover, the Nawaz government was naturally perceived as being more inclined towards Saudi Arabia.
- However, this enthusiasm was recently watered down when the government refused to send army troops to join Saudi-led combat forces in Yemen. This decision was taken in light of recommendations that emerged during the joint session of Parliament held in April 2015.

Iran factor in Saudi and Pakistan relations:

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- One of the main factors affecting Saudi Arabia's efforts to strengthen its political and religiousideological foothold in Pakistan has been its desire to counter Iranian influence in the region General Zia's military takeover in Pakistan in 1977, the Iranian revolution of 1979, and the Soviet-Afghan war in Afghanistan brought Pakistan and Saudi Arabia closer not only in religious ideological terms, but also in emerging regional strategic alliances.
- In the 1980s and early 1990s Pakistan also witnessed the emergence of Sunni and Shia sectarian groups, including violent ones, allegedly supported by Saudi Arabia and Iran, respectively. While the Iranian revolution inspired the Shia groups, the Saudi-Pakistani alliance in Afghanistan and General Zia's Islamisation policies, which were oriented around Sunni Islam, did the same for Sunni groups.
- Since 2001 Pakistan has successfully maintained normal relations with Iran; these relations became very warm when the PPP government was in power.
- The Saudis were unhappy about this and sought to shift the balance of relations in their favour immediately after their traditional ally, the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N), came to power in 2013.
- A marked warming up of Pakistani-Saudi relations in the first quarter of 2014, which entailed some high-level bilateral visits and the provision of \$1.5 billion in Saudi aid to Pakistan, was largely seen as the result of Saudi efforts to weaken Iranian influence in Pakistan, which had grown while the outgoing PPP government was in power.

Pakistan's refusal to help Saudi Arabia in its Yemen's adventure:

- The Iranian-backed Houthis takeover in Yemen in September 2014 added to the Saudis' regional insecurities in the Middle East and North Africa. The Saudi government badly wanted Pakistan to join the Saudi-led military campaign in Yemen against the Houthis, but Pakistan's political and military leadership decided not to send troops to Yemen.
- Despite deciding to stay neutral on Yemen, Pakistan has repeatedly expressed complete solidarity with Saudi Arabia and vowed to defend that country's territorial integrity.

Pakistan efforts for mediation between Saudi Arabia and Iran:

- Involvement of Iran in Yemen's civil war by aiding Houthi rebels, and Saudi Arabia's aerial bombardment on Yemen to counter the Houthi rebels embittered Saudi Arabia's relations with Iran
- The execution of Shia cleric Nimr who was vocal against the policies of Saudi regime sent waves of anger in Iran. Angry protesters charged Saudi embassy in Iran. Resultantly, diplomatic relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran were cut off.

- In these circumstances, Pakistan's Army Chief and Prime Minister visited Saudi Arabia and Iran to restore the diplomatic relations between both countries and reduce the hostility which had engulfed both countries after the execution of Nimr at the hands of Saudi regime

Conclusion

Pakistan and Saudi Arabia relations are likely to get deeper in the future. However, Pakistan should try to keep itself away from the military adventure of Saudi Arabia in Iran. Moreover, Pakistan should try to maintain balanced relations with Saudi Arabia and Iran.

PAKISTAN-INDONESIA RELATIONS

Introduction

- During Indonesia's National Revolution, Muhammad Ali Jinnah encouraged Muslim soldiers serving in British Indian Army to join hands with Indonesians in their fight against the Dutch Imperial colonization of Indonesia.
- Pakistan's relationship with Indonesia greatly developed under General Ayub Khan.

1. Defense Cooperation

- Pakistan has signed a memorandum of understanding on defense cooperation.

2. Trade Relationship

- Bilateral trade between Pakistan and Indonesia can be fruitful.
- Indonesia exports Pakistan's Palm oil.

3. Peoples' Traffic

- Apart from the Pakistanis living in Indonesia, there are close to 100 Indonesian students studying in various Pakistani universities
- There are several Pakistani military personnel training in Indonesian military academies, whereas there are also several Indonesian military personnel training in Pakistani military academies.
- Islamic religious students from Indonesia come to Pakistan for religious education.

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4. Humanitarian cooperation

- Pakistan's Army Task Force and the Pakistan's Islamic Medical Association provided medical and relief items to Indonesia, following the 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami.

- Indonesia has been instrumental in sending 15 tons of medicine and food supplies amounting to the equivalent of \$1 million and dispatching some doctors to Pakistan during the 2010 Pakistan floods

5. Bilateral visits

- Indonesia's President Megawati Sukarnoputri paid a 3-days official visit to Islamabad in December 2003.
- Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono visited Pakistan in 2005.
- Former Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf visited Indonesia in Jan 2007, and held talks with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.
- In November 2010, Pakistani Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi visited Indonesia and held bilateral talks on trade, terrorism and current situation in Afghanistan and Middle East.

6. Pak-Indonesia trade growing as ties deepen

- Trade volume should have been more, given our historic relations and complementarities in our economies," the Pakistani Ambassador said of the economic ties. "Fortunately, the situation has started changing for better only now.
- It is expected that the mutual trade arrangement with Indonesia will also contribute to enhancing trade linkages with other economies in the Asean region and help in diversification of Pakistani export markets.
- Indonesia allowed Pakistani Oranges to be shipped to Tanjung Port of Jakarta. Through these steps, Pakistani agriculture products will gain greater market access in Indonesia, the statement added.

7. Conclusion

PAKISTAN-UNITED STATES RELATIONS

Introduction

- **United States of America remains one of the first countries to have established diplomatic ties with Pakistan. Although the relationship dates back to October 20, 1947, it can be extrapolated that the relations have been based strictly on military and economic support.**
- **United States has been termed a fair weather friend by Pakistan**

Beginning of United States and Pakistan relations

- During the initial years of Pakistan, the country had the options of building allegiance with Soviet Union or United States; however, Pakistan opted for the latter.
- **In 1954** Pakistan signed Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement with the United States in May.
- **In 1956** President Dwight Eisenhower requested Prime Minister Suhrawardy to lease Peshawar Air Station to the American Army for keeping an eye on Soviet Union and its ballistic missile programme. The request was granted by the Prime Minister.

United States and India-Pakistan war of 1965 and 1971

- India and Pakistan war of 1965 led US to place economical and military embargoes on Pakistan, which resulted in an economic collapse.
- During 1971's war, US is speculated to have provided Pakistan with arms and military aid, in order to discourage India from penetrating further into the cities of Pakistan because losing Pakistan meant losing an important ally in the war against Soviet Union.

United States and Pakistan relations during the era of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1971-1977)

- Although Bhutto was considered a socialist, he was a close and respected friend of President Nixon, which went in Pakistan's favour.
- President Jimmy Carter, an anti-socialist, won the presidential election of US and announced to seek a ban on nuclear weapons.
- Bhutto lost the favours he enjoyed whilst Nixon was US president as Carter did not appreciate his policies and tightened already placed embargoes on Pakistan. However, Bhutto managed to procure items to enhance his atomic bomb project. President Carter and his administration allegedly threatened Bhutto to disrupt the process of atomic proliferation and research to which the latter did not agree, leading to his differences with the Americans.

United States and Pakistan relations during the era of Zia ul Haq (1979-1988)

- During Zia ul Haq's regime, Pakistan and United States enjoyed a warm and congenial relationship, which was primarily based on military ties and advancements. During the decade, US, along with CIA and ISI, launched billions of dollars worth of operations to prevent Soviet forces from further advancing into the region.

Adoption of Pressler amendment by U.S congress:

- By the end of General Zia's regime, Congress adopted Pressler amendment. The amendment banned major military and economical aid to Pakistan unless the state was able to justify and provide sufficient evidence that the funds are not being used for nuclear proliferation.
- US, under the Pressler amendment, imposed sanctions on Pakistan, as the country by then had lost its strategic importance.

Nuclear tests of Pakistan and Glenn amendment:

- In 1998 Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif conducted nuclear test in Balochistan, in retaliation to similar tests conducted by India, which invited the wrath of Clinton's administration on both the countries. President Clinton imposed sanctions under Glenn amendment on India as well as Pakistan.
- However, in July of 1998, US lifted the sanctions on both the countries for purchasing agricultural products from US farmers. Later in the year President Clinton exercised his waiver on lifting restrictions on the activities of US banks in Pakistan.

Pakistan and United States relation after 9/11:

- After the 9/11 attacks and US's invasion in various countries to eradicate militancy, Pakistan became one of the most important strategic allies for United States.
- in 2001, US officials introduced a bill to lift all the sanctions, previously imposed on Pakistan under Pressler and Glenn amendments.
- In 2003, United States officially forgave \$1 billion worth of loan it had granted to Pakistan in a goodwill gesture and appreciation for Pakistan's cooperation.
- Since 2004, US army has launched various drone strikes on the north-western side of the country. The drone strikes aim to target Pakistani Taliban and supporters of al Qaeda, however, the strikes have also resulted in large civilian deaths and caused much opposition from Pakistanis.
- In the June of 2008, an air strike by the US Army killed 11 paramilitary soldiers of Pakistan Army Frontier Corps, along with eight Taliban. The strike and deaths

instigated a fierce reaction from Pakistani command calling the act to have shaken the foundations of mutual trust and cooperation.

- In the beginning of 2011, Raymond Davis, a CIA agent in Pakistan killed two Pakistani men in Lahore, claiming that they came to rob him. Davis was taken into custody for killing civilians, however, American officials claimed that he was entitled to diplomatic immunity and must be released immediately.
- In the May of 2011, Osama bin Laden was killed in an operation conducted by US Navy Seals in Abbottabad, Pakistan. President Barrack Obama claimed that the information pertaining to the operation conducted in Abbottabad was not shared with Pakistan Army. However, ISI claimed that the operation was conducted jointly.
- US-Pakistan relations plummeted again when 24 Pakistani soldiers died in an air strike by the US Army on 26 November 2011. Afghan and US officials claimed that the firing was the result of the attack launched from the Pakistani side of the border, however, the Pakistani military and government denied the claims.
- As a result of the attack, Pakistani government ordered US army to evacuate Salala air base which was being used to launch offensive on Taliban and militants. Moreover, the government also halted Nato supplies for United States.
- Pakistan, on July 3 2012, agreed to reopen key supply routes into Afghanistan ending a bitter stand-off after US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said she was sorry for the loss of life in a botched air raid.
- Recently, United States has supported the role of Pakistan in tackling militancy at home. Moreover, Pakistan is a major player in returning stability and peace to Afghanistan because it enjoys considerable influence over Afghan Taliban. These reasons increase the relevance of Pakistan for United States.
- Refusal of United States' Congress to sell subsidized F-16 plane to Pakistan and allegations of Congress against Pakistan for not taking action against the Haqqani network based in Pakistan has caused bitterness in the relations of both countries

Conclusion:

- As long as Pakistan continues to be of relevance to the United States, relations between both countries would remain cordial.

PAKISTAN AND CHANGING REGIONAL APPARATUS

1. Geostrategic location of Pakistan and the region 2. Changing Regional Dynamics

- Political rivalry in Afghanistan, Indo-Afghan, Pakistan, a deadly triangle
- US withdrawal from Afghanistan and the future concerns of Pakistan, India, Iran, China and US
- US-Indian alignment
- Major political rivalry in South China Sea
- Iranian nukes and their engagement with US
- Increasing Iran's role in regional politics and its impacts upon Pakistan
- Chahbahar and Gwadar port and Indian tensions
- TAPI and addressing the challenge of energy in the region
- Russia-China détente, and China's neutrality on Ukraine issue

3. Current status of Pakistan in the region

4. Pakistan-China relations as the driving force of changing regional apparatus:

- One belt one board and its impacts on Pakistan
- Xinjiang provincial issue and Pakistan's role
- China-Pakistan economic corridor (CPEC)

5. Irritants which are debarring Pakistan from taking maximum benefit out of this changing situation:

- Terrorism
- Arab-Iran proxy war in Yemen
- Divergent Indian interests
- Major power's alignment with India and Pakistan
- Social internal challenges faced by Pakistan

6. Suggestions for improving Pakistan's position in the region

- SAARC should play pro-active role in regional stability

- Afghanistan's sovereign status should be ensured
- Pakistan-India convergence is essential
- Power politics should be avoided

7. Conclusion

KASHMIR ISSUE

1. Introduction

The Kashmir conflict is a territorial conflict between India and Pakistan which started just after partition of India. India and Pakistan have fought three wars over Kashmir, including the Indo-Pakistan Wars of 1947, 1965 and 1999. India claims the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir.

2. Background

Following the First Anglo-Sikh War (1845–1846), Kashmir was ceded under the Treaty of Lahore to the East India Company, which transferred it to Gulab Singh through the Treaty of Amritsar, in return for the payment of indemnity owed by the Sikh empire. Gulab Singh took the title of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. From then until the 1947 Partition of India, Kashmir was ruled by the Maharajas of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. According to the 1941 census, the state's population was 77 % Muslim, 20 % Hindu and 3 % others (Sikhs and Buddhists).

British rule in India ended in 1947 with the creation of a new state: the Dominion of Pakistan alongside the Union of India, the successor state to British India, while British suzerainty over the 562 Indian princely states ended. According to the Indian Independence Act 1947, "the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses and with it, all treaties and agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and the rulers of Indian States." States were thereafter left to choose whether to join India or Pakistan or to remain independent. Jammu and Kashmir, the largest of the princely states, had a predominantly Muslim population ruled by the Hindu Maharaja Hari Singh.

3. Hostility between India and Pakistan for the resolution of Kashmir issue

- (i) Indo-Pakistani War of 1947
- (ii) 1965 and 1971 wars
- (iii) 1999 Conflict in Kargil

4. Pakistan's view on the issue of Kashmir

- (i) The popular Kashmiri insurgency demonstrates that the Kashmiri people no longer wish to remain within India.
- (ii) According to the Two-Nation Theory, one of the theories that are cited for the partition that created India and Pakistan, Kashmir should have been with Pakistan, because it has a Muslim majority.

- (iii) India has shown disregard for the resolutions of the UN Security Council and the United Nations Commission in India and Pakistan by failing to hold a plebiscite to determine the future allegiance of the state.
- (iv) Pakistan was of the view that the Maharaja of Kashmir had no right to call in the Indian army, because it held that the Maharaja of Kashmir was not a hereditary ruler and was merely a British appointee, after the British defeated Ranjit Singh who ruled the area before the British conquest.
- (v) Pakistan has noted the widespread use of extrajudicial killings in Indian held Kashmir carried out by Indian security forces while claiming they were caught up in encounters with militants. These encounters are commonplace in Indian held Kashmir. The encounters go largely uninvestigated by the authorities, and the perpetrators are spared criminal prosecution.

5. India's view on the issue of Kashmir

- (i) India holds that the Instrument of Accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to the Union of India, signed by Maharaja Hari Singh (erstwhile ruler of the State) on 25,October 1947 and executed on 27,October 1947between the ruler of Kashmir and the Governor- General of India was a legal act and completely valid in terms of the Government of India Act (1935), Indian Independence Act (1947) as well as under international law and as such was total and irrevocable.
- (ii) The Constituent assembly of Jammu and Kashmir had unanimously ratified the Maharaja's Instrument of Accession to India and adopted a constitution for the state that called for a perpetual merger of Jammu and Kashmir with the Union of India. India claims that the constituent assembly was a representative one, and that its views were those of the Kashmiri people at the time.
- (iii) United Nations Security Council Resolution 1172 tacitly accepts India's stand regarding all outstanding issues between India and Pakistan and urges the need to resolve the dispute through mutual dialogue without the need for a plebiscite in the framework of UN Charter.
- (iv) United Nations Security Council Resolution 47 cannot be implemented since Pakistan failed to withdraw its forces from Kashmir, which was the first step in implementing the resolution. India is also of the view that Resolution 47 is obsolete, since the geography and demographics of the region have permanently altered since its adoption. The resolution was passed by United Nations Security Council under Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter and as such is non-binding with no mandatory enforceability, as opposed to resolutions passed under Chapter VII. India does not accept the two-nation theory that forms the basis of Pakistan's claims and considers that Kashmir, despite being a Muslim-majority state, is in many ways an "integral part" of secular India.
- (v) The state of Jammu and Kashmir has been provided with significant autonomy under Article 370 of the Constitution of India.
- (vi) All differences between India and Pakistan, including Kashmir, need to be settled through bilateral negotiations as agreed to by the two countries under the Simla Agreement signed on 2 July 1972.

6. Solutions proposed for the resolution of the Kashmir Dispute

During the last five and a half decades, a number of solutions have been proposed by analysts to resolve the Kashmir dispute. These possible solutions can be roughly categorised into four major groups, each group expanding on a particular method. These groups are as follows:

(i) Plebiscite

- (a) Hold a plebiscite for the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir under the auspices of the United Nations. The plebiscite should conform to the original commitment between Lord Mountbatten and the Maharaja, which was repeatedly supported by Indian Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the wake of Partition.

- (b) Hold a U.N. supervised partial plebiscite in only the Kashmir Valley, and partition the remaining state.
- (c) Hold a (limited or comprehensive) plebiscite on some future date under the supervision of neutral and impartial international observers.
- (d) Hold a (limited or comprehensive) plebiscite under the joint supervision of India and Pakistan.

(ii) Partition

- (a) Partition the state on the basis of communal composition, apportioning the Muslim majority areas to Pakistan and non-Muslim territory of J&K especially Jammu and Ladakh to India.
- (b) Partition the state along the UN cease-fire line.
- (c) Partition the state along the Line of Control (LoC) with minor adjustments with a view to straighten the border.
- (d) Integrate Azad Kashmir and Baltistan with Pakistan; Jammu and Ladakh with India; and hold a plebiscite in the Kashmir valley. The UN will govern the plebiscite and its subsequent implementation. Partition the state in congruence with an agreed upon formula, keeping the strategic needs of both Pakistan and India in mind.
- (e) Integrate Azad Kashmir and Baltistan into Pakistan; Jammu and Ladakh into India; and accord independent status to the Kashmir valley, to be guaranteed by India, Pakistan, and the great powers.

(iii) Independence

- (a) Award independent status to the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir, to be respected and guaranteed by both regional and global powers.
- (b) Make the Kashmir Valley an independent state, and integrate the rest of the territories with India (Ladakh and Jammu) and Pakistan (Azad Kashmir and Baltistan). International guarantees are necessary for this solution.
- (c) Make both Azad Kashmir and occupied Kashmir UN trust territories. Grant independence after a decade of UN-supervised rule.
- (d) Make only the Kashmir Valley a UN trust territory, and allow Pakistan to integrate Azad Kashmir and Baltistan, giving India defacto control over Jammu and Ladakh.

(iv) Condominium/Confederation

- (a) Establish a condominium of both Pakistan and India over the whole of Kashmir, with maximum autonomy for the state. This solution implies joint management of the state's external and defense affairs by India and Pakistan.
- (b) Grant only the Kashmir Valley condominium status, and partition the rest of the state between India and Pakistan.
- (c) Establish a condominium of SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) for either the entire J & K or the Kashmir Valley alone.
- (d) Form a confederation of Pakistan, India and Kashmir, with maximum autonomy to each of the constituent unit.

PALESTINE ISSUE

1. Introduction

- The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is rooted in a seemingly intractable dispute over land claimed by Jews as their biblical birthright and by the Palestinians, who seek self-determination.
- Despite repeated attempts to end the conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians, there is no peace settlement in sight. Israel-Palestine has become a war zone

2. Historical Overview

- World War 1 and the collapse of Ottoman Empire
- In November 1917, before Britain had conquered Jerusalem and the area to be known as Palestine, Britain issued the Balfour Declaration
- The declaration stated Britain's support for the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine, without violating the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities
- The Jewish immigration to Israel continued to grow significantly during the period of British Mandate which was opposed by the Arab population in Palestine
- On May 14, 1948 one day before the British Mandate expired; David Ben-Gurion declared the establishment of the State of Israel

3. Key events after establishment of Israel

- Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel sparked a full-scale war (1948 Arab–Israeli War)
- The war resulted in an Israeli victory, with Israel annexing territory beyond the partition borders for a proposed Jewish state and into the borders for a proposed Palestinian Arab state. Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt signed the 1949 Armistice Agreements with Israel
- In 1956 Israeli forces captured Gaza and the Sinai Peninsula, but were forced to evacuate back to the armistice lines as a result of UN pressure led by the US and the Soviet Union
- The 1967 Arab- Israel war, which lasted only six days, established Israel as the dominant regional military power. Israel captured the West Bank from Jordan, the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, and the Golan Heights from Syria.
- The Palestinian national movement emerged as a major actor after 1967 in the form of the political and military groups that made up the Palestine Liberation Organization
- Israel regards Jerusalem as its "eternal capital." Arabs consider East Jerusalem part of the occupied West Bank and want it to be the capital of a Palestinian state.
- Egypt and Syria attacked Israeli forces in the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights in October 1973. The war was brought to an end by the intervention of United States
- In late 1977, Sadat decided to initiate a separate overture to Israel. His visit to Jerusalem on November 19, 1977 led to the Camp David accords and the signing of an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty in 1979.

- In December 1987, the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza started a mass uprising against the Israeli occupation
- the Palestine National Council (a Palestinian government-in-exile), convened in Algeria in November 1988, recognized the state of Israel, proclaimed an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and renounced terrorism
- The Israeli government claimed that nothing had changed and that the PLO was a terrorist organization
- The deeply flawed "peace process" initiated at Oslo, combined with the daily frustrations and humiliations inflicted upon Palestinians in the occupied territories, converged to ignite a second intifada beginning in late September 2000

4. Efforts for Peace:

○ Oslo Accords (1993)

- A crucial milestone in this process was Arafat's letter of recognition of Israel's right to exist.
- The crux of the Oslo agreement was that Israel would gradually cede control of the Palestinian territories over to the Palestinians in exchange for peace.
- Sadly, no agreement could be reached as a result of Oslo accords

○ Camp David Summit (2000)

- In July 2000, U.S. President Bill Clinton convened a peace summit between Palestinian President Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak.
- On borders, Israel offered to withdraw from over 90 percent of the West Bank, exclusive of Jerusalem and its environs, but wanted to annex those parts of the West Bank and Gaza with major Jewish settlements closest to Israel proper and possibly retain part of the Jordan valley
- The Palestinians insisted on Israel withdrawing from all the territory captured in the 1967 War, including all of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem.

○ Taba Summit (2001):

- The Israeli negotiation team presented a new map at the Taba Summit in Taba, Egypt in January 2001. The proposition removed the "temporarily Israeli controlled" areas. However, Prime Minister Ehud Barak did not conduct further negotiations at that time; the talks ended without an agreement.

○ Road Map for Peace (2002):

- One peace proposal, presented by the Quartet of the European Union, Russia, the United Nations and the United States on September 17, 2002, was the Road Map for Peace.
- Israel did not accept this proposal

○ Israeli–Palestinian talks in 2007 and 2009:

- From December 2006 to mid-September 2008, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and President Mahmoud Abbas of the Palestinian Authority met 36 times
- However, an Israeli military offensive in Gaza wiped out dialogue between Israel's Ehud Olmert and the Palestinian Authority's Mahmoud Abbas.

○ 2010 direct talks:

- In September 2010, the Obama administration pushed to revive the stalled peace process by getting the parties involved to agree to direct talks for the first time in about two years.
 - The talks aimed to put the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to an official end by forming a twostate solution for the Jewish and Palestinian peoples, promoting the idea of everlasting peace
 - The Israeli government rejected any possible agreement with Palestine as long as it refuses to recognize Israel as a Jewish state.
- **2013–14 Israeli–Palestinian peace talks**
- Direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians began on 29 July 2013 following an attempt by United States Secretary of State John Kerry to restart the peace process.
 - In April 2014, Israel suspended talks due to the new Palestinian Unity Government.
- **Solutions for Peace:**
- **Israel’s right to exist:**
- All Palestinians and all Arabs must recognize Israel’s right to exist
- **Palestinians’ right to exist:**
- Since 1967, Palestinians’ right to exist has been implicitly denied by Israeli occupation. A peace treaty will not be successful unless Palestinians are granted an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza
- **Israeli settlements:**
- Israel must not only end building settlements in the West Bank. It must dismantle its existing settlements and return the land to Palestinians. As a matter of compromise, Israel and the Palestinians could (and probably should) agree that all settlements needn’t be dismantled. In exchange, however, Palestinians should get a square mile of Israeli land for every square mile of West Bank land taken up by an Israeli settlement.
- **Two-State Solution:**
- The two-state solution adheres to the establishment of an independent sovereign Israeli state and an Arab state in Palestine.
- **Jerusalem:**
- Israel considers Jerusalem its capital. Palestinians will not accept a state without Jerusalem as their capital. . Both sides are right. East Jerusalem belongs to Palestinians. The rest of Jerusalem belongs to Israel. Both can accommodate their capitals there. Jerusalem is one of the greatest cities in the world. It should live up to its name—the city of peace.
- 6. Conclusion**
- America should involve the United Nations, European Union, Russia, and its Arab allies in a concerted effort to generate internal pressure on Israel to find solution to this conflict. The United Nations should see that the peace processes and all agreements between Israel and Palestine should be free from imperialistic desires of the external actors.
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GLOBALISATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- **Definition** ○ **Introduction** ○ **Approaches to Globalisation**
 - (a) Neoliberal Globalisation
 - (b) Underground Globalisation
 - (c) Al Qaeda-led Jihadist Globalisation
 - (d) Keynesian Globalisation
 - (e) Green Globalisation

- **Globalisation and International Relations** ○ **Globalisation and International System**
 - (a) IGOs
 - (b) Regional Organisations
 - (c) Private Sector Institutions
 - (d) Free Trade
 - (e) Integrated Global Economy

- **Globalisation and Sovereignty of a State** ○ **Global Transformations** ○ **Impacts of Globalisation**
 - (a) Globalisation of Communication
 - (b) Global Migration
 - (c) International Organised Crimes
 - (d) Globalisation of diseases

- **Advantages and Disadvantages** ○ **Exacting benefits from Globalisation** ○ **Conclusion**

EDUCATION

“Education can be dangerous. It is very difficult to make it not dangerous. In fact, it is almost impossible. The only way you can prevent education from being dangerous is to try and develop an educational system in which the pupil is exposed to no ideas whatsoever”. (Robert Hutchins)

1. Introduction

- It is mandated in the Constitution of Pakistan to provide free and compulsory education to all children between the ages of 5-16 years and enhance adult literacy.
- With the 18th constitutional amendment the concurrent list which comprised of 47 subjects was abolished and these subjects, including education, were transferred to federating units as a move towards provincial autonomy.
- The year 2015 was important in the context that it marks the deadline for the participants of Dakar declaration (Education For All [EFA] commitment) including Pakistan.
- Education related statistics coupled with Pakistan's progress regarding education targets set in Vision 2030 and Pakistan's lagging behind in achieving EFA targets and its Millennium Development Goals(MDGs) for education call for an analysis of the education system of Pakistan and to look into the issues and problems it is facing so that workable solutions could be recommended.

2. What is Education System?

- The system of education includes all institutions that are involved in delivering formal education (public and private, for-profit and nonprofit, onsite or virtual instruction) and their faculties, students, physical infrastructure, resources and rules.
- In a broader definition the system also includes the institutions that are directly involved in financing, managing, operating or regulating such institutions (like government ministries and regulatory bodies, central testing organizations, textbook boards and accreditation boards).
- The rules and regulations that guide the individual and institutional interactions within the set up are also part of the education system.

3. Education system of Pakistan:

- The education system of Pakistan is comprised of 260,903 institutions and is facilitating 41,018,384 students with the help of 1,535,461 teachers. The system includes 180,846 public institutions and 80,057 private institutions.
- Hence 31% educational institutes are run by private sector while 69% are public institutes.

4. Why Does Reform Fail?

- It is not immediately obvious why the Pakistani public education system functions so poorly relative to other institutions of Pakistani society – which are arguably much less essential. Defence, the textile industry, power, telecommunications, airlines, roads, railways, irrigation, etc. provide examples.
- A visit to the ministry in Islamabad will reveal that it's badly kept and disorganized premises are swamped by parents who come to get their failed children promoted to the next class, and by teachers who want their transfers made or revoked.

5. Ideological Roadblocks

The first page of the Pakistani ministry of education website defines the priorities of education in clear terms:

Education and training should enable the citizens of Pakistan to lead their lives according to the teachings of Islam as laid down in the Qur'an and Sunnah and to educate and train them as a true practicing Muslim. To evolve an integrated system of national education by bringing Deeni Madaris and modern schools

closer to each stream in curriculum and the contents of education. Nazira Qur'an will be introduced as a compulsory component from grade I-VIII while at secondary level translation of the selected verses from the Holy Qur'an will be offered.

- This statement of objectives does not emphasize cultivating civic virtues and producing socially responsible, thoughtful, and well-informed individuals.
- It does not ask for creating a mindset that can readily accept Pakistan's diversity of religions, languages, and cultures.
- Education reform is far more difficult to effect than, say, changing the health, transportation, or banking systems. These do not involve ideological matters at any deep level. But schooling does because teaching the young must deal fundamentally with the self-image of a society, its aspirations, and history.
- In broad terms, the end goal of modern education is to produce an informed citizenry – one that can make rational choices, and tolerate diversity and dissent.

6. Towards Reform: Crucial Action Areas

- Underlying any real improvement in education requires that society accept, at least in principle, that education is a vehicle for change and progress rather than a means of simply preserving tradition and culture.

7. Curriculum

- By an act of parliament (1974), the curriculum for all schools in Pakistan is uniform – all schools in all four provinces, whether Urdu medium or English medium, must follow it.
- The legal authority for devising curricula is the Curriculum Wing (CW) of the Federal Ministry of Education, and its decisions cannot be challenged.

8. Textbooks

- Sheer volume makes text book publishing highly lucrative. Textbook boards in Punjab and Sind, together with their favoured authors, make huge profits in spite of often publishing badly written books that have frequent conceptual, pedagogical, and printing mistakes.

9. Examinations

- Pakistani education is strongly examination driven; exams provide the incentive to study. But with cheating in examinations, and continuing emphasis on rote memorization, the examination system has become corrupt and dysfunctional.

10. Teachers' Training

- As a very rough guess, there are probably no more than a few hundred science teachers in all Pakistani schools combined who understand what they teach, and can be therefore considered proper teachers.
- Teachers' training is a disaster area, and the planners' first instinct should be to invest massively in teachers' training.

11. School Management

- Community, private non-profit, and private for-profit schools, are far more efficient delivery vehicles for quality education.

- Since the local urban or rural community would be the principal gainers/losers in such a change, their input into the selection of the new administration would be imperative.

12. Pakistani Higher Education

- Universities are key institutions of the modern world, the cradles of knowledge in its many diverse forms, and the fountainheads of modern science.
- Reforming Pakistan's universities requires, at the outset, a clear vision of the purpose such institutions must accomplish.

13. Analysis of education system in Pakistan

- Pakistan has expressed its commitment to promote education and literacy in the country by education policies at domestic level and getting involved into international commitments on education.
- In this regard national education policies are the visions which suggest strategies to increase literacy rate, capacity building, and enhance facilities in the schools and educational institutes.

14. Issues

(a) Education for All (EFA) Commitment

- The EFA goals focus on early childhood care and education including pre-schooling, universal primary education and secondary education to youth, adult literacy with gender parity and quality of education as crosscutting thematic and programme priorities. **(b) Vision 2030**
- Vision 2030 of Planning Commission of Pakistan looks for an academic environment which promotes the thinking mind.
- The goal under Vision 2030 is one curriculum and one national examination system under state responsibility. The strategies charted out to achieve the goal included:
 - i. Increasing public expenditure on education and skills generation from 2.7% of GDP to 5% by 2010 and 7% by 2015.
 - ii. Re-introduce the technical and vocational stream in the last two years of secondary schools.
 - iii. Gradually increase vocational and technical education numbers to 25-30% of all secondary enrolment by 2015 and 50 per cent by 2030.
 - iv. Enhance the scale and quality of education in general and the scale and quality of scientific/technical education in Pakistan in particular.

Problems: The issues lead to the comprehension of the problems which are faced in the development of education system and promotion of literacy. The study outlines seven major problems such as:

1. Lack of Proper Planning
2. Social constraints
- 3 Gender gap:
4. Cost of education:
- 5 War on Terror:
6. Funds for Education:
- 7 Technical Education:

The official data shows the allocation of funds for educational projects but there is no mechanism which ensures the proper expenditure of those funds on education.

- The existing infrastructure is not being properly utilized in several parts of the country.
- There are various challenges that include expertise, institutional and capacity issues, forging national cohesion, uniform standards for textbook development, and quality assurance.
- The faculty hiring process is historically known to be politicized. It is because of this that the quality of teaching suffers and even more so when low investments are made in teachers' training. As a result, teachers are not regular and their time at school is not as productive as it would be with a well-trained teacher.
- Inside schools there are challenges which include shortage of teachers, teacher absenteeism, missing basic facilities and lack of friendly environment.
- Out of school challenges include shortage of schools, distance – especially for females, insecurity, poverty, cultural norms, parents are reluctant or parents lack awareness.

(c) Solutions

- There is a need for implementation of national education policy and vision 2030 education goals.
- An analysis of education policy suggests that at the policy level there are several admirable ideas, but practically there are some shortcomings also.
- It may not be possible for the government at the moment to implement uniform education system in the country, but a uniform curriculum can be introduced in educational institutes of the country. This will provide equal opportunity to the students of rural areas to compete with students of urban areas in the job market.
- The federal government is paying attention to the vocational and technical training, but it is important to make the already existing vocational and technical training centers more efficient so that skilled youth could be produced.
- The provincial education departments need to work out financial resources required for realising the compliance of Article 25-A.
- Regional cooperation mechanism can also be developed to promote literacy in South Asian region. Sharing success stories, making country-specific modifications and their implementation can generate positive results.

(d) Recommendations

- Technical education should be made a part of secondary education. Classes for carpentry, electrical, and other technical education must be included in the curriculum.
- Providing economic incentives to the students may encourage the parents to send their children to school and may help in reducing the dropout ratio.
- Local government system is helpful in promoting education and literacy in the country. In local government system the funds for education would be spent on a need basis by the locality.
- Corruption in education departments is one of the factors for the poor literacy in the country. An effective monitoring system is needed in education departments.
- For any system to work it is imperative that relevant structures are developed. Legislation and structure should be framed to plan for the promotion of education in the country.
- After the 18th amendment education has become a provincial subject, therefore, the provinces should form legislations and design educational policies which ensure quality education.

- Unemployment of educated men and women is a major concern for Pakistan. There should be career counseling of the pupils in schools so that they have an understanding of job market and they can develop their skills accordingly.
- Counseling of parents is required, so that they can choose a career for their child which is market friendly.

15. Conclusion

- Twenty-three hundred years ago, Plato observed that the perfect system of education is necessary to produce the perfect society. But, on the other hand, the educational system derives from the cultural ethos and relations of power prevalent in that society.
- Thus, problems prevalent in the society at large are inevitably reflected in the education it gives to its young. This is the usual chicken-and-egg problem. Hope for a society lies in the new generation being better educated and more aware than the one that preceded it.
- The reforms required in the education system of Pakistan cannot be done by the government alone, public-private participation and a mix of formal as well as non- formal education can pull out majority of country's population from illiteracy. Similarly, to make the youth of the country an asset, attention should also be paid to vocational and technical training.

UNITED NATIONS

Introduction of the organization

- Formed after World War II
- Representatives from fifty countries met in San Francisco in 1945, where they drafted the proposed United Nations Charter
- While the UNO initially had a respectable 51 member states, currently its membership has grown to 193 member states.

Structure of the organization

- The General Assembly
- The Security Council
- The Economic and Social Council • The Trusteeship Council
- The International Court of Justice
- The Secretariat
- The UN system works through special agencies which are 13.

The UN Mandate

- Conflict resolution
- Disarmament
- Peace building and peacekeeping
- Humanitarian assistance
- Promoting development, as the role of Trusteeship Council

Challenges to the United Nations

Even little wars are dangerous in a nuclear world. The long labour of peace is an undertaking for every nation—and in this effort none of us can remain unaligned. To this goal none can be uncommitted. John F. Kennedy

- Unchallenged hegemony of some powerful nations
- The polarization of the globe along ideological lines
- Lack of the right of self-determination for the vulnerable countries like Kashmir and Palestine
- From moral to the nuclear order
- The challenges of poverty and wealth

- Humanitarian burden **Success**

at the part of UN

- Peace and Security, Peacemaking
- Sustainable Development and Poverty Alleviation
- Environment Protection
- Elimination of Racial Discrimination (apartheid in South Africa)
- Strengthening of International Law (Over 300 international treaties, on topics as varied as human rights conventions to agreements on the use of outer space and seabed have been enacted through UN efforts.)
- The [United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea](#) lays down a comprehensive regime of law and order in the world's oceans and seas establishing rules governing all uses of the oceans and their resources.
- Humanitarian aid to victims of conflict. More than 30 million refugees have received aid from the UNHCR since 1951. More than 19 million refugees, mostly women and children, are receiving food, shelter, medical aid, education and repatriation assistance.
- Alleviating chronic hunger and rural poverty in developing countries. (Over 230 million people in nearly 100 developing countries have benefited).
- Focusing on conflict prevention and sustainable development in Africa.
- Women's rights. Women empowerment (UN Development Fund for Women—UNIFEM and the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women—INSTRAW have supported programmes and projects to improve the quality of life for women in over 100 countries).
- Promoting democracy: UN has enabled people in many countries to participate in free and fair elections, including those held in Cambodia, Namibia, El Salvador, Eritrea, Mozambique, Nicaragua, South Africa, Kosovo and East Timor. It has provided electoral advice, assistance, and monitoring of results.
- Child Survival and Development.
- Health and medical research.
- Agricultural development and fisheries, education, family planning, emergency and disaster relief, air and sea travel, labour and workers' rights. **Failures of the United Nations**
- Main objective of the United Nations at its founding was to prevent future wars and suffering on a mass scale. As millions have died in hundreds of conflicts around the world in more than fifty years since the UN's establishment, it must be condemned as a failure.
- Another key objective of the United Nations has been to promote human rights worldwide, yet these continue to be violated by many regimes, often on a horrific scale, as in the genocidal civil wars in the Balkans and Central Africa in the 1990s. Given that voting

rights in the UN General Assembly are not linked to a regime's human rights record, and that gross human rights abusers such as China sit on the UN Security Council, it is no surprise that the UN has failed in this part of its agenda.

- There are also institutional problems associated with the General Assembly and the Security Council, whereby resolutions of General Assembly with widespread support can be stymied by a single veto from one of the Permanent five.
- Number of nuclear powers in the world has kept on increasing. UN Could not control the horizontal expansion and proliferation of weapons and arms.
- Financial dependence on the industrialized nations has at times deviated UN from neutrality and impartiality.
- The world body has failed to reflect the democratic aspiration of the world. Without being democratic itself, it talks of democratization of the world.
- Uni-polarity and unilateralism has shaken the relevance of the world body. Unilateral action in Iraq was bereft of UN sanction.

Pakistan and UN

- Pakistan has Contributed to UN Peacekeeping
- Promotion and maintenance of international peace and security
- Pakistan has been an elected member to the following UN bodies:
 - Security Council (2012-2013)
 - Pakistan is currently member of Human Rights Council (2013-15)
 - Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (2012-17)
 - Commission for Social Development (2013-2017)
 - Commission on the Status of Women (2013-2017)
 - Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice (2013-2015)
 - UNICEF Executive Board (2013-2015)
 - UNDP/UNFPA Executive Board (2013-2015); and United Nations Committee on Contributions (2013-16).
 - UNO's work for Afghan refugees in Pakistan
- Pakistan seeks resolution of the Kashmir dispute
- UN is actively working with Pakistan in the campaign against international terrorism.
- Pakistan and the UN millennium development goals (UNMDGs)

Conclusion

SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION (SAARC)

The basic principles embodied in the charter of SAARC are equality, territorial integrity, political independence and no interference in internal affairs of the member states.

○ Introduction

- The South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation is an economic and political organization of eight countries in South Asia.
- The combined population of members is 1.5 billion.
- **It was founded by** Bangladeshi President Zia-ur-Rehman in 1985
- **Headquarters:** Khatmandu
- **Membership:** 8 members: Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Afghanistan
- **Observers:** Australia, China, EU, Iran, Japan, Mauritius, Burma, South Korea and US,
- **Secretary General:** Arjun Bahadur Thapa

○ Organizational Structure

The SAARC comprises following layers of organizational structure:

a) **Council**

At the top, there is the Council represented by the heads of the government of the member countries. The council is the apex policy making body. It meets once in 2 years time.

b) **Council of Minister**

It is represented by the foreign minister of the member countries. Its functions include:

- Formulation of policies
- Review of functioning
- Deciding new areas of cooperation
- Decide about issues of common of interest to the SAARC member.

c) **Standing Committee**

It is comprised of the foreign secretariat of the member government. Its major functions are:

- To monitor and co-ordinate the programs
- To mobilize cooperation within and outside the region
- To deal with the modalities of financing

d) **Programming Committee**

It consists of the senior official of the member governments. Its functions include:

- scrutinizing the budget of the secretariat
- Finalizing the annual schedule
- External activities assigned by the standing committee

e) **Technical Committee**

It consists of the representatives of the member nations. Their functions are:

- To formulate projects
- To monitor and execute the projects
- To submit reports

f) **Secretariat**

Its function include

- Coordination, execution and monitoring of SAARC activities
- To work as communication link between the SAARC and other international forum

○ **Achievements of SAARC** ○ **SAPTA**

SAARC preferential trade agreement was signed on 11th April 1993. It entered into force on December 1995. Its salient features are as follows:

1. Overall reciprocity and mutuality of advantages.
2. Negotiation of trade reform step by step.
3. Recognition of special needs of least developed countries and agreement on taking preferential measures in their favour.
4. Inclusion of all products in their raw processed and semi processed form.

○ **SAFTA** (South Asian Free Trade Area)

- The agreement on SAFTA was reached at the 12th SAARC summit at Islamabad in 2004.
- It requires the developing countries in South Asia like India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka to bring their duties down to 20% in the first phase of 2 year period ending in 2007.
- In the final five years phase ending in 2012, the 20% duty will be reduced to zero in a series of annual cuts. The least developed countries in South Asia consisting of Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Maldives have an additional 3 years to reduce tariffs to zero.

Objectives:

Plus c'est la meme chose. The more things change, the more they remain the same. This French aphorism best describes the institutional character of SAARC which since its establishment in 1985 has been seeking change in our region in terms of poverty eradication and sustainable development but the change is nowhere in sight. —”

Shamshad Ahmad Khan

The objectives of the association as defined in the SAARC Charter are:

- To promote and strengthen collective self-reliance among the countries of South Asia
- To contribute to develop mutual trust, understanding and appreciation of one another's problem

- To promote active collaboration and mutual assistance in the economic, social, cultural, technical and scientific fields
- To strengthen cooperation with other developing countries
- To strengthen cooperation among themselves in international forums on matters of common interest.
- To cooperate with international and regional organizations with similar aims and purposes.

RECOMENDATIONS TO MAKE SAARC EFFECTIVE

Recommendations to make SAARC effective:

- Sincerity among the leaders of the region
- Strict adherence to aims and objectives of the body
- Efforts to resolve the regional disputes
- Implementation of South Asian Free Trade Organisation (SAFTA)
- Plugging the communication gap
- Whole hearted cooperation in the socio-politico and economic fields
- Single currency like EU's Euro
- Encouraging tourism
- Educational and technological progress
- Economic integration
- Peaceful co-existence policy (No ideological difference)

SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION (SCO)

1. Introduction

- The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is an intergovernmental organization composed of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan founded in Shanghai in 2001.
- Originally formed as a confidence-building forum to demilitarize borders, the organization's goals and agenda have since broadened to include increased military and counter terrorism cooperation and intelligence sharing.
- The SCO has also intensified its focus on regional economic initiatives like the recently announced integration of the China-led Silk Road Economic Belt and the Russia-led Eurasian Economic Union.

- While some experts say the organization has emerged as an anti-U.S. bulwark in Central Asia, others believe frictions among its members effectively preclude a strong, unified SCO.

2. What is the SCO?

- Originally organized as the Shanghai Five in 1996, the organization added Uzbekistan in 2001 and renamed itself the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.
- In addition to the six member states, the SCO has two new acceding members, India and Pakistan, four observer nations, and six dialogue partners.
- Despite these challenges, the SCO has nevertheless broadened its mandate in recent years to include joint security and economic development programs. In 2014, China hosted the bloc's [Peace Mission](#), its largest military exercise in terms of the number troops involved, more than seven thousand, and advanced weaponry deployed. Other organizational priorities are initiatives to deepen economic and energy cooperation, including establishing a bloc-wide development bank.

3. Organizational Structure

- The Council of Heads of State is the top decision-making body in the SCO. The current Council of Heads of State consists of:

- Almazbek Atambayev (Kyrgyzstan)
- Emomaliy Rahmon (Tajikistan)
- Islam Karimov (Uzbekistan)
- Xi Jinping (China)
- Nursultan Nazarbayev (Kazakhstan)
- Vladimir Putin (Russia)

4. Activities i. Cooperation on security

- The SCO is primarily centered on its member nations' [Central Asian](#) security-related concerns, often describing the main threats it confronts as being [terrorism](#), [separatism](#) and [extremism](#).

ii. Military activities

- Over the past few years, the organisation's activities have expanded to include increased military cooperation, intelligence sharing, and counterterrorism.
- The SCO has served as a platform for larger military announcements by members.
- On June 4, 2014, in the Tajik capital [Dushanbe](#), the idea was brought up to merge the SCO with the [Collective Security Treaty Organization](#). It is still being debated.

iii. Economic cooperation

- All SCO members but China are also members of the [Eurasian Economic Community](#). A Framework Agreement to enhance economic cooperation was signed by the SCO member states on 23 September 2003.
- The summit was held together with the first [BRIC](#) summit, and the China-Russia joint statement said that they want a bigger quota in the [International Monetary Fund](#).

iv. Cultural cooperation

- Cultural cooperation also occurs in the SCO framework. Culture ministers of the SCO met for the first time in [Beijing](#) on April 12, 2002, signing a joint statement for continued cooperation.

5. SCO and Pakistan

- The process of granting Pakistan full membership of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) got under way in Ufa during Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's visit in July this year and the country is expected to win the status in January 2016.
- This will provide Pakistan an opportunity to play its cards strongly with conventional development partners like the United States and multilateral donors including the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and Asian Development Bank.
- There is a common perception that the US uses these multilateral forums for political gains globally.

6. What role does the SCO play in Afghanistan?

- The SCO as a group does not have much sway in Afghanistan, though the organization considers religious extremism, terrorism, and drug trafficking in the country as potential serious threats to the region. Its neighbours share the fear that instability in Afghanistan will spread beyond its borders.
- Afghanistan was elevated from an SCO contact group to full observer status at the 2012 SCO summit in Beijing. With the presence of the [Taliban](#) and local militants aligned with the self-proclaimed Islamic State and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, and the drawdown of NATO forces, the landlocked country's security situation remains a top priority at SCO meetings.

7. Does the SCO foster economic cooperation among member states?

- Economic cooperation has become one of the organization's more pressing goals in recent years. At the Ufa summit in Russia, member states adopted the SCO Development Strategy,

which included bolstering finance, investment, and trade cooperation as a priority over the next ten years.

- Beijing has pushed the organization to focus on economic cooperation with proposals like launching a development fund and a free-trade zone.

8. How have Sino-Russian relations shaped the SCO?

- China and Russia are the twin engines of the SCO, despite offering differing visions for the organization.

9. How will membership expansion affect the SCO?

- Beijing maintains that SCO expansion would "infuse [fresh vigor](#) into the group's future development and boost its influence and appeal in the international arena."
- Moscow sees the addition of India and Pakistan as a chance to [increase](#) both the bloc's political and economic potential and boost its ability to counter pressing regional challenges.
- Meanwhile, smaller SCO members, concerned of being squeezed by the interests of two superpowers, see the inclusion of India and Pakistan as an opportunity to diversify and build new partnerships.

10. Current observers

- Putin with representatives from Iran and Mongolia, observers in the SCO, at a meeting of the Council of Heads of Government in 2005.
- [Afghanistan](#) received observer status at the 2012 SCO summit in Beijing, China on June 6, 2012.
- [Belarus](#) was granted dialogue partner status in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) in 2009, and later gained observer status in 2015.
- [India](#) has observer status in the SCO. India applied for membership in September 2014, and was approved for membership in July 2015. It is expected to join by 2016.
- [Iran](#) has observer status in the organisation, and applied for full membership on 24 March 2008. After the UN sanctions were lifted, Chinese president Xi Jinping announced its support for Iran's full membership in SCO during a state visit to Iran in January 2016.^[66]
- [Mongolia](#) became the first country to receive observer status at the 2004 Tashkent Summit. Pakistan, India and [Iran](#) received observer status at the 2005 SCO summit in [Astana](#), Kazakhstan on 5 July 2005.
- [Pakistan](#) has observer status in the SCO. Pakistani President [Pervez Musharraf](#) argued in favour of Pakistan's qualification to join the organisation as a full member during a joint summit with China in 2006.

- At the SCO Summit in 2014, China also expressed support for Pakistan's application for full membership. Pakistan applied for membership in 2006,^[71] and was approved in July 2015. It is expected to join by 2016.

11. Dialogue Partner

- [Sri Lanka](#) was granted dialogue partner status in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) at the group's 2009 summit in Yekaterinburg.
- [Turkey](#), a member of [NATO](#), was granted dialogue partner status in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) at the group's 2012 summit in Beijing.

12. Relations with the West

- Western media observers believe that one of the original purposes of the SCO was to serve as a counterbalance to [NATO](#) and in particular to avoid conflicts that would allow the United States to intervene in areas bordering both [Russia](#) and China.
- The United States applied for observer status in the SCO, but was rejected in 2005.

THE ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC COOPERATION (OIC)

1. Introduction

- The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is an intergovernmental organisation consisting of 57 Muslim or predominantly Muslim member states.
- The organization seeks to be the collective voice of the Muslim world (al-Umma). Among its top priorities are tackling Islam phobia, promoting the interests of Muslim communities across the world and consolidating Islamic states' coordination / collaboration in international forum and organizations.
- The OIC is considered the second-largest international inter-governmental organisation after the United Nations. Its headquarters are situated in Jeddah, Saudi-Arabia

2. Organizational structure

The OIC includes the following bodies:

- *Islamic Summit*
 - The Islamic Summit composed of heads of state and government of member states. The highest authority of the organization, the Islamic Summit convenes once every three years to deliberate, take policy decisions and provide guidance.
- *Council of Foreign Ministers*

- The Council of Foreign Ministers meets once a year, the Council considers means to implement the OIC's general policy. It can adopt decisions and resolutions on matters of common interest, and it reviews progress in implementing decisions and resolutions adopted by the Council and the Islamic Summit.
- *Executive Committee*
 - The Executive Committee holds decision-making powers between the ministerial meetings. The Executive Committee is composed of the chairs of the current, proceeding and succeeding Islamic Summits and Councils of Foreign Ministers, the Saudi Foreign Minister and the Secretary General.
- *Committee of permanent representatives*
 - The Committee of permanent representatives is composed of ambassadors of the member states accredited to the OIC.
- *General Secretariat*
 - The General Secretariat is the executive organ of the OIC and implements the decisions of the two political decision-making bodies.

3. Objectives of the organization

- The objectives of the organisation are promoting tolerance and moderation; modernising; pursuing extensive reforms in all spheres of activities, including science and technology, education, trade promotion.
- OIC aims at achieving political harmony, socio-economic uplift, cultural integration and advanced scientific knowledge for member states

4. Analysis

- Although a useful forum for discussion, the OIC lacks the means to implement its resolutions, which often remain as unheeded declarations. Thus, despite a 1981 call to redouble efforts "for the liberation of Jerusalem and the occupied territories" and to institute an economic boycott of Israel, several members, including Indonesia, Egypt, Jordan and Arab Gulf states, maintain economic ties with Israel.
- Furthermore, pledges for financial aid to member states or to Muslim communities suffering from civil war or natural disasters are often at best met only in part.
- As a broad organisation whose member states are widely dispersed geographically, the effectiveness of the OIC has also been constrained by the fact that many of its members have a wide variety of political orientations, from revolutionary Iran to conservative Saudi Arabia. Members have sometimes been in bitter dispute with one another, such as Iraq and Iran and Iraq and Kuwait.
- Rift between member states that grant Islam official status wanting to give official sanction to Islamic Law in both the OIC and all over the world, and member states with secular regimes that demand acting in compliance with the framework of global humanitarian values.
- The geographical dispersion of member states makes establishing common values and targets difficult. There are big differences between agendas of Brunei in Southeast Asia, Benin in West Africa, Albania in Eastern Europe and Surinam in South America. Though both are in the state-building process, Somalia and Afghanistan sharing the same political and economic

vision would be unimaginable; likewise for G-20 members Indonesia and Turkey. Even Arab countries have diverse regimes and perspectives. For example, while Saudi Arabia is an Islamic Kingdom, Tunisia has a secular state-structure.

- There are disputes between OIC member states.
- Another problem of the OIC is its failures in dispute-resolution among member states. In the Syria crisis, disagreements among its members have brought the OIC to an impasse. The OIC's weak role on major issues and inability to resolve internal disputes has caused a trust gap among member states and with nonmember states alike.
- Recommendations for making OIC effective
- Promote Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) and develop a system of collective security that all Muslim countries could bind themselves together internationally to avoid border disputes and conflict
- Promote economic cooperation and coordination among member countries to enable them to plan and sustainably manage their environment and natural resources efficiently, leading eventually to greater economic integration
- The OIC must be enabled to respond to multifarious and multifaceted challenges, from globalization to Western countries power politics. Necessary institutions such as conflict prevention between members should be created.
- There are no binding obligations on members regarding follow-up and implementation of decisions. Therefore, the OIC must evolve mechanisms to follow up the resolutions and decisions adopted by the Islamic Summit and Ministerial meetings.
- People to people contact and exchange of scholars, media persons and cultural troupes could strengthen the sentiments of Islamic solidarity and unity.
- A Crisis Management Committee which can deal with emergencies arising when the Summit Conference or ICFM is not meeting.
- An effective and powerful Secretary General of international stature could steer OIC's objectives and activities
- Allocating at least 0.5 percent of the GDP by the member states for implementing OIC objectives
- Establishing a dedicated department in the OIC secretariat for promoting intra-OIC trade.

WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION (WTO)

1. Introduction

- The WTO was born out of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which was established in 1947. A series of trade negotiations, GATT rounds began at the end of World War II and were aimed at reducing tariffs for the facilitation of global trade on goods.
- The WTO replaced GATT as the world's global trading body in 1995, and the current set of governing rules stems from the Uruguay Round of GATT negotiations, which took place throughout 1986-1994.

2. Purpose of the WTO

- The purpose of the WTO is to ensure that global trade commences smoothly, freely and predictably. The WTO creates and embodies the legal ground rules for global trade among member nations and thus offers a system for international commerce.
- The WTO aims to create economic peace and stability in the world through a multilateral system based on consenting member states that have ratified the rules of the WTO in their individual countries as well.
- This means that WTO rules become a part of a country's domestic legal system. The rules, therefore, apply to local companies and nationals in the conduct of business in the international arena. If a company decides to invest in a foreign country, by, for example, setting up an office in that country, the rules of the WTO (and hence, a country's local laws) will govern how that can be done. Theoretically, if a country is a member to the WTO, its local laws cannot contradict WTO rules and regulations, which currently govern approximately 97% of all world trade.

3. How It Functions

- Decisions are made by consensus; though a majority vote may also rule (this is very rare). Based in Geneva, Switzerland, the Ministerial Committee, which holds meetings at least every two years, makes the top decisions. There is also a General Council, a Goods Council, Services Council, and an Intellectual Property Rights Council, which all report to the General Council. Finally, there are a number of working groups and committees.
- If a trade dispute occurs, the WTO works to resolve it. If, for example, a country erects a trade barrier in the form of a customs duty against a particular country or a particular good, the WTO may issue trade sanctions against the violating country. The WTO will also work to resolve the conflict through negotiations.

4. Criticism on WTO

- Critics say that the after-effects of WTO policies are undemocratic because of the lack of transparency during negotiations.
- Opponents also argue that since the WTO functions as a global authority on trade and reserve the right to review a country's domestic trade policies, national sovereignty is compromised. For example, regulations that a country may wish to establish to protect its industry, workers or environment could be considered barriers to the WTO's aim to facilitate free trade. A country may have to sacrifice its own interests to avoid violating WTO agreements.

- Brutal regimes that are pernicious to their own countries may inadvertently be receiving concealed support from foreign governments who continue, in the name of free trade, to do business with these regimes. Unfavourable governments in favour of big business therefore remain in power at the cost of a representative government.
- One high profile WTO controversy has to do with intellectual property rights and a government's duty to its citizens versus a global authority. One well known example is HIV/AIDS treatments and the cost of patented medicines. Poor, very needy countries, such as those in South America and sub-Saharan Africa, simply cannot afford to buy these patented drugs. If they were to buy or manufacture these same drugs under an affordable generic label, which would save thousands of lives, these countries would, as members of the WTO, be in violation of intellectual property rights (TRIPS) agreements and subject to possible trade sanctions.

COMMON-WEALTH (CW)

1. Introduction

- The Commonwealth is a unique grouping of 53 developed and developing nations spread over every continent and ocean in the world. It was founded in 1931.
- Its membership reflects many religions, races, languages and cultures and its 2 billion people account for approximately 30 per cent of the world's population
- As a general rule applicant countries should have had an historic constitutional association with an existing Commonwealth member. Membership also entails acceptance of Commonwealth practices and conventions, including the use of the English language as the medium of inter-Commonwealth relations

2. The structure of modern commonwealth

The commonwealth of Nations consist of three main organs:

- ***The British Crown*** which is a symbol of commonwealth unity.
- ***Commonwealth Premiers Conference*** which meets annually to hold friendly consultations
- ***Inter-commonwealth Relations office:*** The secretary of state for commonwealth Relations, who is a member of the U.K. cabinet, looks after this office. This office work, as the secretariat of the organization and its main duty is to carry out and implement the decisions taken at the annual conference of the premiers.
- In addition, there are four subsidiary organs of the Commonwealth of Nations as indicated below:
- ***The parliamentary Association of the Commonwealth of Nations:*** consists of delegates sent by different member countries.
- ***The commonwealth Economic Bureau:*** These help the member nations in the field of agriculture and provide them technical assistance
- ***The economic Advisory Council:*** which provides up-to-date technical knowledge of the economic affairs to the members; and

3. Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings

- Every two years Commonwealth leaders meet at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) to discuss global and Commonwealth issues, and to agree on collective policies and initiatives.
- CHOGMs also provide Commonwealth leaders with a forum for informal exchanges and bilateral contact
- Commonwealth ministers from a range of portfolios meet between CHOGMs to consider specific issues relating to democracy, economics and development, women's affairs, youth, legal issues, health and education.

4. Advantages of joining the Common Wealth

- There are certain advantages to being a member-state - for instance, consular services exist for countries in good standing. Commonwealth citizens who are stuck in a country that is not

represented at a consulate by their government can get representation and a temporary "commonwealth citizen" passport issued at a British Embassy.

- In the case of certain nations, like Canada and Australia, bi-lateral agreements exist where citizens of either country in a third nation can get representation by the other country in cases where it is impossible to be served by your own ambassador.
- If any Commonwealth member country wants to promote its economy then this forum may prove very helpful for her because it is evident that many developed as well as underdeveloped countries develop their economies on this forum through different agreements.
- In keeping to the objective of promoting educational assistance in form of scholarship, technical knowledge and facilities for development Commonwealth scholarship is awarded on a yearly-basis for both undergraduate and graduate programmers. Beneficiaries are to undertake their studies within the Commonwealth countries of their choice

5. Criticism on Common Wealth

- The organization has also been criticized for not acting in line with its guiding principles, letting human rights abuses and anti-democratic activities run rampant within its memberstates without taking action.
- It is also said to be more beneficial to Commonwealth countries which are "in good standing," such as Canada and Australia, for instance. It is felt that there are more opportunities and advantages to the citizens of these nations as opposed to those of other Commonwealth nations
- Considering that it confers no trade privileges, has no influence on defence or economic policy, no executive authority and no sensible budget to play a global role it remains a talking shop at best and at worst a costly junket
- Another problem facing the organization is that the commonwealth has no charter like that of the United Nations Organization (UNO) and organization of Africa unity (Africa Union). Therefore there are no standard rules to regulate the governing or operations of the organizations. Member state no longer grants free movement to immigrant from other member countries. This situation has negative impact on bilateral relationship of member state.
- Many members belong to other international organizations and these create divided loyalty. For example, the preferential tariffs agreed upon by member states of commonwealth no longer obtain with the formation of different economic blocs in the international system. Britain herself is presently more committed to the European Economic Community (E E C) than the commonwealth.
- The commonwealth had no power and machinery to compel member states to comply with its decisions and resolutions. This of course is a serious problem that tares the organization on its face. Member states formulate different Foreign policies as dictated by their-national interest and sometimes in opposition to the common position of the commonwealth

6. Conclusion

NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND NUCLEAR SECURITY

1. INTRODUCTION

- International initiatives to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons leading to their total elimination
- **Established:** March 5, 1970
- **Parties:** 189 States
- **Exceptions:** Pakistan, India, Israel, North Korea and South Sudan

2. BACKGROUND

- Until the early 1960s, four nations (the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France) had acquired nuclear weapons.
- In 1964, China too detonated a nuclear weapon.
- In June 1968, the U.N. General Assembly endorsed the NPT with General Assembly Resolution 2373 (XXII), and in July 1968, the NPT opened for signature in Washington, DC, London and Moscow.
- The NPT entered into force in March 1970
- The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) now safeguards Nuclear NonProliferation Treaty (NPT). IAEA acts as a watchdog and makes sure nuclear technology is used only for civil purpose

3. GOALS

- **Non-proliferation of nuclear arsenal**
 - Limiting the nuclear power to 5 by discouraging them to help other states
- **Disarmament of nuclear arsenal**
 - Leaving no or least possible nuclear weapons available to use in future
- **Right to peaceful use of nuclear technology**
 - Use of civil nuclear technology for the benefit of mankind

4. PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

- Nuclear proliferation is the spread of nuclear weapons, fissionable material, and weapons-applicable nuclear technology and information to nations not recognized as "Nuclear Weapon States" by the NPT
- Proliferation is mostly applicable to nuclear weapons as biological and chemical weapons are banned.
- Proliferation is broadly categorized as;
 - a. Horizontal Nuclear proliferation
 - b. Vertical Nuclear proliferation

5. HORIZONTAL NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

Spread of weapons to states not currently possessing nuclear weapons

6. VERTICAL NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

- Increase in number and destructiveness of nuclear weapons within a state already possessing them

7. CONTROLLING THE PROLIFERATION

- Controlling the proliferation of nuclear weapons is one of the major challenges the world face as a global society
- The threat posed by the proliferation of nuclear weapons has 3 major aspects:
 1. The development of the capability for producing or acquiring nuclear weapons by countries that do not currently have nuclear weapons (horizontal proliferation).
 2. The increase of weapon stockpiles by countries that currently have nuclear weapons, the improvement of technical sophistication or reliability of these weapons, and the development of new weapons, such as “mini-nukes” or battlefield nuclear weapons (vertical proliferation).
 3. The acquisition of nuclear weapons or the materials and knowledge by individuals or non-state entities, often termed “terrorists,” to produce nuclear weapons (another form of horizontal proliferation).

8. DISARMAMENT

- It is the total elimination of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons, through the prohibition on development, production and use and destruction of all such weapons.

9. THREE MAIN PILLARS OF NPT

1. Non-Proliferation
2. Disarmament
3. Peaceful Use

10. FIRST PILLAR: NON-PROLIFERATION

- Article I, II, III of the treaty pertain to first pillar which is non-proliferation and safeguards in the framework of IAEA.
- Non-nuclear-weapon States (NNWS) agree not to import, build or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.
- Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) are obliged not to transfer nuclear weapons or explosive devices to NNWS.
- Any group of states are permitted to establish nuclear-weapon-free zones in their respective territories.

11. SECOND PILLAR: DISARMAMENT

Article VI of the NPT obliges all Parties to the Treaty to undertake "to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control".

- Non-nuclear weapon states view this 'negotiations in good faith' as an impediment to disarmament as the text does not strictly require the signatories to actually conclude Disarmament.
- Therefore, scholars are critical of the article VI of the treaty as hampers implementation of the disarmament momentum.
- The International Court of Justice in its advisory opinion 1996 on article VI notes that this obligation involves all NPT parties (not just the nuclear weapon states) and does not suggest a specific time frame for nuclear disarmament
- To many this behaviour of ICJ has provided justification to non-nuclear states to quit the NPT and develop their own nuclear arsenals
- However, on the other hand, this is the world only legally binding obligation on NWS to reduce and ultimately eliminate their nuclear weapons.

12. THIRD PILLAR: PEACEFUL USE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY

- Article IV, and V of the treaty deal with the third pillar
- All State Parties to the Treaty agree to full exchanges of equipment, materials and scientific and technological information for peaceful uses of nuclear energy.
- NNWS parties must accept and comply with International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards as a condition for peaceful nuclear co-operation.
- Mohamed ElBaradei, former Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, has called the spread of enrichment and reprocessing capabilities the "Achilles' heel" of the nuclear non-proliferation regime.

13. SUCCESS OF NPT

- 25–30 nuclear weapon states were predicted within 20 years when NPT was established
- It successfully limited the total number nuclear weapon states to 9 while only four new nuclear power could emerge in 43 years after its establishment
- Reduction in overall global nuclear arsenal

14. NPT DICHOTOMIES

- Critics argue that ostensibly NPT was drawn up to protect the world against the hazards of nuclear proliferation, but actually it was created as a tool for the big powers to manipulate to safeguard their supremacy in international politics.
- P5 are not willing to give a framework for disarmament

- India and Pakistan are confirmed nuclear powers, and Israel has a long-standing policy of deliberate ambiguity. Neither these states have signed the treaty nor the treaty has recognised them as Nuclear Weapon States.

Therefore, these states point out that the NPT creates a club of "nuclear haves" and a larger group of "nuclear have-nots" by restricting the legal possession of nuclear weapons to those states that tested them before 1967, but the treaty never explains on what ethical grounds such a distinction is valid

- Unless the three nuclear state (Pakistan, India, Israel) are incorporated into the nonproliferation regime, there will remain a gaping hole in the NPT regime
- Undue restrictions on the development of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes only serve to strengthen the monopoly of few over nuclear technology that force others to look for ways outside the Treaty

15. WORLD'S NUCLEAR DILEMMA

- The current global trends in nuclear security are not very encouraging as the world loses momentum towards 'general and complete disarmament' as envisaged in the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)
- Beyond rhetoric, there seems to no progress towards a nuclear weapon-free world
- Though the cold war is over, yet the US and Russia together alone possess, mostly on high alert, more than 95 percent of the World's nuclear weapons
- The NPT-5 are virtually saying that they can have their weapons forever, but everyone else should do without them
- The nuclear weapons states are trying to achieve security for themselves at the cost of insecurity for others which is surely not a workable situation.

16. CONCLUSION

- The prospects for a nuclear weapon-free world described as 'Global Zero' would remain elusive unless the major nuclear powers take practical steps in pursuit of Article VI of NPT

NUCLEAR POLITICS IN SOUTH ASIA

1. Introduction

- The strategic culture of South Asia is characterized by the hostility between India and Pakistan. It is important to understand the nuclear doctrine of both sides and to analyze the implication of these doctrines on the total security of South Asian region.

2. What is a Doctrine?

- Theoretically doctrine means a rule or principle that forms the basis of a theory or policy.

3. What is a Nuclear Doctrine?

- Nuclear doctrines of the contemporary world are different from the rest of the classical doctrine.
- The Nuclear doctrines are mainly of two basic types; aggressive or offensive nuclear doctrine, non aggressive or defensive nuclear doctrine.

4. Evolution of Indian Nuclear Program

- India's first attempts to begin nuclear program published by GuaravKampani in Nuclear Overview.
- As far as the India is concerned India followed Nehru's declared "peaceful nuclear program".

5. Phase 1964-1974 (China Dimension)

- Evolution of the Indian nuclear weapon program traces back to its inception.
- As compared to China India's nuclear program is predated.
- As a part of regional strategy Indian nuclear program kept on developing but without an obvious and well declared nuclear doctrine.

6. Phase 1974 to date (Pakistan Dimension)

- In India's nuclear history, most significant incident was happened on May 18, 1974, when India conducted its first nuclear explosions near Pokhran (India).
- The regional scenario had considerably changed in 1980.

7. Indian Nuclear Doctrine

- As a matter of fact Indian army was not given the task to design nuclear doctrine till 1980s.

8. Operationalisation of Nuclear Doctrine of India

- Indian Cabinet Committee on Security reviewed this document on 4 January 2003.
- In operationalisation aspect, this doctrine allows India to have multiple redundant systems.

9. Evolution of Pakistan's Nuclear Program

- Pakistan's nuclear weapons program was established in 1972 by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who founded the program while he was Minister for Fuel, Power and Natural Resources, and later became President and Prime Minister.
- Shortly after the loss of East Pakistan in the 1971 war with India, Bhutto initiated the program with a meeting of physicists and engineers at Multan in January 1972.

10. Pakistan's Nuclear Doctrine

Following are the areas of focus for the Pakistani deterrent:

1. It must be a minimum credible deterrent,
2. Pakistan must engage in a security dialogue with India,
3. Peace should be high on the bilateral agenda due to the nuclear shadow,
4. Nuclear restraint,
5. Prevention of a missile race,
6. Establishment of risk reduction centers,
7. Moratorium on testing,
8. Non-induction of ABM and naval leg of the triad; and
9. Conventional stabilisation through mutual and balanced reduction of forces and armaments.

11. Posture of Credible Minimum Deterrence

○ Role of nuclear weapons in South Asia

- South Asia is a region locked up in several conflicts and disputes that have resulted in many wars between India and Pakistan.
- The last full scale war between India and Pakistan was fought in 1971.
- Soon after 1971, India displayed its nuclear capability (in 1974) that forced Pakistan to step up its nuclear program in order to counter the Indian threat.
- Nuclear deterrence has made both countries to act rationally but conflicts are still there and it clearly indicates that in future many such events can take place that may create war like situation.
- One positive impact of nuclear weapons on the politics of South Asia is that both of these countries began to use diplomacy as major tool to solve their local problems.

12. Nuclear tensions rising in South Asia

- South Asia, a volatile and unstable region, has been witnessing an escalation in military and nuclear rivalry, somewhat overshadowed by the understandable fears of a nuclear arms race in the Middle East.
- Southern Asia is home to three nuclear powers—China, India, and Pakistan—that continue to expand and modernize their arms programs.
- China's nuclear strength is a worry to India, as is its more advanced strategic weapons and its numerically superior military force.
- The fierce nuclear competition in South Asia is seen by many as a recipe for instability in a region already burdened with problems

13. What are China's nuclear capabilities?

- China is seeking to soon achieve a nuclear triad (land, air, and sea-based nuclear delivery capabilities). Analysts [estimate](#) that China's inventory is close to two hundred and fifty warheads.

14. What is China's nuclear doctrine?

- Beijing says its national defense policy is [purely defensive](#) in nature. Since its first nuclear test, China declared a no first use (NFU) nuclear doctrine, meaning that in the event of a conflict or crisis, it will not resort to the first use of nuclear weapons.

15. What are India's nuclear capabilities?

- India possesses a developed strategic nuclear program and currently fields nuclearcapable aircraft and ballistic missiles controlled by a civilian command structure, the [Nuclear Command Authority](#).
- India remains outside the NPT and the CTBT, its civilian nuclear facilities are now under IAEA safeguards and India has signed and ratified the [IAEA Additional Protocol](#).

16. What is India's nuclear doctrine?

- New Delhi, like Beijing, pledges a NFU policy, as articulated in India's 2003 [nuclear doctrine](#).
- The doctrine emphasizes that its nuclear program is intended to establish a robust but credible minimum deterrent.
- India views Chinese nuclear expansion as a [security threat](#), as a result New Delhi seeks capabilities to counter Beijing, including in the arena of [space exploration](#).

17. What are Pakistan's nuclear capabilities?

- Experts [estimate](#) that Pakistan has 110 to 130 warheads and two types of [delivery vehicles \(PDF\)](#): aircraft and surface-to-surface missiles.

18. What is Pakistan's nuclear doctrine?

- Pakistan is without an official nuclear doctrine, though national security authorities cite "restraint" and "responsibility".
- The adversarial nature of the Indo-Pakistani relationship is a central driver for Pakistani nuclear development.
- As the smaller state, Pakistan sees nuclear weapons as a means to offset India's military and economic advantages.
- The adversarial nature of the Indo-Pakistani relationship is a central driver for Pakistani nuclear development.

19. What is the future of Southern Asia's nuclear competition?

- Koblenz has [identified the region](#) as the "most at risk of a breakdown in strategic stability due to an explosive mixture of unresolved territorial disputes, cross-border terrorism, and growing nuclear arsenals."
- Domestic pressures add to the growing list of concerns about the region, especially in Pakistan, a country whose stability is challenged by militant groups.
- There is no sign of nuclear modernization abating in China, India, or Pakistan.

- Nuclear competition in Southern Asia represents a classic conundrum of international relations: enormously high stakes, conflicting and entrenched interests, and at least in the near term, few realistic avenues for mitigating threats, much less addressing them in a more permanent way,

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

1. Introduction

- International security, also called global security, refers to the amalgamation of measures taken by states and international organizations, such as the United Nations, European Union, Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and others, to ensure mutual survival and safety.

2. International security, past and present

○ New forms of international security

- International security has taken new forms in the twenty-first century.
- Threats are no longer primarily coming from states. Threats are coming from ethnic groups obsessed by hyper-nationalism, from criminal gangs, from epidemics, AIDS, terrorism, dangerous food, from poverty, from economic mismanagement, from overpopulation and the effects of pollution, the irrigation and destruction of nature, and the diversification of nature.

3. The concept of security

○ Security after the cold war ○ Six levels of security actors

- The individual as victim: threats to physical and economic survival
- Society as a victim: threats to identity
- The state as victim: threats to sovereignty
- The region as victim: threats to stability and coherence
- The international society as the victim: threats to permanence of the society of nations
- The globe as victim: threats to sustainability

4. Security strategies in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries

○ War and international security

- Violent conflict and the use of force remain salient issues in contemporary international relations. While some have theorised that the advent of globalisation and spread of liberal democracy would make the use of force and violent conflict less relevant to the

world, war and conflict have remained an integral part of the international system, as well as forming an obstacle to providing stability and security for many states.

5. Balance of power and security

- The balance of power is one of the oldest and most enduring concepts of international relations.
- In a world of powerful and threatening states, it is often the only dependable strategy.
- It is surprising, therefore, that since the end of the Cold War, the dynamics of power balancing have been all but absent.
- Collective security
- The United Nations and the security
- Community security
- NATO
- The cold war: The Third world war
- Nuclear weapons and security issues
- Common security
- Comprehensive security
- The risk society
- The new world order
- New wars and international security
- The revolution and security
- The study of international security: theoretical developments and perspectives
- Philosophical foundations
- Political philosophy
- The realist tradition
- The idealist tradition
- Initial theoretical formulations
- International security during the cold war
- Cooperation under anarchy
- Alternative approaches and points of criticism
- International security after the cold war
- The state of security: the present debate
- The case of global security

NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY THREATS IN PAKISTAN: ROLE OF

NON-STATE ACTORS

1. Introduction

- Due to poor governance and inefficient policies in Pakistan, non-state actors have succeeded in establishing their own writ, emerging as alternate power centers.
- The most notable of these are Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Balochistan and Southern Punjab
- The operations launched by Pakistan's army and series of steps taken under the National Action Plan have weakened the non-state actors, but they continue to pose serious risk to the security of Pakistan.

2. Non-state actors posing threat to security of Pakistan:

○ Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan:

- TTP is a grouping of individual "leaders", largely from Mehsud region of Waziristan.
- These groups have strong links with foreign militants of Al Qaeda and Central Asia, and frequently organize attacks on the Pakistani state.
- As FATA has been a neglected region in terms of socio-economic development, unemployed youth became susceptible to recruitments in militant outfits after the US invasion of Afghanistan.
- A combination of drone strikes and military offensives has weakened the movement, killing successive commanders and forcing factions out of their bases
- TTP has targeted educational institutions, security agencies and civilians. Thousands of Pakistanis have lost their lives in attacks perpetrated by TTP
- One high-profile attack by TTP targeted an army-run school in Peshawar, the western frontier city, killing 148 people, mainly children.
- That assault prompted widespread anger, grief and revulsion in Pakistan, and authorities launched a more wide-ranging effort to stamp out terrorism afterwards

Under further strain, the TTP has fractured further, with many commanders leading their fighters across the frontier into Afghanistan. By locating to Afghanistan, TTP has been carrying out deadly attacks inside Pakistan

- Pakistan has provided evidence to Afghan government relating to the attacks launched by TTP stationed on Afghan soil. Pakistan also doubts the involvement of India in strengthening TTP for wreaking havoc in Pakistan

3. Recommendations for countering TTP

- The response of the Pakistani authorities to the threat posed by the TTP should not be only based on military force. Step should be taken to address the issues of economic and political marginalisation of the frontier zones; the mass of weaponry in those areas and the growth of religious intolerance
- Pakistan should engage Afghanistan's government for bringing an end to misuse of Afghan territory for carrying out attacks in Pakistan
- The attacks perpetrated by TTP after locating to Afghanistan were facilitated by Pakistani citizens. Pakistan should take effective measures to counter the propaganda of TTP through media and religious scholars.

2. Baloch non-state actors

- The four major insurgencies in Balochistan during the post-partition period occurred in 1948, and between 1958-59, 1963-69 and 1973-77. There is a fifth ongoing insurgency that was ignited in August 2006 following the murder of Baloch tribal leader Nawab Akbar Bugti
- The United Baloch Army, Baloch Liberation Front, Baloch Republican Army and Balochistan Liberation Army have been responsible for creating unrest in Balochistan
- Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) has empowered itself by appropriating commissions from the local business community and mine owners, enabling their factions and setting the ground for rampage. This cycle of violence has severely hampered governance in Balochistan.
- Baloch non-state actors have carried out attacks on security agencies besides killing civilians belonging to Punjab
- Sectarian non-state actors in Balochistan have carried out deadly attacks against the Hazara Shi'as. Sunni extremist groups such as Lashker-e-Jhangvi have claimed responsibility of many incidents targeting Hazara Shi'as.
- Pakistan believes that India is responsible for strengthening and arming Baloch nonstate actors for creating unrest in the province
- India wants to create unrest in Balochistan because a fully-developed and functional Gwadar port near the Strait of Hormuz enables China to frustrate India's dream of dominating regional waterways.
- The separatists are involved in killing of non-Baloch settlers. Thousands of settlers have left the province in fear and moved to Punjab and other provinces over the years.

3. Recommendations for ending Baloch insurgency

- Resolution of the Balochistan conflict requires building political consensus among the Baloch people by addressing their grievances and establishing the government's writ across the province.

-
- The rationale for an economic package makes little sense in the absence of political rights. The economic package is unlikely to solve the crisis, unless the issues of political autonomy control over administrative resources and administrative freedoms are fully addressed.
- Instead of dealing with the insurgency in Balochistan with an iron hand, the Government of Pakistan should take all stake holders in Balochistan on board for returning peace and normalcy to the province

4. Non-state actors of South Punjab

- The case of increasing radicalization in South Punjab, in a province which is the economic heartland of Pakistan, is of paramount importance.
- Growing radicalization is intricately linked to the pervasive poverty in the area. Estimates show that out of all 34 districts of Punjab, with the exception of Multan, the least-developed ones are in South Punjab
- Fanning extremist passions was initiated during the Soviet war in Afghanistan during the 1980s, when cadres of mujahideen were required to fight as proxies against the Soviet Union.
- Following the Soviet withdrawal, jihadis continued to enter Punjab, training over 25,000 extremists in terror camps. Research shows strong presence of Punjabi Taliban in the southern regions of the province
- Intelligence reports have estimated that about 5,000 recruits from southern and northern Punjab entered South Waziristan in 2005, and about 1,000 newly trained ones returned to the province.
- In the past, the establishment has supported many of these militant outfits, in particular the Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP), Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ), Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) and Lashkar-e-Tayyaba (LeT)
- Analysts such as Khaled Ahmed hold that the above-mentioned groups, working purely towards sectarian warfare, were initially created during the reign of general Zia ul Haq to fight a proxy war for Saudi Arabia against Shi'a Iran. These groups were also useful to the Pakistan's intelligence agencies as strategic assets in the conflict with India over the disputed territory of Kashmir.
- As per estimates, about 5,000-9,000 youth from Southern Punjab are said to be fighting in Afghanistan and Waziristan. This number is modest when compared to the seminaries operating in the Punjab. In 2008, an estimated 1400 seminaries and 36,000 enrolled students were operating in Bahawalpur division alone.
- Many of these seminaries are used by militant organizations to attract groups of young men, by offering them privileges such as food and accommodation. The recruits are ideologically indoctrinated to be used as foot soldiers in implementing the international and local terror plans of militant organizations, including that of alQaeda and its operatives.

5. Recommendations

- Regarding South Punjab, the government must take steps to contain religious militancy that has reached critical levels. It should take measures to check the proliferation of weapons and growth of private militias by madrassas and extremist groups.

- The government should enhance oversight over the madrassa sector, including its finances and enrolments, and conduct regular inquiries. Steps should be taken to identify seminaries having links with jihadi groups, and those suspected should be put under close surveillance.

After the deadly attack in Lahore on 27th March 2016, Pakistan Army has launched an operation across South Punjab to target militants, their facilitators and their hideouts. The operation should not come to a halt until South Punjab is purged of terrorists.

6. India-focused non-state actors

- From 1979 onwards, Pakistan became the landing ground and launching pad for any Muslim who wanted to fight in Afghanistan. Midway through the resistance, the quintessential jihadist outfit was formed, known as the Harkatul Jihad al Islami (HuJI). Retrospectively, the HuJI came to be the parent group for other outfits such as the Harkatul Mujahideen (HuM), the Harkatul Ansar (HuA) and the Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM).
- The non-state actors continued with their activities. However, after the fateful 9/11 attack, a coordinated international action was started against them.
- In December 2001, an attack on Indian Parliament took place. Indian media and the government alike started to point fingers at Lashkar-e-Taiba (Let) and Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) as the entities responsible for that.
- Pakistan banned several organizations which have been actively supporting the Kashmir Jihad — such as Lashkar-e-Taiba (Let), Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), but these banned organizations changed their names and kept on with their activities for several years.
- The 2008 Mumbai Attacks — often trumpeted as 26/11 — again stirred up the political environment of the Subcontinent. India again put the whole blame on a Pakistani group Jamat-ud-Dawa — a decedent group of LeT — that they have sent ten militants via sea route to Mumbai.
- Hafiz Saeed and Zakiur Rehman Lakhvi were named as masterminds of these attacks. Pakistan acted on Indian allegations by putting Hafiz Saeed under house arrest and detained Lakhvi along with six other people in 2009. The Anti-Terrorism Court in Islamabad in December 2014 granted him bail and soon he was detained once again under “Maintenance of Public Order” legislation. Finally Lakhavi was released on April 10, 2015
- Attack on Pathankot Air Base was also blamed by India on non-state actors operating from Pakistan. JeM chief Masood Azhar has been named by India as the mastermind of the airbase attack. Cooperation between India and Pakistan is in progress for bringing the perpetrators of Pathankot Air Force Base attack to Justice. Recently, Pakistan has sent a five-person Special Investigation Team (SIT) to India to investigate the circumstances of the January attack on the Indian Air Force’s base at Pathankot.

7. Recommendations

- India-focused non-state actors are very powerful and they can ignite a war in South Asia that may result in a use of nuclear weapons. Due to these reasons, Pakistan should take measures to ensure that India- focused non-state actors are neutralized.
- Pakistan should try to resolve its disputes with India through diplomatic means. The use of proxies for attaining strategic goals has done no good to our country.

CHANGING SECURITY DYNAMICS FOR PAKISTAN: CHALLENGES TO NATIONAL SECURITY OF PAKISTAN

1. Introduction

- To properly comprehend the security challenges, it would be appropriate to categorize these challenges into three groups; external, domestic, and those challenges that have linkage with both external as well as internal situation such as terrorism. A further grouping could be traditional and nontraditional security threats

2. External Challenges

- Pakistan has been facing external threats to its independence and territorial integrity right from its birth.
- Sandwiched between India and Afghanistan, Pakistan's security perceptions have been largely influenced by its state of relationships with India and Afghanistan.

3. Challenges from India

- Since partition, India and Pakistan have fought three major wars (1948, 1965, and 1971), witnessed two large border clashes (Rann of Kutch in 1965, and Kargil in 1999) experienced three major crises (Brasstack in 1987, Kashmir in 1990, and troops confrontation in 2001-2), and had innumerable exchanges of fire along the LOC within 69 years of independent existence.
- India is involved in creating unrest in Pakistan by fuelling insurgency in Balochistan and by carrying out terror activities in Karachi. The arrest of an Indian spy named Kulbushan Jadhav from Balochistan has confirmed the suspicions of Pakistan
Pakistan also doubts the involvement of India in strengthening the TTP in Afghanistan for launching deadly attacks inside Pakistan

4. Challenges from Afghanistan

- The second major source of external threat emanates from the current developments in Afghanistan
- The danger of possible fallout from Afghanistan's political instability into the neighboring provinces of Pakistan cannot be overlooked. The provinces of KyberPaktoonkhawa, FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas), and Baluchistan are extremely prone to such an eventuality, primarily because of the existence of dissident elements
- There exists sufficient evidence to support the contention that these subversive movements were and continue to be actively encouraged and materially supported by outsiders using the land of Afghanistan. During his confirmation hearings for Secretary of Defense, Senator Chuck Hagel remarked that India has over the years financed problems for Pakistan from Afghanistan

- Owing to crackdown of Pakistan's Army against the militants, most of them have shifted to Afghanistan from where they are busy in wreaking havoc in Pakistan
- For Pakistan, Afghanistan's peace, stability, and territorial integrity are extremely desirable. Therefore, Pakistan's policy towards Afghanistan will continue to make extra efforts with a view to a stable and peaceful next door neighbour

6. The Central Asia Factor ● An Indian analyst, Meena Singh Roy, has observed in one of her articles, "India as an extended neighbour of CARs has major geostrategic and economic interests in this region. It was also concerned about Pakistan's influence in the Central Asian region

- India has completed the refurbishment of a military base at Ayni in Tajikistan: the process began in 2002 and has been accomplished at a cost of US\$10 million.²⁴ Apart from Russia, US, and Germany, India is the fourth country to have a military air base in Central Asia.
- Initially, India was planning to deploy MiG-29 fighters at Ayni; however, due to the reservations expressed by Pakistan, Tajikistan has allowed India to deploy only Mi17V1 helicopters. The base is of strategic importance to India, and existence of fighter attack jet capable infrastructure is a point of concern for Pakistan, because such bases can be activated within 48-72 hours for undertaking full spectrum offensive air operation.
- As observed by an Indian analyst, Sudha Ramachandran, "A base at Ayni allows India rapid response to any emerging threat from the volatile Afghanistan-Pakistan arc ...It also gives New Delhi a limited but significant capability to inject special forces into hostile theatres as and when the situation demands...in the event of military confrontation with Pakistan, India would be able to strike Pakistan's rear from Tajik soil

7. Internal Challenge

- Pakistan's internal security challenge is the presence and activities of non-state actors

TERRORISM

Introduction:

- Terrorism has been described variously as both a tactic and strategy; a crime and a holy duty; a justified reaction to oppression and an inexcusable abomination.
- Terrorism has often been an effective tactic for the weaker side in a conflict. Due to the secretive nature and small size of terrorist organizations, they often offer opponents no clear organization to defend against or to deter.

Definition of terrorism:

- The United States Department of Defense defines terrorism as *“the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological.”*
- The United Nations produced the following definition of terrorism in 1992; *"An anxietyinspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby - in contrast to assassination - the direct targets of violence are not the main targets."*

Causes of Terrorism:

- Absence of good governance
- Lack of democracy
- Injustices in society
- No relief from global governance
- Religious extremism
- Absence of rule of law
- Poverty
- Unemployment
- Illiteracy

20th Century Evolution of Terrorism:

- In the early years of the 20th Century nationalism and revolutionary political ideologies were the principal developmental forces acting upon terrorism. When the Treaty of Versailles redrew the map of Europe after World War I by breaking up the Austro-Hungarian Empire and creating new nations, it acknowledged the principle of self-determination for nationalities.
- This encouraged minorities and ethnicities not receiving recognition to campaign for independence or autonomy.
- Arab nationalists felt that they had been betrayed. Believing they were promised post-war independence, they were doubly disappointed; first when the French and British were given authority over their lands; and then especially when the British allowed Zionist immigration into Palestine in keeping with a promise contained in the Balfour Declaration.

Terrorism in 21st Century:

- Linked with 1979 Afghan Jihad, alienation of holy warriors
- Terrorism in Iraq, Syria, Libya and Yemen

The Intent of Terrorist Groups:

A terrorist group commits acts of violence to

- Produce widespread fear
- Obtain worldwide, national, or local recognition for their cause by attracting the attention of the media
- Harass, weaken, or embarrass government security forces so that the government overreacts and appears repressive
- Steal or extort money and equipment, especially weapons and ammunition vital to the operation of their group
- Destroy facilities or disrupt lines of communication in order to create doubt that the government can provide for and protect its citizens
- Discourage foreign investments, tourism, or assistance programs that can affect the target country's economy and support of the government in power
- Influence government decisions, legislation, or other critical decisions
- Free prisoners
- Satisfy vengeance
- Turn the tide in a guerrilla war by forcing government security forces to concentrate their efforts in urban areas. This allows the terrorist group to establish itself among the local populace in rural areas

TERRORISM IN PAKISTAN

Introduction:

- The largest act of international terrorism occurred on September 11, 2001 in a set of coordinated attacks on the United States.
- In the immediate aftermath of American invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, Al-Qaeda and Afghan Taliban sought refuge in Pakistani tribal belt
- Socio-economic and politico-religious complexion of the tribal region also favored these militants. These structural flaws created space for Taliban

Agenda of terrorists in Pakistan:

The militant threat to Pakistan has a well-defined ideological inspiration and logistic support from international terrorist groups to achieve their target which include:

- To destabilize state's security apparatus so that people should look towards the militants for protection.
- To force the government not to interfere in militant controlled areas so that they can continue their activities unhindered.
- To force the government to bring a new system according to the militants' agenda.

Terrorism in Pakistan

- This phenomenon took shape with Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in late 1970s. After the withdrawal of Soviet Union from Afghanistan, this armed struggle against foreign occupation degenerated into a sort of civil war which continued well into the 21st century
- The 9/11 terrorist attacks and subsequent US invasion of Afghanistan provided the Jihadis with an attractive "Cause". When Pakistan joined the US led coalition against "War on Terror", the so called Jihadis turned their guns more towards Pakistan than the coalition forces in Afghanistan.

- Pakistani Taliban emerged and came to lime light in the aftermath of US invasion in Afghanistan. They joined hands with the fleeing Al-Qaeda and Afghan Taliban and made an alliance with them.
- Banned organizations like Tahreek-e-Taliban and Lashker-e-Jhangvi carry out attacks and on infrastructure, schools, banks, railway tracks, officials, politicians and citizens of Pakistan.
- The origins of sectarian violence can be traced back to Afghan Jihad when hard line mullahs and their seminaries got official patronage from Pakistan, USA, Saudi Arabia and other allies during the Afghan war of 1980's to produce indoctrinated fighters against Soviet Union.
- The sectarian terrorism poses an internal security threat to the country. So far, the people of Pakistan have refused to get divided on sectarian lines and the violence remained restricted to the fanatics and the extremists with the vast majority remaining detached, unsympathetic and rather antagonist to this approach
- The sectarian issue has the potential of creating serious social and security threat in case extremists are able to incite sectarian sentiments
- Role of India in causing terrorism in Pakistan

Counterterrorism measures taken by Pakistan

- Operations launched by the military to weed out terrorists from Swat and Tribal areas of Pakistan
- Zarb e Azb has been successful in breaking the backbone of terrorists. Pakistan Army has nearly purged the Tribal areas from Talibans. On the other hand, army has recently started an operation in Punjab for neutralizing terrorists.
- The National Action Plan followed two earlier expressions of the Sharif government's counter-terrorism strategy: a 64-point National Internal Security Policy (NISP), approved by the federal cabinet in February 2014; and the Protection of Pakistan Act (PPA), signed into law in July 2014.
- The NISP called for modernising all aspects of the criminal justice system, along with better oversight and regulation of mosques and madrasas, and a range of "soft" interventions. Implementation was to be led by the National Counter-Terrorism Authority (NACTA), established in December 2009 to coordinate federal and provincial governments, law enforcement and military and civilian intelligence agencies
- In the immediate aftermath of 2014 Peshawar attack Prime Minister Sharif announced the twenty-point NAP
- Most of NAP's twenty points relate to implementing existing laws and constitutional bars, including preventing banned organisations from operating and/or regrouping under new names; preventing terrorist funding; dismantling terrorist communication networks; prohibiting private militias; acting against sectarian organisations and countering hate speech and the dissemination of hate literature.

- Along with making NACTA effective, NAP calls for regulating the madrasa sector, rehabilitating internally displaced persons (IDPs), introducing administrative and development reforms in FATA, and empowering the Balochistan government to lead in “political reconciliation” with “complete ownership by all stakeholders”.
- Passed on 6 January 2015, the 21st amendment empowers military courts to try, except for members of registered political parties, any person “who claims, or is known, to belong to any terrorist group or organisation using the name of religion or a sect”.

Remedial Measure

- *Peace in Afghanistan*
- *Active Foreign Policy*
The militancy prevalent in Pakistan has both local as well as global dimension. Many of the local militant groups derive financial, logistic and training support from across the borders. We must obtain irrefutable evidence of external involvement and then use available diplomatic opportunities to force these states to abandon their support of militants
- *Improving Intelligence*
An effective strategy to counter militant and extremist groups hinges on the capability to gain timely and accurate intelligence. . This will include strengthening local intelligence agencies in terms of organization, equipment, training and coordination.
- *Enhancing Competence of Security Forces*
The current militant threats are new to security forces as they are trained to deal with more conventional threats. They need to be equipped with new tools, equipment and training to discharge their duties effectively.
- *Economic Recovery and Poverty Alleviation*
- *Streamlining Madrassa Culture*
- *Administration of Speedy and Affordable Justice*
- *Improving Law and Order*
- *Eradicating Corruption and Nepotism*

Conclusion

PROXY WARS: ROLE OF EXTERNAL ELEMENTS

1) Introduction

- Proxy war_or proxy warfare is a war that results when opposing powers use third parties as substitutes for fighting each other directly.

- While powers have sometimes used governments as proxies, violent non-state actors, mercenaries, or other third parties are more often employed. It is hoped that these groups can strike an opponent without leading to full-scale war.
- Opposing powers are usually core countries that have conflicting ideologies and interests with each other. However, a direct large-scale war between them would cause enormous damage to all belligerent powers. Therefore, they rather conduct proxy wars in developing countries in order to avoid loss and achieve some certain interests at the same time. **2) Proxy wars during cold war era**
- Although the first recorded proxy war happened as early as in 1529, it was not common until the Cold War set off by the ideological and political differences between the two victors of the World War II.
- During the Cold War, the two nuclear-armed superpowers did not wish to exchange blows directly since that would have led to a devastating nuclear war. Instead, both the U.S. and particularly the Soviet Union sought to spread their own spheres of influence all over the world, leading to many proxy wars such as one in Greece, Korea, Afghanistan and notably Vietnam.
- The first proxy war was a civil war in Greece between communists and noncommunist.
- The Korean War was a proxy war. In the Korean War, the United States aided the South Koreans against the communist North Koreans who were aided by the Soviets and the Chinese
- The Vietnam War was fought between the American backed South Vietnamese government and the Soviet and Chinese backed North Vietnamese government
- In the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961, the US was trying to carry out a small proxy war. It wanted to get Cuban exiles to fight so that it would not have to invade Cuba itself.
- In 1979 the United States was still reeling from its' war in Vietnam, and the public in general were not in favor of another war the Soviets invaded Afghanistan. United States aided and trained Mujahideen for fighting against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan

3) Proxy Wars: Post-Cold War Policy

- Policy on proxy wars has essentially remained unchanged since the end of the Cold War. States utilize proxies as informal tools to influence situations in a manner that would benefit their state.
- Since the end of the Cold War there have been numerous proxies in the Middle East and across Africa.

a) Syrian Civil War 2011-Present

- The civil uprising in Syria followed in the footsteps of other uprisings in the Arab world. However unlike in Tunisia, Libya and Egypt, the Syrian uprising has resulted in a seemingly endless civil war. Like the causes of the other uprisings, Syrians are malcontent with their government. In Syria, Russia and Iran is supporting Basher alAssad's regime whereas rebel forces fighting against Assad's regime are supported by United States and Gulf States. Proxy warfare in Syria has led to endless cycle of violence and bloodshed.

b) Yemen 2004-Present

- Yemen is a state that is seldom mentioned in US media, but since 2004 there has been a minor proxy war involving Iran, Saudi Arabia and to a lesser extent the US. The situation in Yemen is grounded in a civil dispute between the Sunni led government and the Houthis (Shiite rebels).
- The current incarnation of Yemen's woes dates to the Arab Spring of 2011, when Gulf Arab states brokered a deal to remove longstanding President Ali Abdullah Saleh and replace him with President Abdo Rabbo Mansour Hadi.
- Mr. Saleh refused to fade away, instead lending his support to a rebellion by the Iranian-backed Houthi rebels. By March 2015, Mr. Hadi had fled into exile in Saudi Arabia and the Houthis had overrun the whole of western Yemen, including the capital, Sanaa
- Fearing an Iranian takeover, Saudi Arabia and its allies launched a hurricane of airstrikes, targeting the Houthis and units loyal to Saleh

c) Lebanon War 2006

- For decades Lebanon has unfortunately operated as a staging ground for proxy wars between regional actors like Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Syria as each nation vies for greater authority in the region.
- The Lebanon war began with an attack by Hezbollah against Israel. The Iranians supported Hezbollah and the United States supported Israel.

d) Proxy war in Afghanistan

- Pakistan's supported Afghan Taliban in the past
- Iran and India's support for Northern Alliance

e) Proxy war between India and Pakistan

- Role of India in supporting the militant and separatist elements in Baluchistan
- India's support to TTP for wreaking havocs in Pakistan
- Presence of India-focused militant groups in Pakistan and their activities in India 4)

Conclusion

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

1. Definition

- International political economy is the study of interrelationship between economic and politics and between state and market. It also examines how politics is used to achieve economic goals and vice versa.

2. Introduction

- Since 1960's, an important issue of world politics has been International Political Economy.
- From the World War II the early 1960s international relations centered on issues of war and peace, where the nation-state was the primary actor in an international political system.
- Therefore, International Political Economy (IPE) is a conscious shift towards understanding issues of wealth and poverty; of who gets what in the international system.
- International Political Economy focuses on understanding the cause of: economic growth in developing and transition economies, the role of international trade in improving economic welfare around the world, and the impact of the international financial system on the world economy.

1. Factors contributing to importance of International Political Economy (IPE)

- a. Economic transaction between states, and
 - Economic transactions among states, including trade, investment, and lending have been rising dramatically.
 - The number of interactions among states has grown both in absolute terms and as a share of total economic activity.
- b. Increasing role of government to deliver economic responsibilities
 - There has been increasing expectations about the responsibilities of national governments for economic policies.
- c. Outcome of economic policies of government create political fall out
- d. Technological transformation such as telegraph, airplane and 21st century, Information technology revolution
- e. Economic liberalism provides theoretical underpinnings to globalization in 21st century

2. Origin or Evolution

- Dates back to 18th century British economist Adam Smith known for free market economy concept.
- At state level, state allows private sector to invest in the market within macro economic framework.
- At international level MNC's operate globally.

3. Key concept in Economic Liberalism

a. Comparative advantage theory

- Liberal economies states that under comparative advantage, production is oriented towards an international market.
- Efficiency in production is increased and worldwide wealth maximized.

b. National currencies should be bought and sold in a free market system

c. Protectionism

4. Role of Economic Globalization

- Economic globalization is the increasing economic integration and interdependence of national, regional and local economies across the world through an intensification of cross border movement of goods, services, technologies and capital.
- Economic globalization has played an inevitable role as of markets, nation-states and technologies have all converged to create international political economy.

5. Core Characteristics of liberal economies

- Free markets
 - First characteristic of liberal economies is its faith in the market as the most efficient means of allocating resources or at least a relatively efficient means of allocating resources, provided that the state successfully performs its role of establishing the conditions upon which the successful operation of market depend-for example, preventing the growth of monopolies.
- Individualism
 - Secondly, individualism: the belief that the individual is the basic unit of society and that the acid of any set of institutions is the degree to which they promote individual liberty and welfare.
- Limited role of State

- It manifests scepticism towards state, or central control of economic activity.
- Some liberal, however, opine that management and regulation of economic activity is increasingly needed in modern industrial conditions.

6. Assumptions of Liberal Economics

- Individual is at the centre.
- Individual constitute the focal point of liberal economics' assumptions
- Economic liberalism is often associated with support for private ownership of capital goods.
- While advocating for the individual freedom it places limits on the power of state in economic matters.
 - Desire for freedom is natural
- The humans have a natural desire to freedom therefore call for individuals freedom as basic human rights forms firm bases of the liberal economists' standings
 - Humans are rational
- Simply rationality is about making right choices
- People have rational preferences between outcomes that can be identified and associated with values.
- Humans are rational enough to maximize the returns of investment hence in return maximize the utilization of scarce resources that is the basic theme of liberal economics.
 - Humans are self-interested
- The early theory was based on the assumption that the economic actions of individuals are largely based on self-interest, and that allowing them to act without any restrictions will produce the best results for everyone, provided that at least minimum standards of public information and justice exist.

7. Role of IFI's in supporting economic liberation ○

World Bank

- Stimulating economies through number of approaches and initiative
- **IMF**
 - Stimulating economies through loan, SAP
- **WTO**
 - Managing trade

8. Linking peace with International Liberal Economy

- Liberals see a positive relationship between the international liberal economy and peace.
- Independence would lead to economic well-being and eventually to world peace; war would become an anachronism.

9. Conclusion

- Demise of USSR, Liberalism in the driving seat
- Economic activities occur differently within differing socio-political structures
- While various approaches continue to contend economic political economy, it widely remains triumphant in the twenty-first century.
- Understanding International Political Economy on the basis of its contribution towards peace and prosperity in the global world order surely does increase its significance. **10. Criticism**

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

1. Globalization and international trade

- Globalization started after World War II but has accelerated considerably since the mid1980s, driven by two main factors: i. Technological advances
ii. Increasing liberalization of trade and capital markets

2. Cost and benefits of free trade

- For participating countries, the main benefits of unrestricted foreign trade stem from the increased access of their producers to larger, international markets.

- For national economy, that access means an opportunity to benefit from the international division of labour, on the one hand, and the need to face stronger competition in world markets, on the other.

3. Geography and composition of global trade

- Over the past 10 years patterns of international trade have been changing in favour of trade between developed and developing countries

4. World trade: Possible Futures

○ Global innovation

- The world emerged slowly from the recession at the beginning of the decade.
- Energy and mineral prices stayed high, despite subdued demand, owing to a dearth of new discoveries and low investment caused by uncertainty over long-term prices.
- The second half of the decade was different. The climate crisis of 2015 provided a wake-up call to international collaboration, with a number of positive consequences.

○ Global citizen

- The World Trade Organization has played an important role since the Doha Development Round was agreed in 2001, giving developing countries, particularly smaller ones, improved access to world markets, and the Jakarta Round is under way.

○ Fragile alliances

- Trading blocs with discriminatory rules constantly form and disband; those that have lasted longer have often had a political agenda.

○ De-globalization

- The global economy has not returned to growth. Some blame a lack of coordination and the failure adequately to reform the international financial system. The result has been a downward spiral of global confidence.

5. The Bali Agreement: Implications for Development and the WTO

○ Introduction

- In December 2001, after five days of intense negotiations that had often seemed too close to call, trade ministers from the World Trade Organisation (WTO), meeting at the Indonesian resort of Nusa Dua, finally reached an agreement on a so-called “Bali package”.

○ [The Run-up to the Bali Ministerial](#)

- Because of their structural handicaps reflected in low income levels, high economic vulnerability, and weak human assets, small developing countries and least developed countries (LDCs) in particular face certain challenges in integrating into the global economy.

- As the weakest players on the international scene, and given their great dependence on international trade, LDCs have — almost by definition — a strong interest in a wellfunctioning, rule-based multilateral system for governing economic interdependencies.
- **The Definition of a Small Package**
 - The notion of a small package to be agreed in Bali has to be seen as part of a series of efforts to break the long-lasting stalemate in multilateral trade negotiations resulting from the failure of the July 2008 mini-ministerial.
 - At that time, ministers from the WTO's leading players met for a nine-day marathon negotiation in a last-ditch effort to save the round.
 - They also committed to “advance negotiations, where progress can be achieved, including focusing on the elements of the Doha Declaration that allow Members to reach provisional or definitive agreements based on consensus earlier than the full conclusion of the single undertaking”
- **The Negotiating Process**
 - The negotiating process ahead of Bali was marked by several elements, starting with a change in WTO leadership
 - As negotiations progressed, it soon became clear that a failure to deliver on the Bali small package would represent a major blow for the WTO, de facto putting an end to the Doha negotiations. In this context, the political cost of a failure appeared significant. Members — and particularly leading players — had to show that they still believed in the multilateral trading system and avoid being blamed for failure.
- **The Bali Outcome**
 - Despite these shortcomings and after several suspenseful days and nights of meetings, ministers finally signed off on their first multilateral trade deal since the creation of the WTO.
 - The final agreement begins with a three-page ministerial declaration, acknowledging the accession of Yemen and adopting decisions on the ten texts regarding the three pillars of the Bali package: trade facilitation, some agricultural issues, and selected development-focused provisions.
- **Trade Facilitation**
 - To bring the deal into force, two-thirds of the WTO's membership must first ratify it. The agreement will then apply to those members. In the meantime, a committee tasked with administering the agreement will undertake a legal review of the pact, prepare a protocol of amendment to include it in the overall WTO agreement, and begin receiving notifications of Category A commitments.
 - Providing support for developing countries to implement their trade facilitation commitments is another key area.
- **Agriculture**
 - The Bali outcome on agriculture focused on three distinct areas. Two proposals were submitted by the G20 group of developing countries that favour reform in developed countries' farm trade policies; one on export subsidies and one on tariff rate quotas (TRQs). Meanwhile, the

G33 coalition of developing countries —home to sizeable populations of small farmers — had rallied around a proposal from India on public food stockholding.

- A separate proposal from West African countries, on cotton, was considered as part of the set of “development” issues.

○ Development and LDC Concerns

- The set of ministerial decisions dealing with development and LDCs’ issues is without doubt the weakest component of the Bali package. Most of the texts had already been “stabilised” in Geneva.
- The package essentially consists of a series of political statements, non-binding commitments, and procedural decisions with very few tangible and immediate benefits for developing countries.

○ Monitoring Mechanism on Special and Differential Treatment

- The first element of the package is the establishment of a monitoring mechanism on special and differential treatment (S&DT).

○ Duty-free, Quota-free Market Access for LDCs

- At the 2005 ministerial conference, WTO members agreed that: “Developed-country members shall, [...], provide duty-free and quota-free market access on a lasting basis, for all products originating from all LDCs ...”

○ Cotton

- Cotton has long been considered a symbol of the development dimension of the Doha Round. Ever since 2003, when a group of West African countries known as the C4 (Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad, and Mali) launched the cotton initiative, the issue has been high on the WTO’s agenda.
- At that time, the C4 countries accused the EU and the US of providing trade-distorting subsidies to their farmers, depressing world prices and affecting poor producers in Africa unable to compete with Brussels and Washington treasuries. In Hong Kong in 2005, ministers recognised the need to “address cotton ambitiously, quickly, and specifically” but, in the absence of progress on the broader agriculture negotiations, no deal on cotton could be reached.

○ The Way Forward

- Avoiding failure was an imperative for restoring the WTO’s credibility, rebuilding confidence, and creating political momentum. But the Bali deal only addressed a subset of the Doha Round, and —even then — achieving consensus on this limited package of lowhanging fruit proved particularly challenging.

6. Conclusion

- Bali was without doubt a critical success for the multilateral trading system. As pointed out by Director General Roberto Azevêdo at the closing ceremony — “For the first time in our history: the WTO has truly delivered”. By avoiding failure, Bali contradicted those dismissing

the multilateral trading system as a negotiating forum and has, to some extent, put the WTO back on track.

POWER POLITICS IN INDIAN AND PACIFIC OCEANS

1. Background

- Economic interest plays a major role in shaping US foreign policies and projecting American power and influence abroad. US economic interests in the region are centred on the key resources, like oil, critical materials and minerals and the sea line of communication.
- The United State has to depend on external sources of supply for as many as critical materials and minerals. Many of these materials come from the Indian Ocean area.
- China's inability to impede the eastward incursion of US Indian Ocean and Mediterranean fleet before the Malacca Strait, seriously undermine her ability to exercise her influence in the South China Sea.

2. Introduction

- The Indian Ocean is the third largest ocean on the globe. The ocean is the point of emergence of the famous maritime civilizations. The ocean has remained active in all phases of human history.
- In the current global and strategic settings this ocean is the center of gravity of the existing and emerging super powers.
- Its location has made it significant for both regional and global actors.

3. Location

- Indian Ocean is a vast ocean surrounded by multiple nations. On the West of Indian Ocean is Africa where it stretches till Cape Agulhas, on its North is continental Asia from Suez to Malay Peninsula, Singapore Australia and Tasmania is on the East and while to South this ocean stretches to the latitude 60 S as determined per Antarctic Treaty of 1959.
- The term Indian Ocean States is applied to both coastal and landlocked states. In this connection total 51 states are remained under discussion in the Indian Ocean strategies. These are 26 Indian Ocean Rim (IOR) states, 5 Red Sea states, 4 Persian Gulf States Saudi Arabia, France and Britain and 13 landlocked states.
- Most of these states are the former colonies. Their issues and problems are diverse. These issues have made the Indian Ocean an area of conflict. Many a states are regarded as the weak states and in the backdrop of global terrorism they have emerged as crucial actors in the global political settings.

4. Volume of Trade

- The volume of trade conducted in the ocean is also significant. Round 30% of global trade is conducted in the Indian Ocean.
- There are most significant choke points in this ocean. The most important are Hormuz, Malacca, and Bab el Mandeb. It is because of their trade and strategic importance, there is

constant presence of a number of extra-regional states in the Indian Ocean. It is because of excessive economic activity in the ocean and the growing competition for the resources the sea-board of Sub-Saharan Africa has also got prominence.

5. Intra Regional Politics and Strategies in the Indian Ocean

- Indian Ocean is significant to all IOR states and the landlocked territories. Within the region of South Asia the most important actor is India.
- India is more resourceful than all other regional actors. These resources and advancement in technology has set India in the forefront.

6. Indian Strategic Designs in Indian Ocean

- Indian policy and concerns regarding the Indian Ocean strategy are quite vibrant and active. India has great desire to emerge as a world power. That is why India is looking for increasing its strategic space in the Indian Ocean.
- In current time it is impossible without the help and support of USA but India is drifting towards its goal of attaining re-eminence in the Indian Ocean region.
- India is expanding its naval capabilities. Its maritime security is relationships are enhancing day by day. The point of concern is India's impression and designs of dominance throughout the region.
- Indian aspirations are high and certain regarding this ocean. Beside these rhetoric and aspiration Indian strategies in the ocean seek to post India at the heart of regional dynamics. In this connection Indian is desirous to play an active role in both regional and sub regional grouping and policies.

7. Role of Indian Navy

- In order to realize these strategies Indian navy is playing a key role. Indian navy is the key tool to materialize Indian aspirations in the Indian Ocean.
- India's rising economy and the encouragement of USA has made the public officials to redefine Indian Ocean in the country's strategic environment.
- Beside this bilateral naval exercise activity India is decisive on the point of the noninvolvement of external power in the Indian Ocean Region on multilateral basis. Indian navy is involved with Japan in naval exercises but they are taking place in the Sea of Japan.
- China has remained an important factor in the Indian foreign strategy. In the Indian Ocean Region it is not unaware of this vital factor. India on one hand is obsessed with the strategic autonomy and on the other it has a culture of non alignment.
- Regardless all measures India is not fully successful in keeping china out of the Indian Ocean Region.

8. Challenges to Indian Navy • IORs (Indian Ocean Rim States) and external power are diverged on the question of India's role in the Indian Ocean. For some states India is a consensual stakeholder. India on its own part has devised any concrete policy to give some solid indication to these states regarding Indian role.

- US has also concerns over Chinese activity in the Indian Ocean. It is repositioning and increasing its military assets in the Asia Pacific. In such complex strategic setting there is a lot to do for the Indian navy.

9. China's Presence in Indian Ocean

- Chinese economy has seen a quick rise and with it the significance of Indian Ocean has come to be realized by China. China is looking for new pathways and energy source which are safer and beneficial for its economy.
- In this connection Indian Ocean has become the Frontier Strategy in the Chinese foreign policy.
- The opening of Southwest China has opened up new coastal regions.
- China is extending its influence to the small island nations dotting the Indian Ocean. This influence has been made through diplomatic and aid efforts. The rising influence and activity of China has become a serious challenge for India. The same competition and tension is going on among the nations of Southeast Asia. The point of stress is upon the specks of islands and reefs in the East and South China Sea.
- Maldives is the arena of a hot contest between India and China. This state is very significant because of its geopolitical position. This position astride strategic sea lines of communication which is a big attraction to both India and China and China is doing its best to win over this influence.
- On the other hand the role of China in the Gwadar port of Pakistan is very significant. It is built on the shore of Indian Ocean close to the Iranian border and close to the entrance to the Persian Gulf. Although it has gone behind the scenes due to the Baloch insurgency and security situation but still it has a lot to do with this project in the future.

10. Sino Indian Conflicts and Indian Ocean Strategy

- Indian Ocean region has been center of political and strategic activity since long. During the cold war era it served as a competitive arena of two super powers, USA and Soviet Union.
- The political competition died down after the collapse of Soviet Union but another competition has emerged in the second decade of the 21st century which is between India and People's Republic of China.
- Both are enhancing their naval capabilities and both are devising plans with a much greater strategic reach. Both seem to be assertive and active in the Indian Ocean region.
- China has done a significant investment in order to safeguard and ensure its economic and strategic interests. It has invested in the Gwadar port in Pakistan, the Sri Lankan port of Hambantota and the mining and energy sector in Myanmar.
- The purpose behind this investment is to provide security and back up to the shipping lanes.

11. United States and the Indian Ocean Region

- In the unipolar era of 21st century a super power has a lot to do in all regions of the globe. Oceans are not skipped out of its strategy. Indian Ocean occupies a distinct importance due to its location and strategic settings.
- China is a serious concern in US strategy in the Indian Ocean and in the entire Indo-Pacific.
- China is not seen as an immediate and short term threat it is rather taken as long term and undefined threat in the US strategy.
- Although India is dejected due to 'string of pearls' strategy of China but US does not give it much credence and does not look at Chinese policy of establishing its naval bases across the Indian Ocean with big concern.
- China's growing relations in the region are seen as the issue of future military value.

- US is comfortable in this region as far as its interests in the Indian Ocean Region are safe and uninterrupted.
- US is much inclined to its Pacific Ocean strategy. Although littoral states of the Indian Ocean Region (from India to Indonesia) are looking to Washington for better regional organization but as far as Indian Ocean is concerned India has deliberately excluded US navy from the membership of Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS). The real factor behind this decision is China.
- In this way Indian Ocean is and may become more important arena for great power strategic competition in Asia, particularly between India and China and Washington as always will be the key factor in this activity.

12. Role of Pakistan in the Indian Ocean Region • Pakistan's foreign policy has remained under experimental endeavors that are why there has been absence of constant and continuous policy direction towards region and beyond.

- Beside this country's geographical location has served as major factor behind this situation.
- Pakistan shares a long border with India and Afghanistan; it is linked to china and the Indian Ocean.
- On the other hand Pakistan's geographical location offers some opportunities as well. While discussing Pakistan's policy and strategy towards Indian Ocean region, it is important to investigate pros and cons of Gwadar Port and Chinese participation in its building.

13. Gwadar Port and China

- It is very much obvious from the previous discussion that this port is of crucial significance to China both for trade and politico-strategic point of view.
- Pakistan has keenly involved china in the Gwadar project right from the beginning.
- In this world of power and competition things and patterns keep on changing hence the command of Oceans and the regions keep on changing with the changing power pattern round the globe.

14. Conclusion

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF PAKISTAN

1. Introduction

- The Pakistan is biggest region in which economy has been growing for last two years considerably.
- The issues remain there and Pakistan is getting more positive responses for assuming consumer spending.

- The Pakistan Gross Domestic Products and its growth is related and increase with increase of growth element.
- The supported infrastructure in Pakistan is basically allowing advanced economies to come and sustain development.
- The move towards advanced economies and pickup growth is way that can develop thinking and providing shortage with alleviation of power shortage up to come extent.
- There are three economic indicators and those indicator can best in allocating through percentage aspect. The Gross Domestic Product is first element, Inflation is second element and Current Account Balance share of GDP is third one element.

2. The Economy of Pakistan

- The economy of Pakistan is the 26th largest in the world in terms of purchasing power parity (PPP), and 40st largest in terms of nominal gross domestic product.
- Pakistan has a population of over 190 million (the world's 6th-largest), giving it a nominal GDP per capita of \$1,427, which ranks 133rd in the world.
- Pakistan is a developing country and is one of the Next Eleven, the eleven countries that, along with the BRICS, have a potential to become one of the world's large economies in the 21st century.
- Primary export commodities include textiles, leather goods, sports goods, chemicals and carpets/rugs.

3. Economic History

Economic resilience

- Historically, Pakistan's overall economic output (GDP) has grown every year since a 1951 recession.
- Despite this record of sustained growth, Pakistan's economy had, until a few years ago, been characterised as unstable and highly vulnerable to external and internal shocks.
- However, the economy proved to be unexpectedly resilient in the face of multiple adverse events concentrated into a four-year (1998–2002) period — • The Asian financial crisis
- Economic Sanctions – according to Colin Powell, Pakistan was "sanctioned to the eyeballs"
- The global recession of 2001–2002
- A severe drought – the worst in Pakistan's history, lasting about four years
- The post-9/11 military action in neighbouring Afghanistan, with a massive influx of refugees from that country

4. Macroeconomic reform and prospects

- According to many sources, the Pakistani government has made substantial economic reforms since 2000, and medium-term prospects for job creation and poverty reduction are the best in nearly a decade.
- Government revenues have greatly improved in recent years, as a result of economic growth, tax reforms – with a broadening of the tax base, and more efficient tax collection as a result of

self-assessment schemes and corruption controls in the Central Board of Revenue – and the privatisation of public utilities and telecommunications.

5. Economy in 2016

- THE economy of Pakistan could be poised for a revival of growth in 2016, after languishing in low-growth equilibrium since 2008. Ever since the growth years of the Musharraf regime came crashing down, the economy has struggled to recover.
- For almost five years, the predicament was described by the State Bank as ‘low-growth, high-inflation’ equilibrium. Along with this was a severe power crisis, brought on in large part by a severely constrained fiscal situation and low foreign exchange reserves.
- But in 2015, the tide began to change. Reserves reached historic highs, even if on the back of borrowed money. And inflation fell rapidly throughout the year, picking up slightly only in the closing days.

6. Economic prospects

- GDP growth is expected to accelerate modestly to 4.5% in FY2016 and 4.8% in FY2017, assuming continued macroeconomic stability, expected improvement in energy supply, and planned infrastructure investment tied to an economic corridor project linking Pakistan with the People’s Republic of China (PRC).

7. Challenges to Economy of Pakistan

- We consume more and save less
- We import more and export less
- Government spends more than it earns as revenues
- Our share in the world trade is shrinking
- We badly lack in social indicators
- We face energy and water shortages
- Cost of doing business is high
- Crisis of governance and implementation weaknesses
- Uncertainty and unpredictability due to lack of continuity
- Political stability, law and order/security

8. Prospects/solutions to improve economy

- Change in national psyche and mindset
- Building up of human capital
- Use of technology
- Young labour force
- Governance, devolution and decentralization

9. Conclusion

GLOBAL ENERGY POLITICS

1. Introduction

- The current turmoil in the greater Middle East confirms the region's centrality in world affairs as the place where ideological and strategic political forces intersect the established patterns of economic interdependence. Energy and finance are the twinned dimensions of that deep and intricate connectedness that are vulnerable to disruption by conflict, impaired government authority or calculated attempts to use control of energy resources as a diplomatic weapon.

2. Demand Growth and Shifts to Emerging Markets

- Economic growth in the emerging world has led to social transformation, with the rise of new middle classes which are expected to account for half of global consumption by 2015.

3. World Primary Energy Demand

- According to international energy agency, energy demand growth in Asia will be led by China this decade, but will likely shift towards India after 2025.
- According to IEA, the region's energy demand could increase by over 80% by 2035, a rise equivalent to the current demand in Japan.
- World primary energy mix 2012 supply
- Nuclear 4%, petroleum products 33%, gas 24%, renewable 9%, solid fuel(coal) 30%

4. Shifting Interests: No more West Vs The Rest

- Energy politics is shaped by three deeply interrelated themes:
 - i. Economics(supply, price and competitiveness)
 - ii. Security(issues related to strategic dependence on trade in oil and gas)
 - iii. Sustainability(climate change in particular)
 - iv. Hydrocarbons- from scarcity fears to volatility management
- The global hydrocarbons market is rapidly changing. During the last decade, peak oil theories predicting that the world was running out of oil. Such scarcity theories are often accompanied by dire predictions of resource related conflict.

5. A revolution in Gas ---Shale, LNG and the Rise of Spot Markets

- Shale boom everywhere?or nowhere?
- The US boom in unconventional oil and gas production has raised expectations about replication in other countries, most of which have run into geological, technical, political, environmental or hydrological barrier.
- China's economy has a hard landing

-

China begins rapid decarbonisation

- The stranded gas of central Asia (And Iran) finds quicker routes to market
- Electric/natural gas-powered vehicle technology expand rapidly
- The Arab Spring reaches Saudi Arabia, bringing instability and disrupting oil exports

6. Renewables and Energy Efficiency

- The IEA expects nearly half of the net increase in electricity generation to 2035 to come from renewables.

7. Fixing Electricity Systems while Preserving the Climate

- Making electricity systems work raises questions of both the economic and environmental sustainability of power production. Low and middle income countries are likely, by default to use coal as primary energy source for electricity production.
- In advanced economies, coal and gas compete with hydro and nuclear energy to provide conventional back-up capacity for the growing role of intermittent renewables.
- In terms of CO₂ emission, burning gas is better for the climate than burning coal but suffer from cost and transport challenges.

8. A fragmented Government System

- International legal regimes and organisations dealing with energy tend to be limited in scope and membership, with few synergies, and are ill-equipped to handle the energy world of the future.
- The IEA is the forum where energy and environmental policies are discussed.

9. US energy and Foreign Policy post-Shale

- The American government has long played a role in supporting key energy developments abroad, such as the BTC pipeline from Azerbaijan, for a mix of geopolitical and energy security reasons. But the United State's relatively low import dependency (by European standards) has meant that efforts to improve energy security have had a major focus on domestic production. These have paid off with the recent shale boom.
- The impact of the changing United States energy outlook on its foreign policy continues to be the matter of discussion, particularly in the Middle East. Historically, only limited amounts of Middle Eastern oil went to the United States, which imports more from the Americans.
- United State engagement in the Middle East will more likely be determined by other factors, including their role as a price taker in global energy markets (oil price surges will still hit US consumers), worries about terrorism, nuclear proliferation concerns and support for partners such as Israel.

10. Chinese Energy and Foreign Policy Challenges

- China's relatively low import dependence (by European standards) is based on its reliance on domestic coal, which has contributed approximately 70% of the country's primary energy mix for at least 30 years.

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China now uses as much coal as the rest of the world combined.

- China is also the world's largest market for renewable energy, having developed large solar and wind power industries.
- In its international engagements to secure oil and gas supplies, China has indicated its preference for long-term energy deals and control or ownership of energy sources abroad, offering stability of demand, infrastructure investment packages, financial aid and political engagement without making political demands of its partners.
- The Chinese have shown interest in cooperating more closely with the IEA and working with the ECT, of which China is currently an observer state. EU efforts to build and protect open, liquid international energy markets, therefore may increasingly be pursued not only in partnership with their closest partner, the United States, but also with China.

11. Indian Energy Approaches

- Energy poverty is a major concern, and India remains a generation behind China in terms of development, energy use, and demand impact on energy markets as well as in terms of its importance as an energy partner for Europe.
- Despite having in place a National Action Plan on Climate Change since 2008, the issue has not been a high priority. India has adamantly rejected any international binding carbon reduction targets because of their development status.
- Like China, India has multiple nuclear reactors under construction and hopes to vastly increase the share of nuclear energy in the national mix.

12. Japan's Energy Policy Conundrum

- Japan has almost no domestic fossil fuel resources. It is the world's third largest consumer and importer of oil after the United States and China, the second largest importer of coal behind China, and the world largest importer of LNG.
- Coal based electricity generation represents more than 27% of its energy mix.

13. Russian Gas Power: Losing Ground?

- The Russian government relies far more on oil than it does on gas, earning 6 to 8 times more revenue from oil. This is partly because Russia exports three quarters of the oil it produces but only one-third of the gas it produces.
- The EU is Russia's main export destination, making the country vulnerable to negative demand shocks from Europe.

14. Transit Countries: Ukraine and Turkey

- Ukraine is the key transit country for Russian gas.
- Turkey is the transit country for Central Asian oil and is about to become transit country for EU's projected Southern Corridor for gas.

15. Supplier States: The EU neighbourhood

- Norway is the major exporter, matching Russian gas exports to the EU in recent years.
- Norway is almost completely reliant on hydropower for its grid and has plans to sell electricity to Germany and the UK.

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Algeria was the EU's 11th largest oil suppliers (by sea) and third largest gas supplier (by three pipelines and by sea)

16. Supplier States: The Gulf

- Iran has the second largest gas reserves in the world, after Russia.
- A northern pipeline route has been discussed as a possible project for Iran, Turkmenistan, Iraq and other producers to send gas to Europe.
- Qatar is the significant oil exporter and has significant oil reserves but its unique importance arises from its role as the world's number one LNG supplier.
- Saudi Arab on the other hand, has generally been perceived to use its money and influence with circumspection, historically wielding great influence in Washington and throughout the Islamic world.
- The UAE is ranked seventh in the world for both oil and gas reserves, but has actually been a net importer of gas in recent years, with gas dedicated to reinjection in oil reserves or for domestic power.

17. Supplier States: The Caucasus and Central Asia

- After the Persian Gulf, the second locus of hydrocarbon supplies beyond the EU's immediate neighborhood is in the Caucasus and Central Asia, where oil from Kazakhstan, gas from Turkmenistan, and both oil and gas from Azerbaijan, have increasingly whet global appetites.

18. Conclusion

- The number of factors in the energy security equation is growing, their points of intersection increasing, and causal chains lengthening
- This is related to deepening economic interdependence globally. That integration creates mutualities of economic interest
- Progressive constricting of economic autonomy creates a conservative bias that places premiums on international stability in all domains
- States they see themselves as challenged domestically have an interest in maximizing export revenues on a stable basis
- Those states are inclined to contain/avoid international political conflict except where paramount national interests are engaged
- A reduced United States reliance on energy imports to meet national needs does not in itself automatically increase leverage on exporters for either commercial or political purposes
- The correlation between import dependence and political autonomy is vague and indirect
- There is no identifiable threshold of dependence below which concrete advantages accrue
- Given the integration of global energy markets with a wider context of economic interdependence, attention must be paid systemic characteristics as well as national ones

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The feasibility of targeting a particular country for boycott or embargo will turn on the tightness of the market and the availability of producer surge capacity on a worldwide basis

ENVIRONMENT: GLOBAL WARMING, KYOTO PROTOCOL, COPENHAGEN ACCORD

○ Introduction

1. What is Global Warming?

- The world is getting hotter, and humans are responsible. That is the short version. When people say global warming, they are typically referring to the rise in average temperature of the earth's climate system since the late 19th century.
- Global warming also refers to what scientist think will happen in the future if humans keep adding greenhouse gases to the atmosphere.

2. How do We know Global Warming is Real?

- The simplest way is through temperature measurements. Agencies in the United States and Europe have independently analyzed historical temperature data and reached the same conclusion: the earth's average surface temperature has risen roughly 0.8 Celsius (1.4 Fahrenheit) since the early 20th century.

3. How do we Know Humans are Causing Global Warming?

- Climate scientists say they are 95% certain that human influence has been the dominant cause of global warming since 1950. They are about as sure of this as they are that cigarette smoke causes cancer. Why they are so confident?
 - i. Scientist has long known that greenhouse gases in the atmosphere.
 - ii. Industrial revolution is also cause of global warming.
 - iii. More greenhouse gases will led to more heat.
 - iv. Greenhouse gases are warming the planet.
 - v. Rise in temperature over the past years.

4. Where do Greenhouse Gas Emissions Come from?

- The earth already has greenhouse gases in its atmosphere before humans ever came along, as part of the natural carbon cycle.

5. How Has Global Warming Affected the World so Far?

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- According to Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) global warming has effect on:

- i. High temperature
- ii. Heavier storms
- iii. Heat waves
- iv. Shrinking sea ice
- v. Shrinking glaciers
- vi. Sea level rise
- vii. Food supply will increase

6. How High will Global Temperature Rise?

- The earth's average temperature has already risen 0.8 Celsius over the past century because of human activity.
- Why the huge range of projections? there are two key variables
 - i. Climate sensitivity
 - ii. The future growth of emissions

7. What Impacts will Global Warming have in the Future?

- Hotter temperatures
- Higher sea level rise • Heat waves
- Droughts and floods
- Hurricanes
- Heavier storm surges
- Long term changes

8. What is Sea-Level Rise?

- Global warming has a few major effects on the oceans. As water gets warmer, it expands and the glaciers and ice caps in places like Greenland and Antarctica melt, they add water to the ocean, That all causes sea levels to go up.

9. What Happens if the World Heats up more Drastically-----say, 4C?

- The risk of climate change would rise considerably if temperature rose 4 Celsius above pre-industrial levels---something that's possible if greenhouse gas emissions keep rising at their current rate.
- Many people might think the impacts of 4C of warming will simply be twice as bad as those of 2C. But as a 2013 World Bank report argued, that's not necessarily true, impacts may interact with each other in unpredictable ways.

10. How do we Stop Global Warming?

- The world's nations would need to cut their greenhouse gas emissions by a lot. And even that wouldn't stop all global warming.
- The IPCC also notes that this task becomes even more difficult the longer we put it off, because carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases will keep piling up in the atmosphere in the meantime, and the cuts necessary to stay below 2C limit become more severe.

11. Can't we just Adapt to Global Warming?

- The world will have to adapt to global warming no matter what---but higher levels of global warming will be much more difficult to adapt to.

12. What are the UN Climate talks?

- Every year since 1995, the world's nations have sent delegates to discuss how best to prevent and prepare for global warming. This is done under the auspices of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

13. Kyoto Protocol 1992

- The Kyoto Protocol is an international treaty, which extends the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) that commits State parties to reduce greenhouse gases emissions, based on the premise that:
 - i. Global warming exists
 - ii. Man-made CO2 emissions have caused it

14. Copenhagen Accord

- The Accord
 - i. Endorses the continuation of the Kyoto Protocol **ii.** Underlines that climate change is one of the greatest challenges of our time.
 - iii. The need to establish a comprehensive adaptation programme including international support.
 - iv. Agrees that developing countries would report those actions once every two years via the UN climate change secretariat.
 - v. Establishes a Copenhagen green climate fund.

15. Conclusion

- As the days passing the impact of global warming is creating severe impact on the climate change and overall environment.

POPULATION: WORLD POPULATION TRENDS, WORLD POPULATION POLICIES

1. Introduction

- The world population is the total number of living humans on earth.
- The United States Census Bureau estimated that the world population exceeded 7 billion on March 12, 2012.
- In June 2013, the population Division of the United States Department of Economic and Social Affairs estimated the world population at approximately 7.2 billion.

2. Population by Region

- Six of earth's seven continents are permanently inhabited on a large scale.
- Asia is the most populous continent, with its 4.3 billion inhabitants accounting for 60% of the world population.
- The world's two most populated countries alone, China and India, together constitute about 37% of the world's population.
- Africa is the second most populated Continent with 15% population of the world.

3. History

○ Antiquity and Middle Ages

- The world population in 35,000 BCE is estimated to have been around three million people.

4. Modern Era

- During the European agricultural and industrial revolutions, the life expectancy of children increased dramatically.
- Population growth in the West became more rapid after the introduction of vaccination and other improvements in medicine and sanitation.
- Many countries in the developing world have experienced extremely rapid population growth since the early 20th century.

5. Overpopulation

○ Predictions of Scarcity

- In 1798 work An Essay on the principle of population, the British scholar Thomas Malthus incorrectly predicted that continued population growth would exhaust the global food supply by the mid-19th century.

6. Environmental Impacts

- A number of scientist have argued that the current global population expansion and accompanying increase in resource consumption threatens the world's ecosystem, as well as straining humanity's ability to feed itself.

7. Population Control

- Human population control is the practice of intervening to alter the rate of population growth.
- Historically, population control has been implemented by limiting a region's birth rate.

8. Over-population as a Myth

- Some scientists, religious commentators, and public policy analysts have criticized predictions of over-population and attendant resource scarcity, with some describing over-population as a myth.

9. Causes of Overpopulation

- Illiteracy
- High Birth Rate And Low Death Rate
- Early Marriages
- Polygamy
- Unawareness About The Proper use Of Contraceptive
- Desire For Male Child
- Misinterpretation Of Religious Ulemas
- Lack Of Recreational Activities
- Failure Of Governmental Population planning Policies

10. Impacts of Overpopulation

- Low Economic Growth
- Low Investment And Unemployment
- Poor Social Services
- Low productivity
- Urbanization
- Social Evils Like lawlessness, Crime And corruption
- Pollution Problem

11. World Population Policies

- Population size, growth and age structure
- Fertility, reproductive health and family planning fertility
- Reproductive health and family planning
- Migration spatial distribution and internal migration
- International migration

12. Conclusion

- Pakistan today is standing at the crossroads. What is need of the hour is vision and sincere leadership that could transform dreams into reality.
- The problem of population has started to haunt us and unless we tackle it pragmatically our dream of bright and glorious future will just remain a pious wish. It needs a multi-pronged attack with overpopulation.
- A strong Pakistan should be our first priority. If we have to make certain hard decisions for its accomplishment no one should hesitate to lead and pull the trigger.
- Indeed, Pakistan comes first even before our personal vested interests.