



INTERNATIONAL LAW & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



THE SILENT MENACE OF DESERTIFICATION



LOCAL GOVERNANCE SYSTEM IN PAKISTAN: A CASE STUDY OF METROPOLITAN CITY KARACHI



THE MIGRANT CRISIS IN EUROPE: AN APPRAISAL AND WAY FORWARD

COVER STORY

PAKISTAN'S STRATEGIC CORRIDORS & PROJECTS

More Inside

- Why Does Pakistan Air Force Love The F-16?
- Info Graphics: Nuclear Security Summit 2016
- In Focus



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COVER STORY

PAKISTAN'S STRATEGIC CORRIDORS AND PROJECTS

| 18

In Focus

by Khoulah Afzal Qamar

| 3

BIOSPHERE

The Silent Menace of Desertification

by Dr. Syeda Benish Ali

| 08

GEOSTRATEGY

International Law & International Relations Challenge to Foreign Policy of a State

by Aisha Saeed

| 13

The Migrant Crisis in Europe: An Appraisal and Way Forward

by Ousama Khurshid Khan

| 26

DIAGNOSIS

Local Governance system in Pakistan:

A Case Study of Metropolitan City Karachi

by Sidra Waseem

| 34

INFOGRAPHICS

Nuclear Security Summit 2016

| 40

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

Why Does Pakistan Air Force Love The F-16?

by Bilal Khan

| 42

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IN FOCUS

NATIONAL

IN FOCUS

Karachi Operation:

The Sindh Rangers requested the Supreme Court to direct the Sindh government to allow the Rangers to set up their own police stations with the powers of registration of FIRs, investigation and submission of charge sheets. The D G Rangers criticised the provincial government's act with regard to the extension of its powers under the anti-terrorism law and curtailing its legal powers, as he filed a report before the Supreme Court bench hearing the Karachi law and order suo moto case.

The Sindh government submitted its response to the SC and objected to the Rangers proposal to create a separate policing structure in Karachi, as it will create a parallel criminal justice system in the country.

Supreme Court's five-member bench, headed by Chief Justice Anwar Zaheer Jamali, expressed its dissatisfaction over the police report and inquired from the IG Sindh why the terrorists involved in target killings had not been arrested and charge-sheeted. The SC also directed the federal and provincial governments and stakeholders to remove the Rangers' reservations and look into their recommendations to achieve peace in Karachi.



NATIONAL



Thar Deaths:

Epidemic diseases and shortage of food in Tharparkar has increased the death toll to 182, as deaths are witnessed almost daily in Thar. Moreover, more than 150 children are under treatment in different hospitals in the district including Civil Hospital in Mithi.

The Sindh High Court (SHC) directed the provincial government's counsel to submit the report of the judicial commission constituted to probe deaths in drought-affected Thar.

The petitioners submitted that most areas of district Thar including Mithi, Chachhro, Diplo, Islamkot and Nangarparkar were facing a famine like situation for the past couple of years while over 200 people, majority of them malnourished children, had died only in the current year.

Return of Mustufa Kamal:

Ending his self-imposed exile, former mayor of Karachi and MQM party member Mustufa Kamal challenged the 'iron grip' of the MQM on the city by forming a new party in a news conference along with former Rabita Committee member Anees Qaimkhani. Kamal accused Altaf Hussain of working for India's Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), issuing threats under the influence of alcohol and politicizing corpses.

Kamal's new and yet unnamed party, was joined by the likes of Dr Sagheer Ahmed, Raza Haroon, Waseem Aftab and Iftikhar Alam, as they announced dissent from their former party MQM.



WORLD



Parliamentary Elections in Iran

The second round of parliamentary elections will be held in 56 constituencies across Iran on 29 April, according to Mehr news agency. A total of 138 candidates are set to compete for 69 seats in parliament, for which no clear winner was elected during the first round of voting, which was held on February 26.

Conservatives won 103 in the February elections, while the pro-Rouhani coalition of moderates, won 95, with other seats going to independents and minorities. Despite efforts by the authorities to filter out radicals, the moderates managed to win a majority in the Assembly of Experts, the clerical body tasked with choosing the next supreme leader.

South China Sea:

A sharp escalation in the militarization of the South China Sea has been observed since the beginning of this year.

China has placed advanced surface-to-air missiles on one of its claimed islands in the South China Sea. Beijing placed two batteries of eight surface-to-air Hongqi-9 (HQ-9) missiles on Woody Island, which is part of the disputed Paracel Island chain in the disputed waters. Ten days after the satellite images revealing two batteries missiles came to surface, reports of China sending J-11 fighter jets to Woody Island emerged.

In retaliation, US Army announced its plans to stockpile equipment in Vietnam, Cambodia, and other Pacific countries that will allow US forces to deploy there more rapidly.



WORLD



Syrian Ceasefire:

The US and Russia have announced the cessation of hostilities in Syria which came into effect at midnight on 27 February. The joint Russian-US statement states said the truce did not include so-called Islamic State (IS) and the al-Qaeda-linked Nusra Front, as the truce applied to “those parties to the Syrian conflict that have indicated their commitment to and acceptance of its terms”. It further stated that air strikes by Syria, Russia and the US-led coalition against these groups would continue.

According to the Russian center for Syrian reconciliation, the total number of Syrian armed groups that have joined the ceasefire regime has reached 43. More than 250,000 Syrians have been killed in the conflict which began in March 2011, while 11 million others have been forced from their homes.

Surge in Turkey Militancy:

On the evening of March 13, a deadly suicide car bomb attack was carried out in Ankara, the Turkish capital. The Kurdistan Freedom Falcons (TAK), a group with ties to the Kurdish Workers' Party claimed responsibility of the attack, in which 35 people were killed. Four people were killed in clashes between security forces and Kurdish militants, as fighting widened in southeast Turkey following the suicide car bomb attack

Turkey has suffered five major bombings since July last year, killing more than 200 people, including two in Ankara in less than a month. In response to the surge in violence, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan said the definition of terrorist needed to be broadened to include supporters.



→ BIOSPHERE

The Silent Menace of Desertification



by Dr. Syeda Benish Ali



DESERTIFICATION

Desertification refers to the process of degradation of economically productive land in dry areas. Desertification has long been recognized as a major environmental and societal problem emerging from a combination of climatic factors and human activities.

Drylands make up 40% of the world's land mass sustaining 44% of the world's food production systems and 50% of the world's livestock. According to UNCCD (United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification) every year around 12 million hectares of productive land is lost worldwide due to drought and desertification thus hampering the life-supporting systems sustained by these lands.

Pakistan is mainly a dryland country with around 80% of the land being arid or semi-arid, supporting the livelihoods of around two-thirds of the country's population. However due to rapid land degradation and desertification largely arising from human activities, we are losing this vital non-renewable resource.



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THE CHALLENGE OF DESERTIFICATION

In recent decades, desertification has been largely driven by human interventions posing serious threats to several populations across the globe. Desertification is a self-accelerating process involving a range of interconnected phenomena many of which are both causative and consequential.

Deforestation: One of the most

significant factors directly associated with desertification is the loss of vegetation and forest cover. Pakistan's forest cover is only 3-4% of the total land mass instead of the required 20-25%. Indiscriminate cutting of forests by local communities, timber mafia and property builders has aggravated the problem of desertification. Vegetation stabilizes soil by providing cover and withholding sediments by roots. Deforestation exposes the soil to the effects of soil-degrading factors such as wind and water erosion. It also reduces the resistance against water logging and salinity, causes the loss of productive



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topsoil, loss of biodiversity and also contributes to global warming.

Grazing Pressure: The unsystematic and increased livestock grazing has devastated ecosystems in various parts of the country. Loss of shrubs and woodlands in the Southwestern mountains and other dryland areas has caused tremendous land degradation resulting in the loss of soil fertility and increased soil erosion.

Climatic Factors: Climatic factors such as drought and flooding also contribute to the problem of desertification. Floods cause a loss of vegetation, crops and fertile topsoil. Drought has a very significant impact in arid and semi-arid areas. Pakistan's drylands are subject to periodic and prolonged droughts which have accentuated the problem of desertification particularly in fragile ecosystems. Drought on one hand reduces the recharge of groundwater aquifers and on the other hand causes the loss of vegetation which promotes desertification.

Water Logging and Salinity: Water logging, i.e. the saturation of soil with water, and salinity i.e. excess of soluble salts in soil solution are also a major causative factor of land degradation in Pakistan. Water logging is more prevalent in the irrigated areas of Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan mainly due to improper use of irrigation water. Around 11 million hectares of the land is water logged with water table depth of only 5-10 feet.

Salinity is associated with natural processes as well as to the irrigation activities affecting around 6 million hectares of total land mass of Pakistan. Water logging and salinity render a fertile land barren thus hampering the productivity of soil and loss of



biodiversity.

Soil Erosion: Soil erosion is the loss of soil involving detachment, movement and deposition at a new location. Soil erosion by wind (wind erosion) or water (water erosion) is a significant challenge associated with desertification. Soil erosion results in the loss of productive topsoil thus directly affecting land fertility as well as associated biodiversity.

Wind erosion is common in the arid areas of Punjab, Sindh and Baluchistan affecting around 3-5 million



According to IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) and MDG (Millennium Development Goals) food security is one of the biggest challenges faced by global population and is likely to worsen with time if not taken seriously.

hectares of land and is responsible for 28% of the total soil loss. Dust storms not only erode a substantial amount of soil from a dryland but also create health and pollution issues in the deposition areas.

Water erosion is worsened by deforestation, overgrazing and poor watershed management. It has become a major ecological hazard in Pakistan. An estimated 40 million tons of sediments are annually introduced in the Indus river basin. This increased sedimentation of water bodies has reduced the water storage capacity of major reservoirs, affected aquatic biodiversity and is responsible for increase in the risk and intensity of floods. About 11.2 million hectares of land in Pakistan is affected by water erosion. Northern mountain regions with relatively thick forest cover protect soil from erosion while maximum runoff overloaded with eroded sediments is generated from deforested and irrigated lands.

Degradation of Rangelands: Rangeland refers to a vast area (usually an open land) used by livestock for grazing and constitutes around 60% of the total land mass of Pakistan. These lands are naturally fragile ecosystems, highly vulnerable to degradation. Baluchistan is around 79% rangeland and livestock rearing is the predominant occupation of people in the province. Lack of integrated grazing management practices, recurrent drought, and erosion are the main factors behind rangeland degradation in Pakistan, threatening the sustainability of this significant resource.

Loss of Biodiversity: Biodiversity loss is a serious global and regional concern. Every year the world loses around 27,000 species and with it valuable genetic resources. Desertification is one of the major threats to biodiversity by affecting soil biota as well



June 17 has been declared as the World Day to Combat Desertification and Drought since December 1994 by UN General Assembly to sensitize policymakers and public about the challenge.

as allied species. Drylands provide an important habitat for several species of mammals and birds which may suffer a threat of extinction with ongoing desertification.

Agricultural Practices: Pakistan is primarily an agricultural country and around 60-70% of the population is directly or indirectly linked to agricultural farming. In addition to rain-fed areas, there is an extensive irrigation system as well. However, mismanagement of irrigation system and agricultural practices has contributed significantly to the problem of land degradation and desertification. Extensive and continued cropping without nutrient replenishment has negative effects on soil fertility. Artificial fertilizers are used for maintaining fertility of the soil but the high costs limit their use. Moreover, fertilizer application is almost always more generalized without a pre-testing of soil for required minerals, leading to nutrient imbalance and reduction in soil fertility.

Increased cultivation leads to increased irrigation generating problems like excessive use of groundwater, water pollution, soil erosion, salinity and water logging all contributing to desertification. Another problem is expansion of cultivated lands in drylands to meet the high demand of food which in turn increases the risk of degradation due to alterations in the ecosystem.

Food insecurity and Poverty: Fertile soil is the most significant, non-renewable geo-resource. Loss



United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD) was established in 1994 with objectives seeking “to improve land productivity, to restore (or preserve) land, to establish more efficient water usage and to introduce sustainable development in the affected areas and more generally, improve the living conditions of those populations affected by drought and desertification”.





of soil productivity and its consequences in the form of loss of livelihood, food insecurity, hunger and poverty are one of the biggest threats associated with land degradation and desertification. According to IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) and MDG (Millennium Development Goals) food security is one of the biggest challenges faced by global population and is likely to worsen with time if not taken seriously. Pakistan's economy faces a direct loss of billions of rupees due to reduction in agricultural output as a result of land degradation and desertification.

Desertification has an inverse relationship with food security and a direct link with food prices which has led vulnerable populations to the increased menace of hunger and poverty. An estimated 1.2 billion people who inhabit drylands are below poverty line. At present, land degradation directly affects 74% of the poor worldwide. Continuing trends will entrench more population in poverty and food insecurity ultimately driving more migrations and conflicts, in turn threatening the global security.

Human Population Growth: Primary driving factor behind this ecological issue is the increasing pressure on natural resources due to the ever-increasing human population coupled with lack of sustainable and wise land use management. Basic human needs such as food and space are directly linked to land usage and are being negatively affected by desertification making this planet a hostile place for future generations to live in.

STRATEGIES

Natural ecosystems have a threshold beyond which damage becomes irreversible warranting the significance of timely efforts. To ensure food

and livelihood security, populations will have to adopt measures to conserve and enhance natural resources. Desertification has long been recognized as a challenge by the international community evident from the 1992 Rio Earth Summit which identified it as a major challenge to sustainable development along with climate change and loss of biodiversity. United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD) was established in 1994 with objectives seeking "to improve land productivity, to restore (or preserve) land, to establish more efficient water usage and to introduce sustainable development in the affected areas and more generally, improve the living conditions of those populations affected by drought and desertification". With the assistance of United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and Global Environment Facility (GEF), Ministry of Environment, Pakistan launched a project "Sustainable Land Management to Combat Desertification in Pakistan" to address the issues pertaining to land degradation and desertification. Following strategies can be taken into consideration to combat this growing threat.

Awareness Activities: Awareness or promotional activities are the first step to be taken for combatting desertification. June 17 has been declared as the World Day to Combat Desertification and Drought since December 1994 by UN General Assembly to sensitize policymakers and public about the challenge. Unfortunately we do not observe effective awareness campaigns against this menace in Pakistan. Awareness regarding its implications on economy, food and society and the approaches to manage the issue needs an extensive coverage. Promotional activities may involve education through electronic and print media; distribution of educational materials in educational institutes; awareness workshops and communication with, and technical training of direct land users. Sensitization and information is important

because only a well-oriented population can respond positively to the mitigation efforts.

Land use management: Sustainable and integrated land use management is critical to address arid and semi-arid lands and a key to combat desertification. First of all there is a need for the establishment of a monitoring and tracking system so that appropriate strategies can be devised. Land use management practices must be based on the knowledge of land capacity and the rate of soil depletion. Land use management could involve agroforestry; game ranching of animal species better adapted to arid conditions than livestock; integrated farming techniques; land reforms etc. Lessons can be learned from strategies adopted in other countries with similar challenges. Due to rapid increase in population, demand of products is acute and so are the symptoms associated with the disruption of ecological services. Viable approach is to diagnose the issue and devise long-term solutions than focusing on acute problems.

Reforestation: Reforestation is one of the most effective and foremost strategies to combat desertification. As a consequence of reforestation campaigns, many desertification-prone areas of the world are responding positively to address the threat. For instance, our immediate neighbors China and India have turned themselves from forest-losing to the forest-gaining regions through massive replantation efforts. With increasing requirement for agriculture, it has become difficult to reverse the conversion of forest land into the cultivated land. However, adoption of agroforestry practices offers a viable solution towards restoring forest cover in these areas.

Reclamation of Land: Land degradation is not necessarily permanent, and at many places, it has a potential to be reversed. Therefore, efforts must be done for the restoration and reclamation of affected areas such as Baluchistan rangelands before the damage becomes irreversible.

Urban Planning: The factors directly causative of desertification are themselves the functions of population density. Appropriate urban planning and wise partitioning of resources is therefore required to manage the stress on land resources.

Research Opportunities: Research aimed at finding out innovative approaches and technical improvements to the existing practices must be encouraged. Owing to the diverse nature of the issue involving multiple social, economic, demographic, political and ecological aspects, a multidisciplinary approach based on scientific principles holds the potential to offer more promising solutions. Therefore, research promotion must constitute a compulsory part of long-term planning.

Sustainable Agricultural Practices: A lot of



research has been done worldwide to improve agricultural practices and to enhance crop yields in a manner least stressful to natural resources. Translation of that research in Pakistan after initial trials, availability of low price fertilizers and an easy access to soil testing laboratories and other technical assistance facilities are among the key factors to conserve soil fertility and improve productivity. Expansion of agricultural farming to more fragile drylands should be avoided by improving crop yield per unit area. Selection of drought-resistant varieties could help manage water budget of marginal lands in particular.

Economic growth costs long-term losses to the ecosystem. We need to develop and adopt systems that do not compromise ecosystem integrity. Our economy and prosperity is based on the primary productivity of our land. Neglecting this serious issue will limit our survival, therefore we need to protect and conserve our soil capital. Likewise, keeping the increasing prevalence of hunger and poverty in mind, power corridors and policy makers need to realize that "building fences around their prosperity will not work".

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International Law & International Relations

CHALLENGE TO FOREIGN POLICY OF A STATE

GEOSTRATEGY



By Aisha Saeed

States function on different policies and laws. Some of these laws are for internal functioning of the state; others are of the external dealings that the states have to maintain in order to become an effective member of the international community. Globalization has blurred the lines of isolation between the states. State interactions have become common and no state can seem to exist by isolating itself from the rest of the world. The interaction of nations or states and their dealings with the rest of the states around the world have become a discipline in its own right. The phenomena of globalization was so rapid that it influenced everything and everyone; from culture to people to states. States have attained the role of actors or representatives in the international community that has been formed as a result of globalization.

Any action taken by a certain actor in the International Relations will make some “cause and effect” impact on the other states, linked to it by any means. So, with changing milieus of the international community of the states, Political Science as a subject has expanded

into many roots, making subjects like International Law, International Relations and Foreign Policy. These three might be considered as different subjects as each has its own depth, but all of these are interlinked, which makes it hard to understand one, without understanding or at least knowing about the other. They are different yet connected with each other under the bigger umbrella of Political Science itself. If one studies international law, they cannot understand the working of the laws unless and until they study International Relations. The same rule would apply if one needs to study International Relation. The foreign policy on the contrary





States are bound by international law and work towards the creation of a peaceful world, but these laws that states are bound to follow also challenge the national interest of states at some point, hence leaving the foreign

policy of the state in a vague vacuum of national interest verses international law and international relations. The international law bounds states to form peaceful ties with the other states but in a complex and ever changing political scenario in the contemporary times, where at times even international law seems to fail to provide answers to the conflicts, the foreign policy goals of states are beset by laws, treaties and indentures, particularly those of weaker actors.

requires more understanding of the local state systems and its own national interests. Some might argue that a foreign policy is formulated keeping in mind the international scenarios of the world. The foreign policy defines how a state will manage its dealings with the other states. It is a set of rules which can be changed by the state according to its own will and needs of the time. The magazine Foreign Policy, gives an easy definition, which explains foreign policy as:

"A foreign policy is a set of laws or rules, of political nature with the aims that tend to sketch out, how a certain state, will interact or built its relations with the other nations of the world. Foreign policies usually are formulated to facilitate in protecting or safeguarding a state's national interests, national defense, ideological concepts or values along with the economic prosperity of a country. This can be achieved by diplomatic or other forms of collaboration with other countries, or by hostility, conflict, and development. Formulating a foreign policy is generally the task of the head of administration and the foreign minister or appointed official." Although, foreign policy is a matter of the state

it cannot be formed by violating or even fully complying with the concepts of international law or International relations, as they are both linked together and are considered an integral part of each other but a state's foreign policy defines its stance on whether it wants to abide by International Law or by the factors that influence its own political and national interests. States have to grapple to maintain a balance so as to withstand the pressures they confront in safeguarding their interests.

As International Law and International Relations are considered to be two optics, (R.O. Keohane), they both have effects on each other. States which follow International Law are automatically considered to follow rules of International Relations. Also that the two (International law and International relations) somewhat serve the same objectives hence they work towards the same agendas (Anne-Marie). Others put forward the very question of why states or nations have to follow or obey International Law, (Harold Hongju Koh). This questions the reasons which compel a state to follow international laws which at times can differ with the national interests or policies of the states.

At the same time there is a need to understand how the two, International Law and International Relations work together and how they differ from foreign policy of the state. (John K. Setear). Although International Law and International Relations are much easier to discuss together but at the same time, in a world which is getting dependent on one and other via globalization, politics has also become globalized and to avoid war and conflicts states are working together. The state's foreign policy now, is much likely to serve and abide by international laws rather than their own national interest. This gap leaves a state in making harsh decisions on whether to comply by the international laws or make foreign policies that serve and protect their own national interests.

The unapproved use of Drones by U.S in Pakistan left a sense of confusion. If the case is inspected through the three prisms mentioned before, it will not be able to deduce a satisfying

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Any action taken by a certain actor in the international community will make some “cause and effect” impact on the other states, linked to it by any means. So, with changing milieus of the international community of the states, Political Science as a subject has expanded into many roots, making subjects like International Law, International Relations and Foreign Policy.

answer. Pakistan is a considered sovereign state in the international community, yet drone attacks within its airspace by the United States, led many to question the power of the United States. These drone attacks have led to colossal civilian casualties in tribal belts. Applying International Law on this case, the state laws forbid any unlawful acts against the other state which also involves violations of human rights. Although, some argue that there existed a secret treaty between Pakistan and United States regarding the use of drones but only to an extent of intelligence gathering, in which case other international players cannot intervene as it becomes an inter-state agreement. However, the proof differs from the proposed proposition.

If looked at the case through the prism of

International Relations, it still seems to be unable to find a solution of the issue of drone attacks. The concept of war has changed greatly with the advancement in technology of weapons. Drone attacks and its technology is one of the examples. International Relations ordains Pakistan to find peaceful solution to the issue of drones with the United States and prevents Pakistan from cutting off its relations with the United States because of the status of ally and also because Pakistan requires a great deal of aid from the United States. If Pakistan cuts off its ties with the U.S over this question of drones and seeks justice, it could face sanctions or cut-offs in Coalition Support Funds (CSF), making Pakistan isolated from the main power players of this anarchical world's political scaffold.

So both the International Law and International Relations have failed to provide a solution to the question of drone attacks. This indicates that the realist perspective prevails in the world of international politics which disregards International Law and hence International Relations hinge upon this worldview.

Strong states are more preponderant than weaker states and usually the stronger states get away even with the violations of universally accepted human rights. The same is the case in the relationship between Pakistan and United States. Pakistan is considered a weaker state even in the international political arena of the



world. Aid makes the position of Pakistan feeble as the cost of relational straits is way too high. Pakistan cannot take up the issue of drone attacks to any international organization. It is hard to look for answers or solutions in International Law or International Relations as, up till now only Pakistan has faced this issue, and is the only one in the reign and also because all of this is a post 9/11 policy of United States. The international community has since then seen a shift in global politics and the concept of war against terrorism has become a policy of many other states which are in alliance with the United States. Solutions to this cannot be found in older laws or understandings of International Law nor does International Relations provide an answer. The post 9/11 scenario affected Pakistan much more than anticipated by anyone, even the Pakistani government. Pakistan suffered due to its relationship with United States and was made to pay the price in terms of an abusive relationship. This is where the question of why states have to follow International Law comes in. Can a state survive without having to adhere to International Law or abstain from International Relations? Or this isolation can cause more sanctions and lessen trade or other important factors on which the state operates?

Foreign Policy is not international politics (Kenneth) which implies that foreign policies of a state have less to do with the international politics. This concept given out by Kenneth, indicates the confusion that lies within the rules and laws set out by the international community, but at the same time the international community expects a state to act as a law abiding member. So if international politics deals with the politics of international importance, where then does the importance of a state to have its own independent policies lie? Even Kenneth is of the view that unless and until there is a clear distinction between how the states interact with one and other and how they make their policies, there will also be confusion and problem in looking for answers in the international law and international relations.

Foreign policy is an internal matter of the state. It is the state or head of government, officials

that formulate policies of the state and how the state will behave with other or few states in particular. National interests form the core of a foreign policy of a state. These national interests can be of any nature. Interests are determined by the government of the states. At the same time anything which is of national or ideological value to the nation by and large, is not compromised by any state. The issue of drone attacks has led to many changes in the foreign policy of Pakistan. These policies have not been stable and have faced many external pressure from the stronger states of the world like the United States. With the influence on the foreign policy, United States has made Pakistan more bound to International Laws and its relations by giving economic aid and calling Pakistan an important ally in the war against terrorism. The Pakistani foreign policy has always been under external pressures as Pakistan is still considered as a weak state. National interests can be maintained by negotiating on secondary interests; if there is any external pressure involved. Being beleaguered by international laws and its relation with United States and to form a policy over Drone attacks is of great challenge to the policy makers as both the civilian government and military understand that ties cannot be severed with the United States. It is a challenge to make foreign policy of a state that has a lot of influence from outside and in particular from the stronger states in the world order. In case of Pakistan, International Law and International Relations seem to be the determinants of the policy of the state and the policy makers abide by the rules and laws set out of the two determinants. Individual state behavior of Pakistan is seen very rarely and



The state's foreign policy now, is much likely to serve and abide by international laws rather their own national interest. This gap leaves a state in making harsh decisions on whether to comply by the international laws or make foreign policies that serve and protect their own national interests.

is confined to certain states only. Pakistan's relationship with China and Turkey, seem more likely add as the policy of the state itself, this is where lesser or no external pressure has been seen. Independent states have independent foreign policies and act as sole representatives within the international political community. Keeping in mind the case of drone attacks and other interventions by United States and some other players, Pakistan's foreign policy is not truly a policy that is meant to safeguard the national interest of Pakistan. Otherwise, violation of the territorial sovereignty is a clear violation of International Law and International Relations alike. Both of these would offer, somewhat similar suggestions regarding the punishment to the violator. This is also due to the fact that Pakistan follows international rules and laws and considers it a duty as a member of the global community to eradicate any forms of threat to any other state or even itself, from its own soil. As stated by Waltz that foreign policies are a product of the internal government of a state and nothing to do with the factors outside the state. A state can assert itself internationally if it is cohesive and strong domestically.

It can be concluded that such issues of Drone attacks or any other modern fighting techniques do not have any clear answers if seen through the lens of international law and international relations. Although, International Law and International Relations are much easier to discuss together but at the same time, in a world which is getting dependent on one another via globalization, politics has also become globalized and to avoid war and conflicts states are working together. The state's



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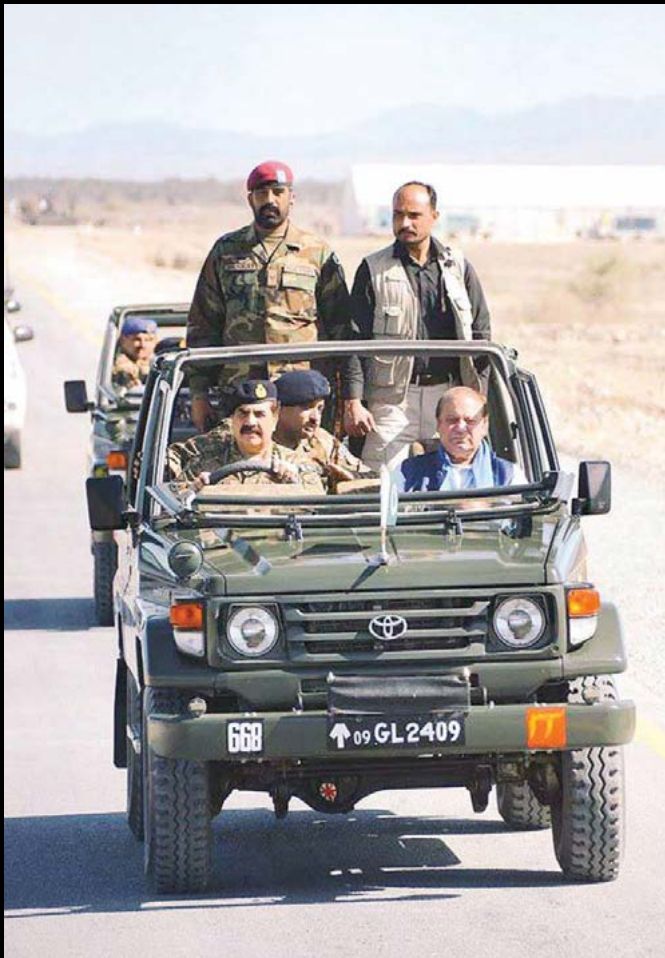
foreign policy now, is much likely to serve and abide by international laws rather than on their own national interest. This limitation compels a state in making harsh decisions on whether to comply by the international laws or make foreign policies that serve and protect their own national interests.

Like International Law and International Relations can work together, the foreign policy and the decisions of a state need to be thought about at an academic level. It could be studied as a new module of International Law and International Relations, as foreign policies are rather dictated by national interests (Secondary and Vital) and the underpinning of world politics, which at times means that individual states are constrained to wrest initiative.



Foreign policy is an internal matter of the state. It is the state or head of government, officials that formulate policies of the state and how the state will behave with other or few states in particular. National interests form the core of a foreign policy of a state.

Aisha Saeed has done her Graduation in Mass Communications and Political Science from Forman Christian College. She was the co-editor of her department's newspaper. Aisha was also a participant in the US-Aid mentorship program in Information Technology University. Her main research interests lie in Political Communications, Foreign policy and International relations. She tweets @MsAishaK



PAKISTAN-CHINA ECONOMIC CORRIDOR [CPEC]

"The CPEC has been termed as a strategic initiative which will change the region for good, bringing in the prosperity long overdue. The CPEC initiates from a deep sea port city Gwadar located in Pakistan, which shall act as the nerve centre for the whole endeavor, and lead all the way to the Chinese historic western city of Kashgar near Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan borders.

The Arabian Sea neighborhood is propping up competing projects all around which shall see increase in flow of commercial traffic thus raising the strategic substance to new heights. The business multiplier will be the Iranian economy opening up to the world, while Oman and UAE aggressively compete to become regional economic hub." UAE ports will serve both the Middle East and Iran with capital, multinationals presence, and better infrastructure. Meanwhile, Pakistan shall cater to the landlocked Afghanistan, Central Asia

PAKISTAN'S STRATEGIC CORRIDORS AND PROJECTS

STRATEGIC PULSE

by Prof. Khuram Amin



“High speed trains, roads linking major cities, economic zones, power plants, dry ports, and water treatment facilities are the few undertakings as part of the greater vision. The prospective oil and gas pipelines from Iran to China running adjacent to CPEC are the few ventures being explored. The mineral deposits, cheap labor, rising demand, climatic conditions and proximity to emerging economic superpowers are the ingredients of progress already present locally and in the vicinity of Pakistan.”



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TRILATERAL TRANSIT TRADE AGREEMENT (TTTA)

Beside CPEC other economic routes are also viable and significant with immense opportunities and fortunes. Pakistan and Tajikistan are close neighbors with narrowest route through Afghanistan's Wakhan district near Khandud village approximately 10 km wide, and the alternative way across China which already exists and is considered more secure.

The trade passage of Pakistan-Afghanistan-Tajikistan shall pass through the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa's province, Lowari Tunnel bringing affluence to the areas and speedy provision of Pakistani products to Tajikistan. The transportation can be from Gawadar to Dushanbe, Khunjarab to Murgab and Chitral to Dushanbe. Tajikistan has been seeking oil imports from Kuwait via Pakistan along with the facilities to trade in and out other commodities through Karachi and Gwadar sea ports to other parts of the world in the coming years. Tajikistan has already attracted the attention of Pakistani industrialists as evidenced from the companies registered there by them in recent years. In November 2015, Tajik Foreign Minister Sirojiddin Aslov called for more direct investment from Pakistani investors to exploit and extract natural resources and up to 40 kinds of metals present in his country.

The main hurdle in this transit exchange is Afghanistan's uncompromising insistence to

include India in the agreement. Pakistan has been hesitant until political settlements are reached between the countries. However, as the agreement is in the final stages, it may not take long for this dream to be realized once signed.

QUADRILATERAL AGREEMENT ON TRAFFIC IN TRANSIT (QATT)

Beijing also wants to reach Central Asia through the CPEC. As Afghanistan is not enthusiastic about the venture due to political reasons, China and Pakistan are working on an alternative route – the Quadrilateral Agreement on Traffic in Transit (Pakistan, China, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan). The QATT is to promote mercantile traffic in transit amongst the contracting states desiring to strengthen the existing friendly relations even further. Recently Tajikistan's request for being part of this arrangement is being considered seriously by the states already included in the QATT.

“The road and rail lines connecting Almaty, Bishkek, and Kashghar to Islamabad is a viable venture despite long distance. Political problems, infrastructure construction, Karakoram renovation have to be resolved to benefit at the optimum level. A trial trade convoy from Pakistan sent in the past reached Almaty in time and returned thus showing the possibility of the option.”

In time, with peace prevailing in Afghanistan and Tajikistan, the Kazakhstan's Almaty - Pakistan's Karachi road/railway web is likely to be extended to other Afghanistan-Pakistan communication networks. This would allow Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to trade through the Arabian Sea to South, Southwest Asia and the Middle East with distances reduced by approximately 1200-1400 kilometers. Diplomats and officials in participating countries value the importance of Almaty-Karachi and related link roads as economically cost-effective, relatively safe and noncontroversial when compared to

other sensitive routes. The Almaty-Karachi road is likely to also open up new commercial vistas for other neighborly nations not yet covered in the agreement.

The road and rail lines connecting Almaty, Bishkek, and Kashghar to Islamabad is a viable venture despite long distance. Political problems, infrastructure construction, Karakoram renovation have to be resolved to benefit at the optimum level. A trial trade convoy from Pakistan sent in the past reached Almaty in time and returned thus showing the possibility of the option.

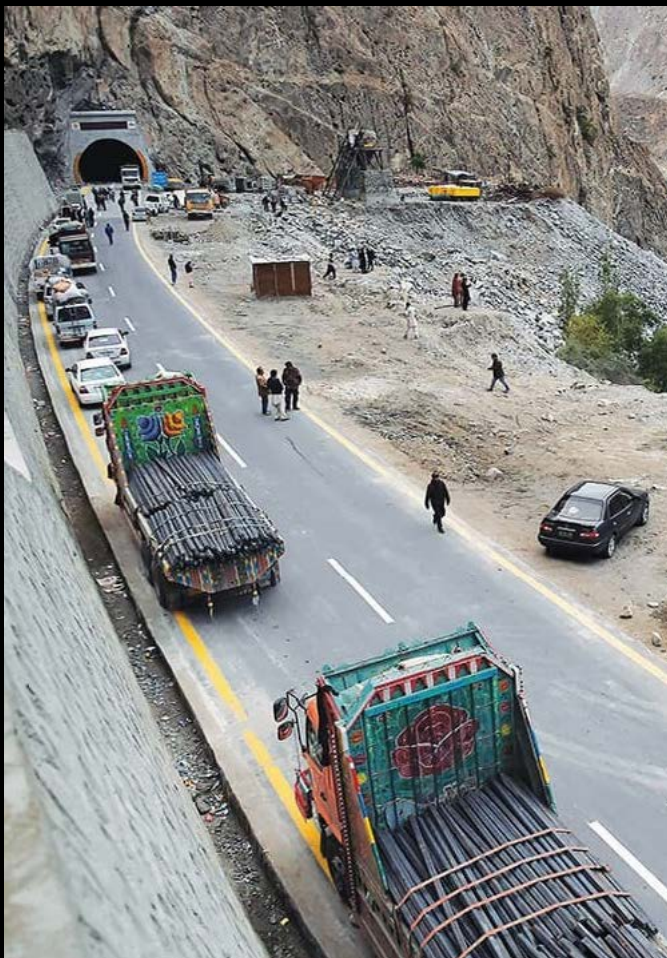
TRILATERAL CONNECTIVITY NETWORKS

Iran, Pakistan and Turkey have the ambition of connectivity through rail, road, air and optic fiber with a possibility of other countries joining at later stage. According to experts, Islamabad, Tehran and Istanbul [I-T-I] 6566 km freight train journey will take 14-16 days from Pakistan's federal capital to the Turkish capital, as compared to 40-45 days from Karachi to a Turkish sea port. According to Mohammad Mirzaei Kahagh, Director of Transport &

Communications at the Economic Co-operation Organization, agreement has been reached to cut the journey time from 15 to 10 days through swift trains, in comparison to 17 days by road. Negotiations are also underway to cut tariffs by 20% to make the cost of goods train as low as sea rates.

Utilizing N-25 National Road Highway and Gül freight train service between Islamabad, Tehran, and Istanbul under the framework of Economic Cooperation Organization [ECO] is quite feasible. The journeys under ECO charter shall minimize and eliminate many red tape hurdles and inspections respectively. Iran and Pakistan have set up an "IT Silk Road" optic fiber network integrating each other and which shall be an international transit route connecting electronically China, Pakistan and Iran to Turkey and Europe.

Turkish companies encouraged by the Pakistani government are executing projects successfully in various parts of the land. Iran is eager for trade from Turkey than to rely on Middle East states geographically opposite to it. Iranian businesses are setting up their offices in turkey



for not only imports and exports but to benefit from its growing economy as well.

The success shall depend on operating the whole infrastructure on pure commercial basis. Free trade agreements and better integration among the three countries can stimulate trade and commerce easily tripling the revenue figures earned now. The road-rail nexus shall carry textile, surgical tools, furniture, eatables, machinery and spare parts, chemicals and agricultural tools.

PAKISTAN-UZBEKISTAN TRANSIT TRADE AGREEMENT

Since 1991, Pakistan and Uzbekistan have signed multiple agreements to institutionalize their relationship and boost bilateral trade. All major sectors have endorsed these contacts and even respective government entities signed a protocol to avoid double taxation. Bilateral trade can increase to \$300 million in near future if focused upon and encouraged by bringing in the private sector. Joint ventures between businesses can provide the injection boosting commercial activities.

All transport methods between Pakistan and landlocked Uzbekistan can facilitate the essential communication that can benefit both of them. However, Airlines of both countries should be provided with subsidized governmental backing on urgent basis accompanied by necessary infrastructural support such as refrigerated cold storages for fruits and vegetables trade. Fruit exports to Uzbekistan include all kind of citrus, bananas and kiwis with a huge opening for other merchandise and in return importing minerals to Pakistan.

PAKISTAN-IRAN-TURKMENISTAN COMMERCE COOPERATION (PITCC)

Pakistan has proposed one trade passageway between the three neighbors Pakistan, Iran and Turkmenistan. It is part of a larger vision of International North-South Transport Corridor where goods can be offloaded in Gwadar and carried to Russia by rail roads present in Iran, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan.

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The train network can also start from India twisting through Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan and ending up in Russia benefitting all along China too. The PITCC shall complement other ECO member states commercially Turkey, Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan through rail links which shall bring in the import and export revolution envisioned by all the leaders of these countries.

AFGHANISTAN-PAKISTAN-INDIA-BANGLADESH-MYANMAR (APIBM) CORRIDOR

Restoring historical Afghanistan-Pakistan-India-Bangladesh-Myanmar (APIBM) Corridor can be the road of shared prosperity for South Asia and creating the required interdependence for keeping peace all around. In 1909, freight could move by rail and road seamlessly from Karachi to Dhaka via Delhi.

It could be the new Silk Road with the total distance from Kabul to Yangon of 12 days measuring about 5272 km. The time might be reduced considerably with high speed rail networks. Special road and rail nodes should be established for Nepal, Bhutan and sea nodes for Sri Lanka, and Maldives.

The routes beside goods and services movement shall bring in immense transit

“The routes beside goods and services movement shall bring in immense transit revenues, tourists, and industrialization. Special economic zones on borders and the paths all along will be catalyzing the job creation process, economic development, and South Asia free trade agreement enforcement.”

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By working together on infrastructure and facilitating each other's traders many regional geopolitical issues shall be resolved over the period of time more amicably. It shall have the positive political, economic, social and technological impact on all the peoples and states. It can be predicted that if this vision is pursued, despite current political issues prevailing among SAARC members this century belongs to South Asia.

PAKISTAN-INDIA-NEPAL INTEGRATED NETWORK

In past, people from northern areas of Pakistan used to travel to Nepal to trade horses and commodities like spices, as well as even few settled down in course of time there. Nepal exports can be tea, Pashmina-products, agro-products and medicinal herbs while importing cotton, textiles, leather garments, cutlery, ceramic products, fruits. Pakistani and Nepali industrialists can setup joint ventures and alliances.

The approximate total distance between two capitals Islamabad, Pakistan and Katmandu, Nepal is 1350 km. India and Pakistan have extensive metalled road and rail structures while landlocked state Nepal has limited accessibility due to its mountainous terrain. There are a few choices of trade links between the two nations. The Wagah entrance between Pakistan and India can contribute to increase Nepal-Pakistan trade.

Transportation of tangible items from one destination to another is the main obstacle that is hampering commerce between the two states. Air route in the short run is the most feasible route due to geopolitical issues between India, Pakistan and Nepal. The National and private air carriers of the both countries have to be facilitated by governments to provide the vital advantages to businessmen of both countries. The route to Nepal shall give Pakistan access to major Chinese cities of Chengdu, Chongqing and Kunming.

INDUS RIVER TRADE CORRIDOR

The Indus River with its five major tributaries is one of longest rivers in Asia and flows through many countries. It originates from the Tibetan Plateau running through Jammu and Kashmir, entering Gilgit-Baltistan and then flowing southerly along the entire length of Punjab and draining into the Arabian Sea near the port city of Karachi. If this river is developed it can provide the alternative and fast track transport for goods and passengers beside controlling floods, providing water for agriculture and producing cheap and clean energy. The transport expenses can be reduced to half, as specialists point out that one liter of fuel is able to ship one ton of consignment up to 180 km over waterways as compared to only 25 km and 75 km by road and rail respectively. These benefits also carry along the low enhancement and maintenance cost of these waterways as compared to construction of highways and other means of communication. The

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local communities can be involved and jetties constructed after few kilometers.

The World Bank has supported Pakistan through financing projects of Indus basin for improved governance of water resources. Pakistan water resources are dropping to 1,000 cubic meters per capita, the water scarcity bench mark. Although major effort is required, if the three countries China, India and Pakistan are determined, all obstacles can be overcome and go a long way in bringing riches to the areas and beyond, the river snakes through.

CASA-1000

Central Asia and South Asia with its acronym known as CASA-1000 is an ambitious project of regional energy cooperation among Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan with a potential to reach from 1000 MW to 4,000MW electricity transmission alleviating power woes for the South Asian countries involved.

CASA-1000 has approval of the World Bank, Islamic Development Bank, USA, UK, and



Australian Governments and other donor communities. The project will be completed through a set of agreements and a framework related to development, financing, construction, ownership and operation of the High voltage AC and DC systems.

Afghanistan shall receive 300MW of the electricity transmitted along with the transit fee plus returns on capital investments estimated to be \$60 million annually. Pakistan a severely energy deficient country with a huge growing population requires new sources of energies which are inexpensive and environment friendly. By working more closely together, the countries of the region can build the mutual trust needed to address other contentious issues, such as trans-boundary water-sharing, in a more constructive manner."

CASA-1000 shall evolve into other trade and energy cooperation arrangements such as Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan [TUTAP] linking their power grids together ensuring consistent supply of electricity.

TURKMENISTAN–AFGHANISTAN–PAKISTAN AND INDIA [TAPI] PIPELINE

The TAPI pipeline is a major interlinking project for energy-starved otherwise adversaries Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. The channel would supply gas from the world's second largest reservoir of natural gas all the way to New Delhi. Termed as the "Peace Pipeline" it shall enhance regional cooperation while altering the pattern of Central Asian connectivity. TAPI is geopolitically sensitive for Pakistan with the capacity to improve its geostrategic significance in the region. It shall solidify Pakistan's relations with the landlocked Central Asian countries.

The TAPI pipeline has the support of all major superpowers along with the Afghanistan and India approval despite reservations shown by these countries on other projects with Pakistan. It is also reported that India will pay \$200-250 million in transit fees to Pakistan. Meanwhile, the project would help Afghanistan in employment, nation building and bringing Pakistan and India closer on their sometimes opposite and competing viewpoints.

TAPI's route shall integrate neighbors and provide the enticement to them and other states to work on similar projects together in future. One such instance is of Kazakhstan which has shown keen interest to be part of TAPI pipeline thus extending the lifespan of 30 years gas supply.

A recently visiting Russian delegation proposed building a gas pipeline in a meeting with Pakistani counterparts. They expressed keen interest in laying the pipeline for gas export which would track through Turkmenistan and Afghanistan. The Russian pipeline shall run parallel to TAPI supply line and end in Gwadar, Balochistan. While this pitch is due to an alternative market required for Russia as political tension increases with the European Union it can be a boon for Pakistan strategic, tactical and operational goals.

IRAN–PAKISTAN–INDIA PIPELINE

Iran is the most ideally geographically located

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producer of gas along with two highly populated consumer countries Pakistan and India. The scheme as proposed by its decision makers is financially and technically feasible with huge confidence building bonuses for the countries concerned. Unless India finds new energy resources either through exploration or transportation it will be unimaginable to grow at 7-8% annually. As for Pakistan it will not only provide an alternative source of power but can be one of the strategic enticements to convince India not to meddle in its province Baluchistan.

Although land-based pipeline would be four times cheaper than any other option available still Iran and India are planning to circumvent Pakistan by

laying undersea 1400 km gas pipeline from one point to another bypassing the exclusive 50000 km economic zone recently awarded by United Nations to Pakistan. This shall compromise the national interest as both countries work closer excluding Pakistan and eliminating revenues of \$250 million or more in transit fee for it.

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Despite Indian reluctance, Pakistan and Iran should take intense diplomatic efforts to convince India to become part of this ambitious project. Special confidence building measures should be taken along with TAPI's case of mutual interest and guarantees. At least three inland corridors can be given access to India and Afghanistan by Pakistan for this IPI pipeline. This would enhance the leverage for Pakistan and raise the stakes for all the countries involved in the project to promote peace and not indulge in any military adventurism in future.

PAK-USA KNOWLEDGE CORRIDOR

The Pakistan's Ministry of Planning and USA Embassy in Islamabad has recently agreed to establish PAK-USA Knowledge corridor by setting up sub-campus of reputable US universities at district levels and prepare 10,000 Pakistani PhDs till year 2025.

In 2015, Strategic Dialogue between USA and Pakistan's Education, Science and Technology Working Group, launched three University Centers for Advanced Studies in agriculture, energy, and water research. With nineteen existing university partnerships between U.S. and Pakistani institutions, the two governments decided to double joint funding for research grants under the U.S.-Pakistan Science and

Technology Cooperation Agreement.

The Federal Minister for Planning, Development and Reform, Mr. Ahsan Iqbal has also proposed Pakistan-Germany Knowledge Partnership on the same pattern. This can provide the necessary intellect and expertise to support the industrialization process as expected by the aggressive approach taken by the policy makers.

GHARO-KETIBANDAR WIND ENERGY CORRIDOR

The National Renewable Energy Labs (USA) developed the Wind Map of Pakistan identifying the power potential of about 340,000 MW in total. The belts identified in the map are Karachi – Hyderabad areas, ridges in northern Indus valley, western Pakistan wind corridor, mountainous regions, hills and ridges in south-western Pakistan.

Southern Pakistan's Gharo-Keti Bandar wind corridor which has coverage of 9700 sq. km in Sindh has a gross wind power potential of 43000 MW and is the most attractive due to economically competitiveness, close proximity to major load centers and the National Grid. A research has highlighted the potential in the country of energy 3 million MW from solar, 50,000MW and 3000 MW from hydro large and small respectively, 1,800MW from biogases cogeneration and 500MW from waste. Pakistan also has tremendous possibility for harnessing tidal power, biomass and other renewable energy resources to provide lighting, clean drinking water, improve livelihood and contribute to the agriculture sector of Pakistan.

Mr. Khuram Amin is a Post Graduate Scholar of Islamic Finance at the University Of Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. He is also a lecturer of Business Administration Courses and a trainer of professional programs. His interest includes political studies. He can be reached at prof_amin@outlook.com

The Migrant Crisis in Europe: An Appraisal and Way Forward

GEOSTRATEGY

Introduction:

The European Union can be traced back to the 1940's when British wartime Prime Minister Winston Churchill envisaged a United States of Europe. However, Churchill had no idea how powerful an institution it would become by the late 20th century.

The formation of the EU came just over a decade after the Second World War, 1957. For the EU's originators, the EU was a way of reducing national hostility, resentment and competition, which had driven the continent into war. The European Coal and Steel Community began to unite European countries not just economically but politically in order to prolong peace. The members then consisted of just six states: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands. Now fifty years in the European Union consists of twenty-eight member states.

The European Union (EU) is a supranational organization that is currently composed of 28 European countries. The member countries have decided to adopt uniform laws on a number of issues related to their economies, finances, and security. The EU has a long history and its name has changed several times. The European Union is the name of the organization for the countries that have decided to co-operate on a great number of areas, ranging from a single market economy, foreign policies, same sets of environmental laws, mutual recognition of school diplomas, the exchange of criminal records



by Ousama Khurshid Khan

and much more.

Despite the fact that the European Union has had many achievements, it also had many crises in history. It is still dealing with the European debt crisis or the European sovereign debt crisis, a prolonged crisis which started in 2009 and the Union still struggles with it. Although the European debt crisis is one of the regional crises which has impacted European countries specifically, there are other socio-political issues of European Union which have had an outrageous impact on the entire world. An example of this is the European Migration Crises.

Refugees and Migrants are coming into Europe from faltering and fumbling states specifically from Middle East, Africa and South Asia. Europe has been declared as the most dangerous place for irregular migration by "The International Organization for Migration". Despite the fact that the EU has a very decent approach towards rights of migrants and refugees, under the current scenario the approach towards the migrant influx in Europe has become very volatile. The collective approach of the European Union countries is more inclined towards securing their borders rather than rights of refugees and migrants. On the other hand nationalist parties have concerns, regarding their rights and Islamic terrorism which is imminent across the continent. So, it is still unclear whether the EU is ready to take migrants or it is looking for immigration reforms.

MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES:

An asylum seeker is defined as a person fleeing persecution or conflict, and therefore seeking international protection. Under the 1951 Refugee Convention on the Status of Refugees, a refugee is an asylum seeker whose claim has been approved. However, the UN considers migrants fleeing war or persecution to be refugees, even before they officially receive asylum. An economic migrant, by contrast, is a person whose primary motivation for leaving his or her home country is economic gain. The term "migrant" is seen as an umbrella term for all three groups. It may be said that all refugees are migrants, but not all migrants are refugees.

Migrants and Refugees came from Africa, South Asia and Middle East. The political unrest and interchange as well as regime change of Arab Spring has created chaos in the Middle East. It all started in 2011, when

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thousands of migrants came over from Tunisia to the Italian Island of Lampedusa because of the Arab Spring. The Sub Saharan Africans who had migrated to Libya in the past decades, felt intimidated in the post Qaddafi period. Now-a-days influx of migrants from Syria is prominent due to civil war in Syria and there are contingencies that this influx will loom more in the continent.

According to UN High Commissioner on Refugees, more than 320,000 people have crossed the Mediterranean and entered the EU. This rate is eight times higher than that of 2013. Moreover, many people also cross in-continent via land, though the



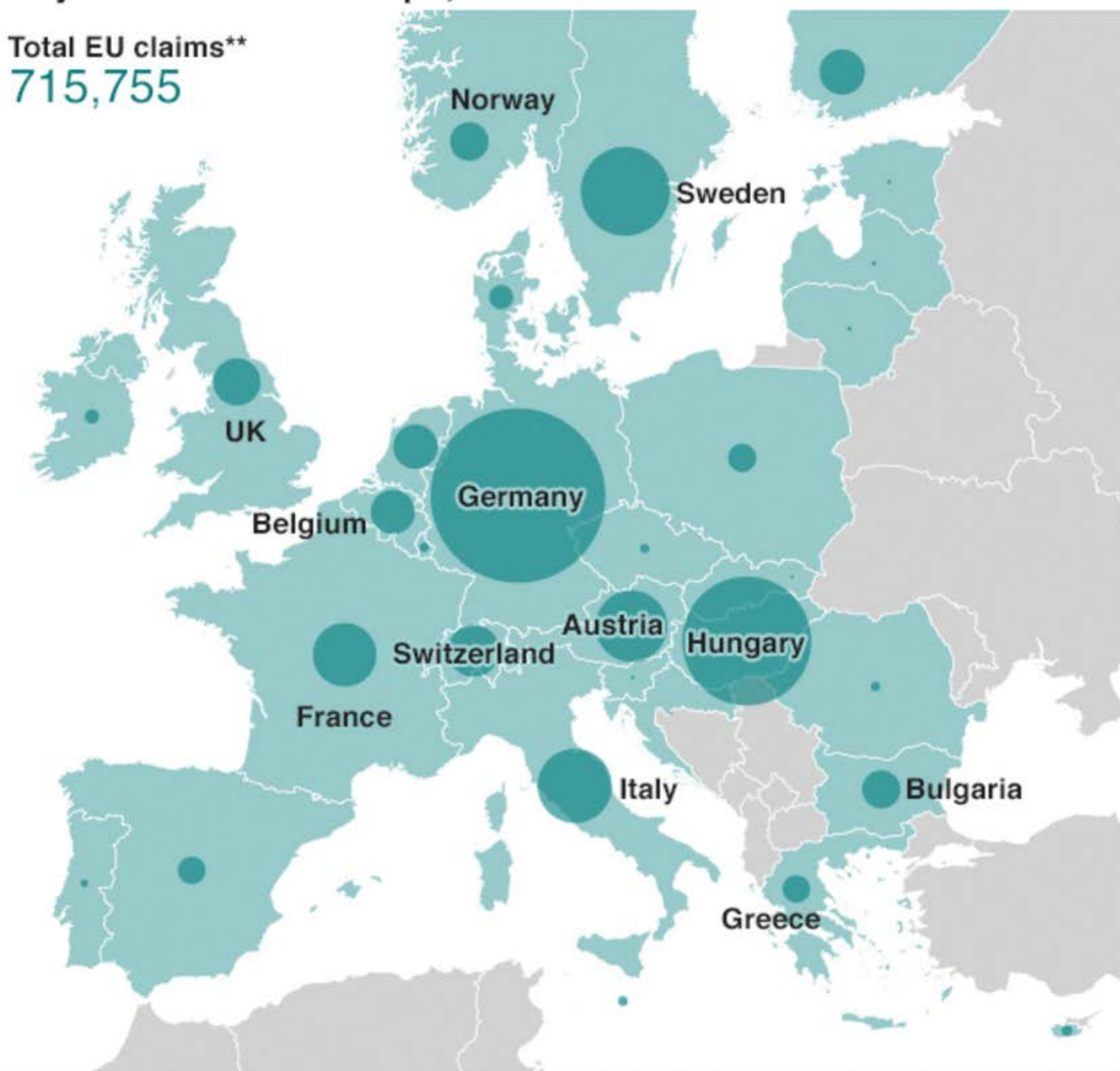
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numbers are uncertain. According to a census, 39 percent of migrants are Syrians which are running from civil war going on for four years, whereas 11 percent are Afghanis which are running from the war against Taliban and 7 percent are Eritreans fleeing because of forced labor. Terrorism and militancy have halted the economies of the states such as

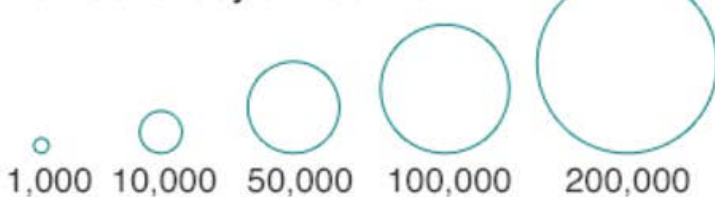
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Asylum claims in Europe, 2015*

Total EU claims**
715,755



Number of asylum claims



■ No data

*All data is at least to end of July.
It is to end of September where available

**Map also shows claims for non-EU
members Norway and Switzerland

Source: Eurostat

BBC

Sudan, Iraq, Nigeria, Somalia and Pakistan. Due to this reason, people have started migrating to Europe from these countries, which ultimately increases the influx of migrants and disturbs the social stabilization of continent.

Europe is witnessing a mixture of migrants, some of them are asylum seekers, while others are economic migrants. This is called the mixed-migration phenomena, whereby asylum seekers and economic migrants travel together and can overlap each other. This phenomenon is usually a gray area because of overlapping and is frequently worsened by inconsistent methods, due to which migrant applications are often processed across the twenty eight countries of Europe.

THREATS TO EUROPE:

According to the reports of IOM, approximately 464,000 migrants came into Europe in nine months of 2015. Thirty years ago, Europeans themselves welcomed immigrants to promote multiculturalism for a diverse society and as a solution to the European problems. But, some of the European orthodox argued that the demographic revolution is changing the face of Europe. Nowadays growing number of immigrants are blamed for European Problems. Some mainstream politicians like British Prime Minister David Cameron and German Chancellor Angela Merkel, criticize multiculturalism and publicly speak out about its outrageous effects. The denouncing of multiculturalism has fueled up the triumph of populist parties and far right parties, from the National Front in France to the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands. And in the most life-threatening acts, there are cases like Anders Behring Breivik's homicidal rampage on

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the Norwegian island of Utoya in July 2011.

Multiculturalism critics argue that the EU has allowed unnecessary migrants into Europe without integration among member states, which has battered social cohesion, weakened national identities and exacerbated the trust of people. On the other hand those who support multiculturalism argue that the problem is not diversity but racism. The truth about multiculturalism is far more complex, the debate about it has often devolved into sophistry. Multiculturalism

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has become a proxy for other social and political issues: immigration, identity, political disenchantment, working-class decline. Different countries, moreover, have followed distinct paths. The United Kingdom has sought to give various ethnic communities an equal stake in the political system. Germany has encouraged immigrants to pursue separate lives.

EU'S COLLECTIVE RESPONSE:

EU states now have a different response towards the influx of thousands of migrants. Since the Euro crises of 2009, they have been more concerned about their national interests rather than continental stakes. The EU block is now facing an increased polarized political change; anti-immigrant and nationalist parties which have a rigid stance over migrant crisis, are ruling the EU states. States like Denmark and France also have reservations for taking immigrants due to security concerns; they show reluctance in accepting migrants from North Africa and Middle East in wake of the Paris and Copenhagen shooting incidents in early 2015.

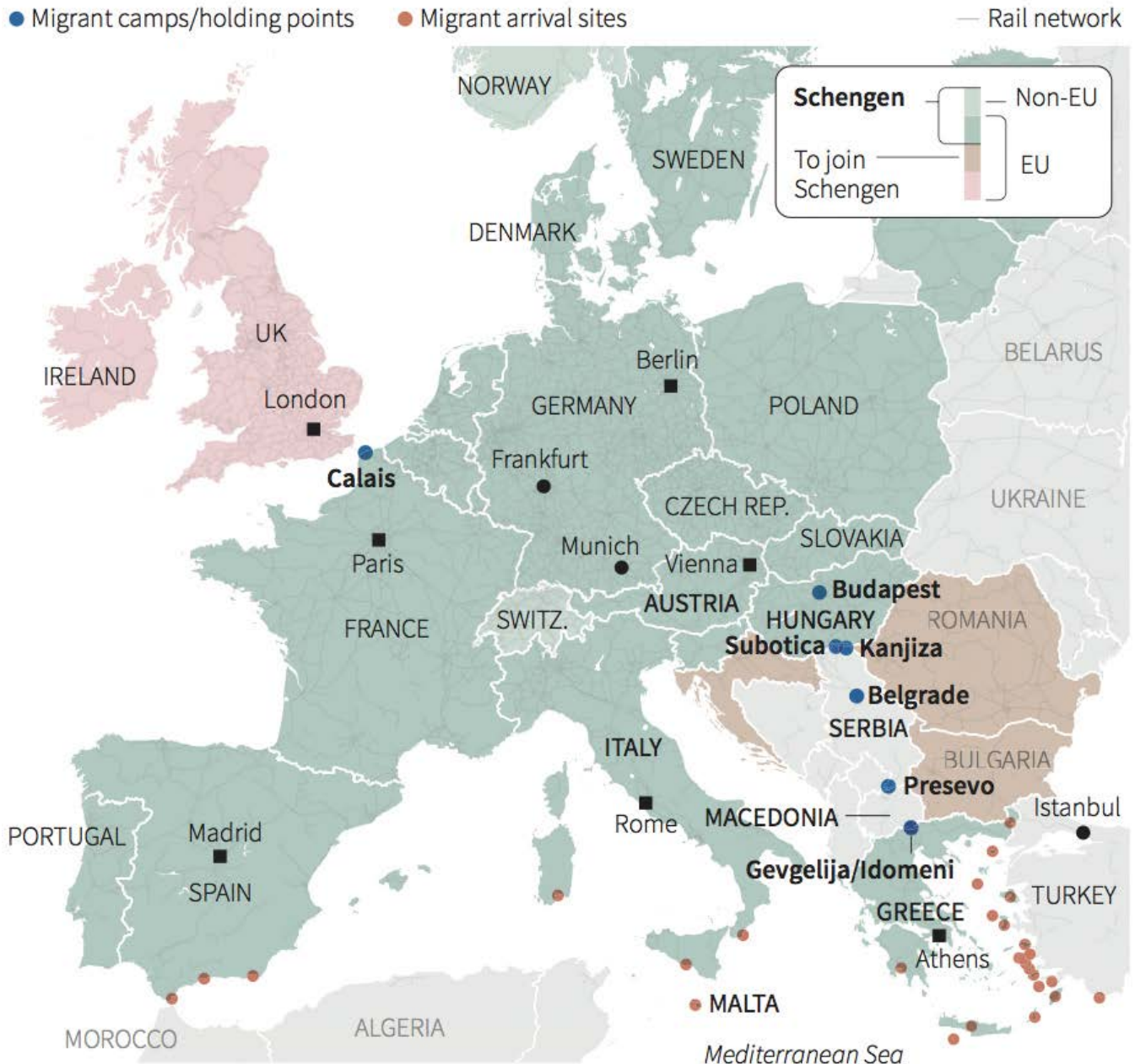
According to Charles Kupchan, "Europe has historically embraced more ethnic than civic approaches to nationhood, unlike the United States, and that is part of the reason immigration is proving so difficult."

The vulnerability of migrant crisis has increased because many European countries have integrated minorities with the majority into a social society. Most of the immigrants come from Muslim states, and the relationship between Muslim migrants and majority of the Europeans is not so good. Explaining this point, the leaders from Eastern European states like Poland, Slovakia, Hungary and Czech Republic have manipulated their policies for not entertaining Muslim migrants. But on the other hand there is some positive response from some European states. Almost three thousand migrants have drowned in the Mediterranean while crossing. Moreover, the image of the neatly dressed three-year old washed up on a Turkish beach triggered a fresh surge of anguish. Through these events, generosity in people is self-evident. These responses however, are on domestic grounds. Whereas, there is noticeable continental divide regarding migrant crises in Europe.

The Inter-Governmentalism school of thought promotes "the role of the national government in the European integration process and argues that integration is driven by the interests and action of

Europe's migrant crisis

Hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing wars and economic migrants escaping poverty have arrived in the European Union in an unprecedented wave. Nearly all first reach the EU's eastern and southern edges and then press on illegally for richer and more generous EU countries further north and west.



Sources: Reuters; UNHCR

C. Inton, 02/09/2015

REUTERS

The EU block is now facing an increased polarized political change; anti-immigrant and nationalist parties which have a rigid stance over migrant crisis, are ruling the EU states.

nation states”

The EU states only coordinate but do not integrate with each other. This means that the European Union has pooling of sovereignty rather than a full-fledged autonomy. Every country has its own interests and



it behaves according to it. In case of Germany, it has emerged as the leading state in immigrants' crises and announced to process 800,000 asylum applications in 2015. Germany comes on top in the EU countries for accepting the most asylums petitions. According to the open census in Germany 88% people agreed to help refugees and some of them were already helping.

Some economic experts reveal that Germany and Sweden have open policies for asylum-seekers, because they have their economic interest, low birth rates and ageing population. These migrants could prove to increase the labor force, workers, tax payers, and consumers, and hence boost the economy of these countries.

Sweden comes in second after Germany for asylum grants. France had also been an ally to Germany before the Paris attacks of 2015. However, after the incident took place, France closed its borders to refugees. It is important to question one's self about what refugees would gain from making themselves unwelcomed by committing acts of violence against the host country. With these Western Giants of Europe, other states have also jumped on the

bandwagon and help refugees.

Some countries however, remain resistant. Viktor Orbán, Hungary's authoritarian leader once said that he understood the demographic challenge posed by Hungary's population decline, adding that he ruled out two kinds of remedy-cloning and immigration. Orbán now promises to cut off the flow of migrants from the east by extending a razor-wire fence on Hungary's border with Serbia. Other eastern and southern members of the EU, finding themselves on the front lines of the refugee crisis, share Hungary's instincts. Bulgaria is also building a border fence to keep out migrants. Slovakia's leader has said that he would accept only non-Muslim refugees. And the same sentiment is heard in Poland. All suspect that Germany's generous instincts act as a magnet for further waves of migrants who will use the front-line countries as transit routes.

The biggest giant of Europe, which is UK, has had an edifying response regarding the immigrant crisis. UK president David Cameron complained that there are migrant swarms which are the biggest threat to UK. The UK government has responded to the migrant crisis and is granting up to twenty thousand asylum petitions by 2020. The implied acceptance rate of four thousand per year is a drop in the ocean.

Like many other EU countries, lately Macedonia has installed a barrier in the form of a fence in order to halt the influx of migrants. This movement of Macedonia and other countries has left a hollow dint on Schengen

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Zone, which means there will be no free movement in the Schengen Zone. The dream of Schengen Zone started vanishing when Austria announced that it was to erect a metal fence along its border with Slovenia. A 2.3-mile barrier was built - the first fence between two Schengen-area countries where movement is supposed to be unrestricted.

PARIS ATTACKS AS A CATALYST EVENT:

The Paris attacks have transformed Europe's migration crisis into a security debate, spurring calls for a clampdown on free movement across borders, and putting proponents of an open door for refugees on the defensive.

In any unsolved crime the first question asked is who benefits by motive with an actual means to execute the crime? If we shed some light on some events like what 9/11 in the US, 7/7 in UK, the 3/11 train attack in Spain, the Hebdo Paris attack last January, and now this latest Paris encore reenactment part two, critical discourse analysis lightens up the fact that all of these tragic false flag events ultimately secure the interests of the vital global elite in multiple ways.

Paris massacres were highly organized, committed by heavily armed, closely monitored terrorist professionals, unleashed onto an unsuspecting, culturally diverse group of young Paris victims. The coordinated attacks seem to carry all the earmarks as state of the art false flag terrorism having had lots of previous practice, most notably the Paris Charlie Hebdo edition. But the growing anomalies stacking up once again turn out to be no different from their predecessors.

If we critically evaluate the language and discourse of France and how it makes up the rhetoric in order to secure its interests, it would be interesting to analyze the French President François Hollande's speech right after the Paris attacks. He stated that, "It is horrifying, a state of emergency will be declared, and the second measure will be the closure of national borders."

So in order to stop the migrant flux into EU, analysis reveals that French establishment was involved in the ruthless Paris attacks. Another reason is that before the attacks, the French President Francois Hollande was in favor of taking refugees but he was losing electoral support in France. Where on the other hand, the Far right National Front party's regional leader for southeastern France, Marion Marechal-Le Pen

The Paris attacks have transformed Europe's migration crisis into a security debate, spurring calls for a clampdown on free movement across borders, and putting proponents of an open door for refugees on the defensive.





was getting support from majority of the people on the anti-immigrant rhetoric. In order to sabotage the political activities which were solely based on anti-immigrants policies, there was a need of a catalyst event which could trigger a U-turn in policies of French establishment in order to get public support. This is not limited to France, a recent survey in Germany has shown that 48 percent have said they would not like to see Merkel continue as Chancellor in the next administration, against the 44 percent who would be happy to see her stay.

Mrs. Merkel has faced considerable criticism for her refusal to back down on opening doors for the immigration policy, and for stating that Syrian migrants in particular will automatically be granted asylum. So, the migration crisis is basically damaging the social fabrication of EU and there are contingencies that there may be a continental divide due to this crisis.

CONCLUSION:

A ten-point plan on migration adopted by the EU in April 2015 includes calls for a “systematic effort to capture and destroy vessels used by the smugglers.” However, many critics argue that this focus on disrupting smuggling operations fails to recognize the larger “push factors” driving migration to the region: poverty and conflict across large swaths of the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia that have left many with no recourse but to flee.

Quota plans and naval operations may help the EU member states to better manage this crisis, but experts caution that these proposals alone will not stem the tide of migrants. For that, European leaders

must address the root causes of migration: helping to broker an end to Syria’s civil war, restoring stability to Libya, and increasing aid to sub-Saharan Africa. Barring a political solution to these regional crises, Europe will continue to struggle with migrant inflows.

In addition to taking in larger numbers of asylum seekers, many experts say the EU and global powers must also provide more aid to Middle Eastern countries like Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan, which have borne the primary responsibility for Syrian refugees. According to the UNHCR, 1.9 million Syrians have taken refuge in Turkey, 1.1 million in Lebanon, and 630,000 in Jordan since the start of the conflict in 2011. This influx has altered the demographics and economies of these host countries, which are now struggling to provide basic food and shelter due to funding shortages. Since 2011, the United States has spent more than \$4 billion on Syria humanitarian assistance, but has only given refuge to 1,500 Syrians. In September 2015, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry announced that the United States would accept an additional ten thousand Syrians in 2016 and an additional thirty thousand global refugees over the next two years.

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LOCAL GOVERNANCE SYSTEM IN PAKISTAN:

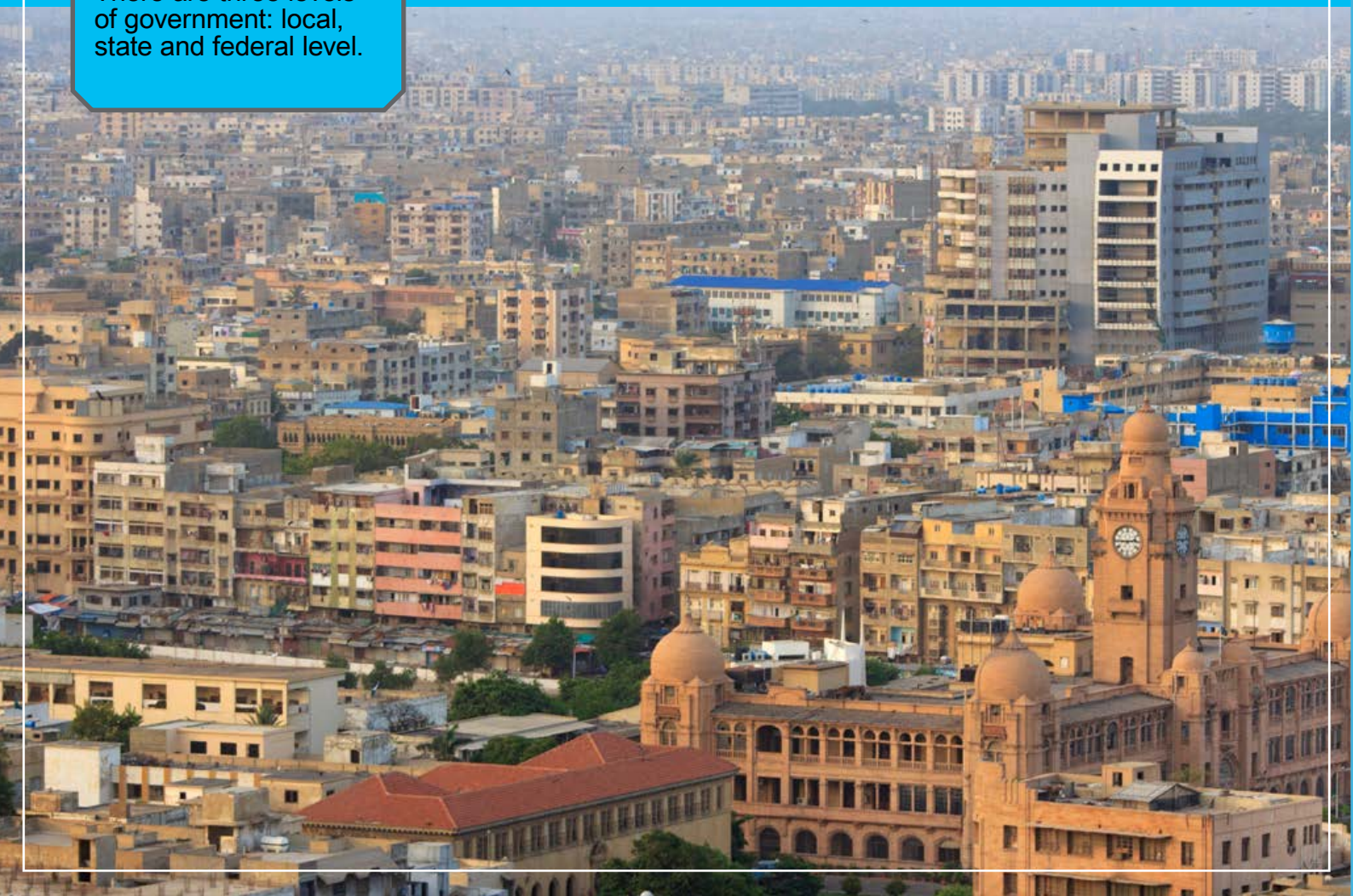
A CASE STUDY OF METROPOLITAN CITY KARACHI

by Sidra Waseem



DIAGNOSIS

There are three levels
of government: local,
state and federal level.



INTRODUCTION

Local Governance means "Building stronger communities". Institutions play an important role in establishing the local government system. Local institutions means, "sub – units" at the public level to which the government gives some authorities so that they may be able to solve the local problems with the local resources.

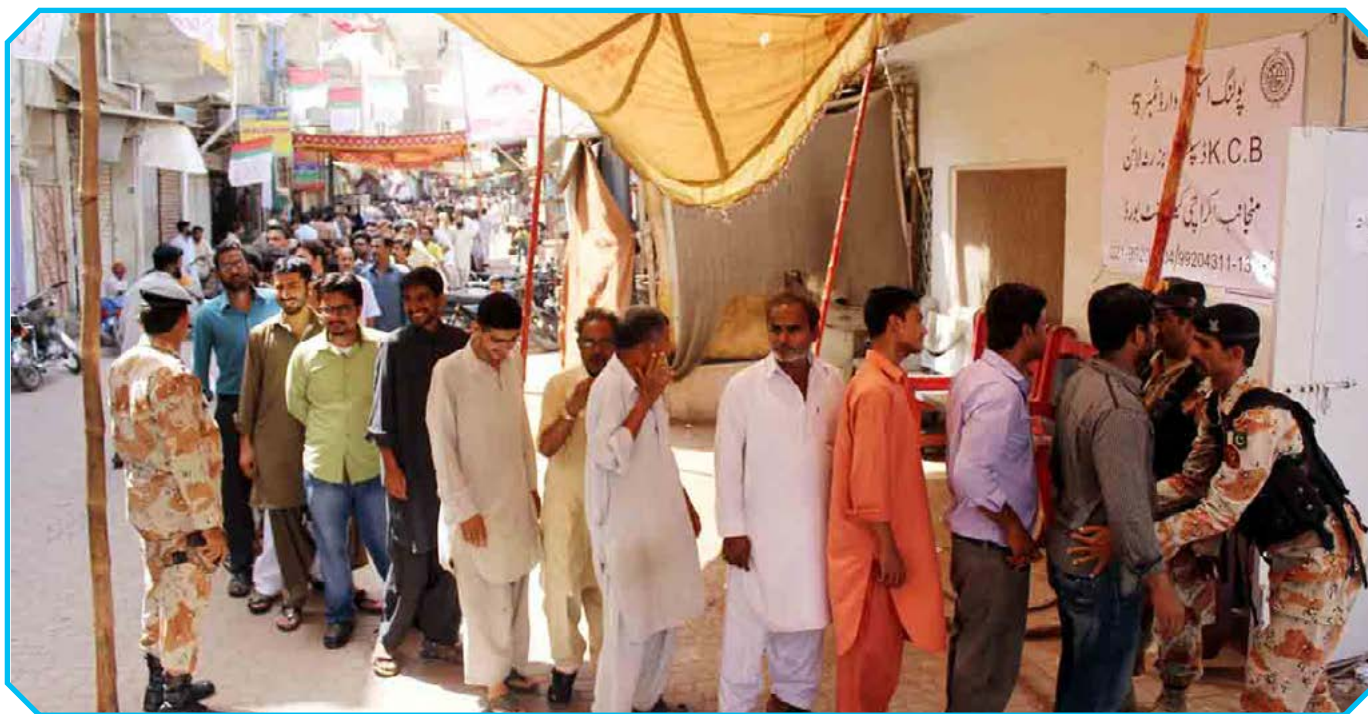
There are three levels of government: local, state and federal level. Local government is the first level and is responsible for matters close to local communities. Sub-national institutions comprise of one of the most important opportunity for poor people, minorities and women to contribute in the development of their communities and influence the

decision-making processes that are directly relevant to their lives. Important opportunities for poor people, women and minorities to participate in the development of their communities are to be found in local institutions of governance. The basic services for citizens are provided by local governments. Basically, their aim is to improve their capacity and ability to become better administrators. Through local governance government can promote peace and reconciliation at the local level. They can avoid conflict and promote trust into programs and services.

Local government system is very important for the establishment of democracy at grass-root level. The regime of Gen. Pervez Musharaf, introduced the local government system. This system of local

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that the local governments would be accountable to the citizens for all their decisions. It would allow the proactive elements of society to participate in community work, development related activities and would remove rural-urban divide. The new local government plan was an endeavor on part of the Military Government to lay the foundations of a durable and stable democracy. At the lower level the local government is a drill



The history of Local Government elections inside Pakistan started from the regime of General Ayub Khan (1959-1969). In 1959, he issued an Ordinance through which non-party Local Government "Basic Democracy" elections were held.

government was implemented on August 14, 2001. The essence of introducing the local government was to strengthen the people at lower level and to transfer power from representatives to the masses. The system of local government was projected to solve people's problem at the local level, allow public involvement in decision-making and make sure the provision of speedy justice. The main purpose of this system was

of democracy, and is the source of political education among masses.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM IN PAKISTAN:

The history of local government elections inside Pakistan started from the regime of General Ayub Khan (1959-1969). In 1959, he issued an ordinance through which

non-party local government “basic democracy” elections were held. In developing countries like Pakistan these institutions represent the powers of local groups. Zia-ul-Haq, after coming into power, reviewed the system of local government and established this system on strong footings, which progressed step by step. Local government ordinance (2001), Devolution Plan set up the National Reconstruction Bureau as a think tank. Its mission was to establish the real democracy in the country with the help of reconstructing the institutions of state.

The present local government system was introduced in 2001, during the regime of General Pervez Musharaf for developing the democracy for strong supremacy with another objective of transferring power to the

representative of the people. For this purpose, National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB) was established on 18 November, 1999. This bureau was working on reinstallation of institutions that were shaped under the local government system. The devolution programmed in Pakistan was established in five phases. During these phases elections started from the smaller districts towards the larger cities and districts. It was believed that each phase would improve the implementation of every coming phase.

In the first phase the elections were held on 31st December, 2000 in the eight districts of Punjab, three districts of Sindh, four districts of K.P.K. and three districts of Baluchistan. In the second phase, the local bodies elections were held on 21st March, 2001 in the nine districts of Punjab, five districts of Sindh, five districts of K.P.K. and one district of Baluchistan. In the third phase, the local bodies elections were held on 31st May, 2001 in the districts of Punjab including Faisalabad district, two districts of Sindh, one district of K.P.K. and five districts of Baluchistan. In the fourth phase, the Local Bodies elections were

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held in July 2001 in the districts of the four provinces and in the fifth phase these elections were held in December 2001, in all provinces.

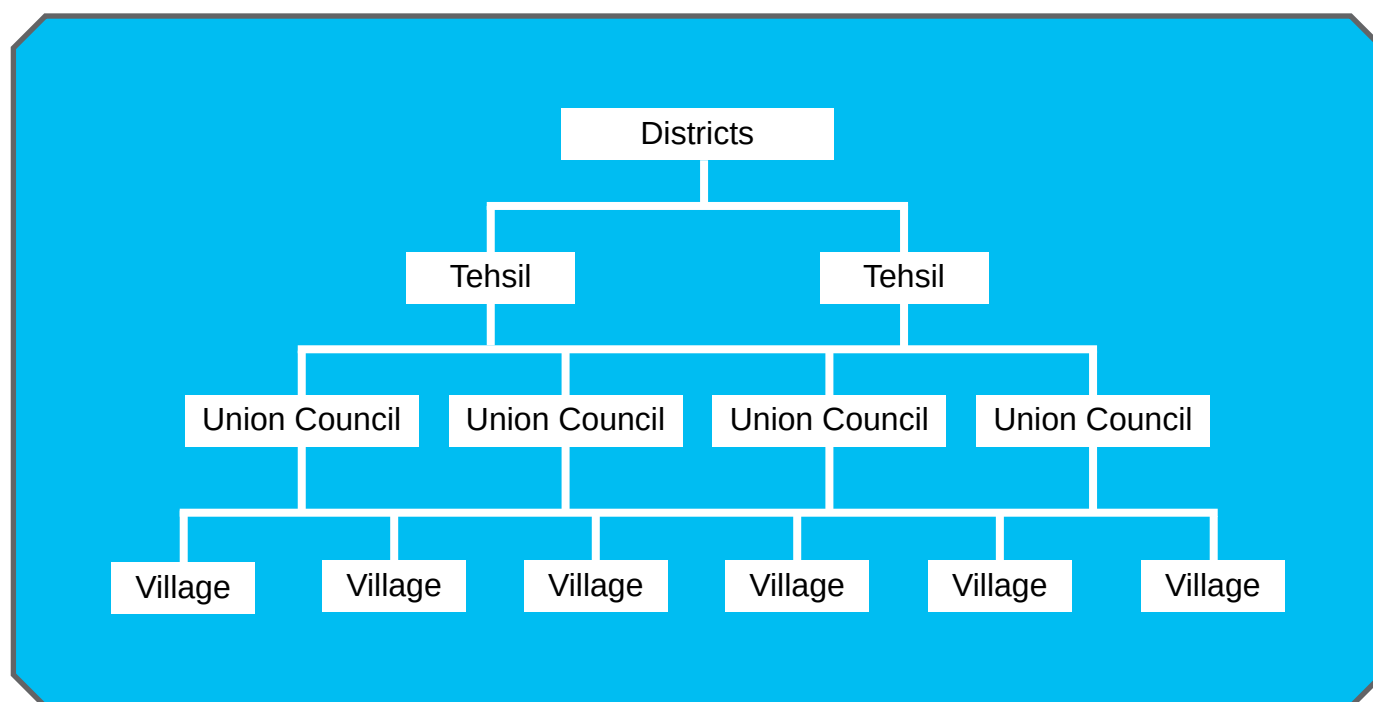
The current local government was shaped particularly to fulfill the requirements of the districts. Local governments were formed at three levels: district, town and the union. District government consists of district (Zila) Nazim and district Naib Nazim, an elected body and its administrative structures. For the more active involvement of people in the community development of grass roots organizations were established such as village councils/ neighborhood councils and citizen community boards.

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POLITICAL STRUCTURE & SYSTEM

Since August 2001 it had been a period of transition as well consolidation. The local government representative and elected Nazim's relationship with MNAs/MPAs was a very difficult one. Miss-collaboration was created due to this new political structure. The local government ordinance, 2001 had developed political power and decentralized administrative and financial authority for good governance and effective delivery of services through institutionalized participation of the people at grass roots level.





LOCAL GOVERNANCE AND DECENTRALIZATION

Local governance indicators may inform local policy and strengthen local accountability. Local governance assessment may also be useful at a national level in order to enhance decentralization policies, strengthen capacities and contrast trends across cities or districts.

Local governance assessments can be useful for:

- Capturing gaps and constraints in policy implementation.
- Identifying specific capacity building needs and monitoring results of capacity building efforts.
- Formulating change plans and soliciting donor or peer assistance for improving specific aspects of governance.
- Creating a platform to involve civil society and the private sector in local governance.
- Providing an objective account of achievements of local elected leaders, especially at times of re-elections, and thus building accountability.

• In 1947, Pakistan became an independent country, Karachi was chosen as the capital of Pakistan. During this period, the city offered shelter to a huge bulk of migrants and refugees that came from the Indian province. In 1960, the capital of Pakistan was first moved to Rawalpindi and then to Islamabad. Nevertheless, Karachi never lost its importance as the economic centre of Pakistan. The Municipal Corporation of Karachi was upgraded to Metropolitan Corporation in 1976. Again on 14th August 2001, City District Government of Karachi was reorganized in 18 town administrations and 178 union councils.

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF

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PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES FROM YEAR 2001 TO 2012

Devolution of Power Plan was presented by Pervez Musharraf in 2000. This policy was for the reconstruction of local government. It was a plan to transfer the evolution of power and “responsibility” to the grass roots level. The basic principle of the Devolution Plan was that the local government would function clearly within the provincial framework. For the strong local government system, the Provincial Local Government Ordinance, 2001 was included for a period of six months in the sixth schedule of the constitution. Amendment in ordinance can be made by the president after discussion with the prime minister. Though the devolution of power, responsibility and decentralization of authority was a permanent development and convincing improvement in the delivery of services at the district level, it would increase the image and efficiency of governments at the grass roots level. Because it was an important factor of good governance to provide justice.

The local government was based on five ground rules:

- Devolution of political power

- Decentralization of administrative authority
- De-concentration of management functions
- Diffusion of the power – authority nexus
- Distribution of sources

In August, 2001 elections were held under the new local government ordinance. Elected local governments had been successfully setup at all tiers. The local governments had also successfully completed their tenure and new elections of local governments were then held in the year 2005. Under the provincial ordinances, however, twice elections were held in all the provinces in years 2002 and 2005, on non-party basis.

Political parties were actively involved in the elections at every stage - selecting candidates, campaigning and polling in Karachi. After the elections all parties had also expressed their views to the conduct of the elections. The ruling PML and MQM described the local government elections as a genuine democratic exercise which will strengthen participatory governance and the federal cabinet described election as 90 per cent free, fair and transparent with only 8-10 per cent complaints about irregularities. The opposition also demanded for resignation of the government for rigging in the local government election 2005.

In order to secure and strengthen the local government system and avoid drastic changes therein, a

The basic principle of the Devolution Plan was that Local Government would function clearly within the provincial framework.

new article 140A was added to the Constitution of Pakistan through the seventeenth amendment. By virtue of that addition, it was provided that each province shall, by law, establish a local government ordinance, 2001 system of local government and devolve political, administrative and financial responsibility and authority to the elected representatives of the local governments. This provision was supplemented by adding another provision through the eighteenth amendment to the constitution, to the effect that the future elections of local governments shall be conducted by the Election Commission of Pakistan instead of Provincial Election Commissions. But after the expiry of the terms of local governments in December, 2009, the new elected provincial governments openly expressed their intention to repeal the 2001 ordinances and introduce new legislation on the subject.

In view thereof, holding of local government elections were postponed on one ground or the other. No doubt that there were certain administrative problems

in implementation of the local government system under 2001 ordinances, but those could be removed by making minor changes in the statutes. Furthermore, there was hidden jealousy amongst national and provincial legislators who were against the devolution of their powers, particularly in development work to the local governments. Above all, the bureaucracy which had, due to absence of non-elected governments for a long period, become very strong did not like the divesting of their powers to the elected representatives of the people. The province of Sindh initially revived the 1979 law and then replaced it with Sindh Peoples' Local Government Act, 2012, and once again replaced it in 2013, with Sindh Local Government Act.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF DISTRICT GOVERNMENT

According to the Sindh Local Government Act 2013 the provincial local government commission distributes some functions and responsibilities to the district government.

POLITICAL GAPS FROM YEAR 2013 TO 2015:

Responsibilities	District Government
Education	Primary and secondary education, literacy
Health	Dispensaries and local hospitals
Roads	District roads
Water	Water supply system
Sewers and Sanitation	Sewerage and sanitation system
Fire Services	
Parks and Playgrounds	Services of parks
Animals	Slaughterhouses, fairs
Cultural and Sports Services	Fairs, cultural events
Street Services	Street lighting, signals

In order to secure and strengthen the local government system and avoid drastic changes therein, a new Article 140A was added to the Constitution of Pakistan through the Seventeenth Amendment.

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On August 19th 2013, the Sindh assembly passed the Sindh local government bill 2013 as per their wishes. But the Sindh provincial government failed to consent and satisfy MQM on the newly formulated local government bill, so the disagreement came between the two biggest ruling parties of Sindh.

If we analyze the local government system implemented during the Musharraf regime without any doubts the local body act 2001 delivered par performance to the people of urban Sindh including Hyderabad, Mirpur Khas and Nawabshah. The main purpose of that act was to strengthen the common elected man and transfer the power to the grass-roots level. A lot of work has been done in Karachi by Naimatullah Khan, the mayor of Karachi...during Musharraf's tenure, when most of the projects were proposed and approved. Money was allocated and projects initiated. Mr. Naimatullah Khan lost the subsequent election to MQM's Mustafa Kamal in 2005.

The debate between MQM and rest of the Sindh assembly is on the two bills. One was local body ordinance 1979, which is amended by PPP and their allies, approved as a local body bill 2013 and the other being the local government act 2001, passed in the Musharraf era. They also argue to come up with a new bill that gives power to the people.

RECOMMENDATIONS:



- Clarify which provisions of the representation of people apply to local government polls in Sindh, especially the aspects which remain undefined by the provincial law.
- Uphold constitutionally permitted independence of the ECP by empowering it, rather than the government, to make the rules.
- Give ECP the powers to appoint returning officers and revise the law to clarify the timing of their appointment, setting up of polling stations and issuance of voters' lists.
- Provide more than 15 days to train polling staff and publish a list of officials before the election.
- Amend the law to indicate the election system and the basis for deciding the number of members of any elected body.
- Consider a direct popular election system.
- Explain how panels would be formed and operated.
- Limit government powers to change the number of members of a committee.
- Specify the utmost timeframe between elections and electing members to reserved seats.

Sidra Waseem is currently working with Stratagem. She has previously served in ISSRA and prior to that she is part of Alumni of NDU (FCS). Her area of interest is Pak India relations, she also has firm grip on Climate Change. She can be reached at sidrahw@yahoo.com



Nuclear Security Summit 2016

INFOGRAPHIC

The 2016 Nuclear Security Summit (NSS) will be held in Washington, D.C. from March 31st – 1st April. It will be the fourth biennial global summit aimed at preventing nuclear terrorism around the world.

Aim of NSS

The NSS process was launched by the US President Barack Obama in 2010 with the aim of preventing nuclear terrorism around the globe. The biennial summit aims to draw attention to the need of securing nuclear material. Under the NSS process, the countries work to improve their nuclear security on the basis of Washington Work Plan.

1
SUMMIT

April 12-13, 2010
Washington, D.C., USA.
47 countries and 3 international organizations.
Mainly concerned with making political agreements.

2
SUMMIT

March 26–27, 2012
Seoul, South Korea.
53 countries and 4 international organizations.
Focused on the progress made on the implementation of the agreements drafted at the first summit.

3
SUMMIT

March 24–25, 2014
Hague, Netherlands.
53 countries and 4 international organizations.
Aimed at examining the results achieved so far and looking into the future.



THE UPCOMING SUMMIT

WHEN:

31ST MARCH - 21ST APRIL

WHERE:

WASHINGTON DC

AIM:

PREVENTION OF
NUCLEAR TERRORISM

OBJECTIVES:

The upcoming summit will continue the discussion on the evolving nuclear threat and will also highlight the steps to disrupt nuclear terrorism. There are twin goals for the 2016 Nuclear Security Summit:

- Advancing tangible improvements in nuclear security behavior.
- Strengthening the global nuclear security architecture.

Participation: 52 countries and 4 international organizations have confirmed their participation for the summit.

The summit will be significant in the sense that it will be the last summit under the Obama administration. Moreover, it will be the last summit under the current format. Therefore, the host USA desires that the upcoming summit should conclude on a highnote with additional commitments regarding nuclear security from participating countries.

WHY DOES PAKISTAN AIR FORCE LOVE THE F-16?



An insight into the history, current realities, and future prospects of the F-16 in Pakistan

Over the next several years, Pakistan Air Force (PAF) hopes to procure a number of new-built F-16C/D Block-52+ from the U.S. It recently succeeded in winning approval for the release of eight such birds for a cost of \$700 million U.S., and it is now hopeful of adding another 10. If successful, both acquisitions would enable the PAF to build its total F-16 fleet to a force of 94 aircraft: 36 Block-52+, 45 Block-15MLU (Mid-Life Update), and 13 Block-15ADF (Air Defence Fighter).

It is apparent that the F-16 is forming an integral aspect to the PAF's fleet modernization plans, especially in the short-term (i.e. by 2019-2020). With the JF-17 being inducted to form the backbone, the F-16s are to serve as the

PAF fighter fleet's 'edge.' The merits of the plan aside, the PAF's intentions have drawn a bit of criticism, and interestingly enough, the brunt of it does not emanate from the U.S. or even India. To understand why, it is important to have some background on the PAF's experience flying the F-16s.

The PAF has had a chequered experience operating the F-16. With the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the PAF had begun studying its next-generation options. At the time, there were several emerging multi-role fighter designs in the world, and the PAF chose the General Dynamics F-16. The U.S., especially in President Carter's leadership, was unwilling to release the F-16 to clientele outside of a core



group of U.S. allies in NATO and Far East Asia (such as South Korea).

Instead, the U.S. offered the Northrop F-5E Tiger II and its heavily upgraded variant, the F-5G (aka F-20) Tigershark. While a mature, venerable and popular platform, the PAF was not interested in the F-5/F-20. Rather, the PAF wanted a fighter that was designed as a multi-role platform from the ground-up, and as such, built around the technologies emerging since the late 1970s. Air Chief Marshal Anwar Shamim, the then PAF Chief of Air Staff (CAS), convinced the Government of Pakistan (under General Zia ul-Haq) of making the F-16 an integral aspect with its interaction with Washington. ACM Shamim was successful.

On 15 January 1983, the PAF took delivery of the first six of 40 F-16A/B Block-15 (ordered under the Peace Gate I program). The very first F-16 to land at Sargodha – serial number 82602 – was flown by then Squadron Leader Shahid Lateef, who would later become Vice Chief of Air Staff (VCAS). The 40 F-16s were deployed with the No. 9 and 11 squadrons in Sargodha, and the No 14 squadron in Kamra. Through the 1980s, the PAF's F-16s secured at least 8 confirmed air-to-air kills of intruding Soviet and Afghan combat aircraft attempting to interdict the Mujahedeen's staging grounds in Pakistan's northwest region.

In 1988, the PAF decided to order 11 new F-16A/Bs (Peace Gate III). This order was followed by a much larger purchase of 60 F-16A/Bs (Peace Gate IV) in September 1989. With its fleet aspirations at their highest in decades, U.S.-Pakistani relations had begun to enter their lowest ebb since 1965. In response to Pakistan's refusal to scale-back its nuclear weapons program, Washington placed an arms embargo.

Only 28 of the 71 PAF F-16s were built, and they too were stored in Arizona. And while it was bad enough that the PAF could not receive its F-16s, the initial payment it had made for those fighters (\$658 million U.S.) was not refunded. The U.S. had hoped that a third party buyer, such as New Zealand, would acquire the F-16s and be the

source of Pakistan's refund. This did not pan out, and the U.S. responded by 'compensating' Pakistan with soybean oil and wheat.

To make matters worse, the embargo also put a severe burden on Pakistan's capacity to maintain and operate the F-16s. Not only were new aircraft – for fleet building and attrition – prohibited for Pakistan, but their spare parts as well. The limitation thus placed on the PAF's ability to uphold its core operational aims were clearly shown during the Kargil conflict of 1999. But 1999 was a momentous year as well as it was the birth of the Sino-Pak Super-7 multi-role fighter program, which later emerged as the JF-17 Thunder.

9/11 and the U.S.-led War on Terror resulted in a sharp renewal in Pakistan's defence and security ties with America. By this point, the PAF's F-16 fleet had thinned to 32 aircraft, which were split between the No. 9 and No. 11 squadrons; No. 14 had transitioned to the Chengdu F-7P. In 2004-2005, the U.S. agreed to resume the sale of F-16s to the PAF. First, 14 of the 28 embargoed aircraft were transferred to the PAF. Second, the U.S. had agreed to sell the PAF new-built F-16C/D Block-52+ fighters, of which the PAF intended to acquire 55 with an option for an additional 20. Third, the PAF sought to upgrade its existing F-16A/Bs (32 plus the 14 embargoed units from the U.S.) through the MLU program, which would equip the older F-16s with the same onboard radar and avionics suite as the Block-52+.

Financial pressures (such as the 2005 earthquake in Kashmir and the Northern Areas of Pakistan) required the PAF to scale its F-16 plans back. In 2006, the PAF formally requested 18 F-16C/D Block-52+ with an option for an additional 18, the total cost of the deal was US \$3 billion. A severe downturn in the Pakistani economy prevented the PAF from pursuing the option, thereby limiting its purchase to only 18 Block-52+ (Peace Drive I). Alongside 45 MLUs as well as 13 ex-Jordanian ADFs, the PAF's total F-16 fleet currently sits at 76 fighters. The PAF's current plans are to steadily increase its Block-52+ fleet to the previously planned force of 36 aircraft.



The PAF's rationale for acquiring additional F-16s stems from the following considerations: First, the fact that the F-16 is a proven and mature fighter platform. Second, the reality that the PAF possesses the core infrastructure to maintain and operate F-16A/B and F-16C/Ds, which enables it to add new airframes with ease, especially compared to inducting an entirely new fighter type. Third, the structural limitations beset by the lacklustre Pakistani economy, which does not afford the PAF much in terms of being able to fund new big-ticket acquisitions, such as fighter aircraft.

In each of the PAF's F-16 induction phases, i.e. Peace Gate of the 1980s and Peace Drive of the

2010s, the Fighting Falcon has introduced next-generation technology to the PAF (relative to its existing systems). The F-16A/Bs of the 1980s brought with it technology such as electronic countermeasures (ECM), which enabled the PAF's F-16s to easily jam enemy radars. No other PAF fighter at the time possessed this technology. In the 2010s, the Block-52+ brought with it a longer list of advanced air warfare technology.

For example, the Joint Helmet Mounted Cueing System (JHMCS) is an industry leading helmet-mounted display and sight (HMD/S) unit that enables the pilot to 'slave' their air-to-air and air-to-surface weapons to the target using the

naked eye. In a dogfight, the JHMCS-equipped pilots could lock-on to an enemy using their visual cue, and in turn, fire an air-to-air missile at the enemy without having to steer the fighter in the direction of the enemy aircraft.

The AN/ALQ-211(v4) is a highly capable and integrated ECM that uses digital radio frequency memory (DRFM) technology to record and re-transmit the frequencies emitted by enemy radars. Not only can this jam and spoof an enemy aircraft's sensor unit, but it can also heavily mitigate the effectiveness of a beyond-visual-range air-to-air missile (BVRAAM). Like the JHMCS, the AN/ALQ-211 is an industry-leading product.

The Link-16 tactical data-link (TDL) protocol enables the F-16 to operate in a highly secure voice and data-exchange system (VDES), which enables it to share and receive information acquired from friendly radars. For example, the PAF's Erieye or Karakoram Eagle airborne early warning and control (AEW&C) aircraft could transmit their sensor feeds to the F-16, thereby freeing the F-16 to switch-off its own radar unless necessary. This enables the F-16 pilot to maintain strong situational awareness of the battlefield whilst keeping their electronic signature relatively silent.

Exposure to this technology has afforded the PAF the opportunity to understand the quality and performance benchmarks necessary to emulate this technology in its other assets, such as the JF-17. The JF-17 Block-III will incorporate an HMD/S system as well as a heavily upgraded suite of on-board avionics, such as electronic warfare (EW) and ECM. The F-16 Block-52+ (and MLU) has given the PAF a very deep understanding of critical subsystems in use with almost all of the world's leading air forces; the JF-17 as well as any future fighter program will benefit greatly from this experience. Having inducted the F-16A/B Block-15 and F-16C/D Block-52+, the PAF has built the infrastructure to fully operate the F-16. The challenges of inducting and harmonizing a new platform cannot be understated; it takes years for an air arm to draw out the maximum utility of a new platform. That challenge would

have to be embraced in order to induct a new platform (such as the Su-35, which the PAF is purportedly interested in). Additional F-16s would not require that input, they could simply be added to the sizable fleet already in service within the PAF.

In comparative terms, even a new-built F-16C/D Block-52+ is substantially more affordable than a Dassault Rafale or Euro-fighter Typhoon. However, sensitive of the risks of doing business with the U.S., and aware of Pakistan's limited financial means, the PAF has sought to use Foreign Military Financing (FMF) to help fund its F-16 acquisitions. The FMF is an American support program designed to help allied countries with subsidized military equipment. Moreover, the PAF will also likely pursue used F-16A/B Block-15s in use with numerous air forces around the world. It could also take a look at the hundreds (if not more) F-16C/D Block-25 and Block-32 fighters in storage in the U.S., which could be acquired using the Excess Defence Articles (EDA) program. These used F-16s could be acquired for cheaply, especially if acquired without upgrades and/or structural life-extension.

With the above in mind, it should be obvious that the PAF's desire for F-16s is drawn from grounded pragmatism. It may not seem like it on the surface, hence the derision up to some level against the PAF for being "fascinated" by the F-16. That is an unfair assessment, especially in light of the technology exposure the F-16s have attained and the undeniable reality of the cost-savings they offer to the PAF, especially when one considers their combat-proven record. That said, it would be hypocritical to suggest that the PAF is not worried about the F-16's longevity, hence its active pursuit for a fifth generation fighter solution.

Bilal Khan (B.A, M.A) is a defence and security analyst based out of Toronto, Canada. He is the co-founder and chief analyst of the Quwa Defence News & Analysis Group, an independent organization devoted to discussing defence and security issues in South Asia, the Middle East and Africa.



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