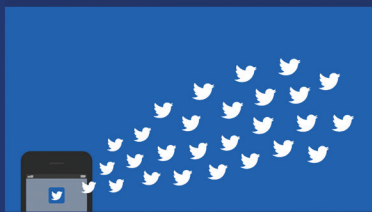




# STRATAGEM

PERCEPTION-COGNITION-VISION-SUSTAINABLE FUTURE

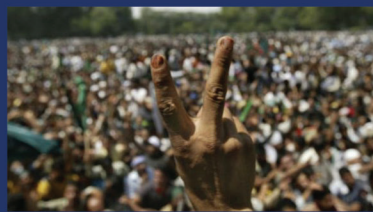
March 2017 | ISSUE - 10



DIGITAL DIPLOMACY AND ITS ROLE IN  
STATECRAFT



PAKISTAN SUPER LEAGUE: IDENTITY, SOFT  
POWER AND NATIONAL COHESION



EXIT WITH DIGNITY  
WILL DISENGAGEMENT HEAL THE  
FESTERING CONFLICT?



JUSTICE FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

**COVER STORY**

# PAKISTAN'S IDENTITY CRISIS



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Editorial

News and Views

Info-Graphic: CPEC an Introduction

Info-Graphic: Know Thy Enemy

Book Review: Nuclear Weapons and Coercive Diplomacy

Interview: Muhammad Azim(Jolta International)

Seminar: Role Of Youth In National Integration and  
Regional Connectivity (Report)





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# STRATAGEM

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Bi-Monthly Magazine



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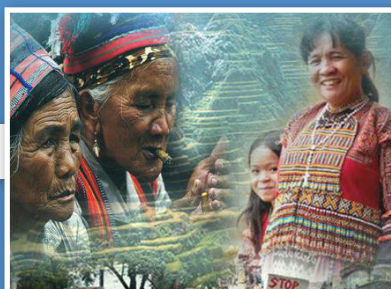
## DESIGNED BY

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Seminar Summary Report



# EDITORIAL

Center for Strategic and Contemporary Research (CSCR) aims to present an unequivocal and unbiased analyses on multitude of subjects of national and international significance. CSCR further intends to reduce the gulf between citizens and policymakers by offering an independent view of domestic and foreign matters and accommodating different perspectives to form an ingenious analyses which can be serve as a guideline for policymakers.

Evolving set of changes in international environment and its repercussions in relation with Pakistan represents a vital need for an informed and objective debate on various matters including national security and social progression. CSCR through its analyses, seminars and events aims to develop, share

and discuss ideas to promote Pakistan's interests and strategy Pakistan ought to adopt in evolving circumstances.

To facilitate and impart knowledge in our reader in an organized manner, we have divided our magazine in eight categories.

1. *Biosphere* deals with the environmental issues and emerging medical technologies which are revolutionizing human society.
2. *Geostrategy* present perspectives on matters in ever-volatile geopolitical environment.
3. *Armed and Dangerous* provide views on conventional and non-conventional threats in domestic and international arena.



4. *Setting the Record Straight* discusses regional issues and their impact on Pakistan.

5. *Strategic Pulse* deals with the evolving strategic dynamics in regards to national and international political affairs.

6. *Book Review* provides an insightful review of literary pertaining to geopolitics and strategy.

7. *Infographics* seeks to present graphical representation of culture, geography or of a particular political matter.

7. *Diagnosis* It is understandable that everything happens for a reason. As the world today progresses in a race drowned in the noise of anarchy, of people with minds polluted by the media, it is pertinent to excavate the origins of the events that continue to occur like chain reactions.

Here, you will find the etemologies, diagnosis, possible prognosis and in response, suggestions for improvement of the objects discussed. Questions will be raised to revive a thought process for the needful realization of a truth buried under mounds of twisted facts and lies.

The disease of silence has poisoned mankind. Time to Diagnose and treat it.

The feature article of this issue is “Identity crises” which expounds on the various notions pertaining to our national identity. It seeks to answer the most pertinent questions of who we are and what shapes our identity by retrospectively tracing the factors which serves

as reason for our existence as nation-state. The issue also includes six more articles on various subjects.

“Digital Diplomacy and its role in statecraft” examines the increasing role information technology is playing in advancing foreign policy goals of nations. Providing various case studies of e-diplomacy, it present a compelling argument for nations to integrate e-diplomacy in the mechanics of their state diplomacy. “Pakistan Super League: Identity, Soft Power and National Cohesion” discusses unparalleled influence sports of cricket exert on Pakistani nation. It discusses how the game forms solidarity among the countrymen and how much imperative PSL is to promote soft image of Pakistan around the globe. “Exit with Dignity” presents the cause of Indian-occupied Kashmir through the lens of John Keay’s book ‘Midnight Descendants’. It reviews the culture and life of Kashmiris living under Indian occupation who continues to cherish a hope and struggles to become a part of Pakistan. The paper “Justice to Indigenous People” deliberate upon difficulties indigenous people have to encounter in different countries. It evaluates the criminal justice system of various countries and how these countries could help to address the problems faced by IPs respectively.

In addition, the book “Nuclear Weapons and Coercive Diplomacy” is reviewed. It provides an insightful look into the diplomatic aspect of nuclear weapons and seeks to answer the relevant question of can nuclear weapons be used as a bargaining chip to extract favorable outcomes in global environment.

# IN FOCUS

by Moniba Mehboob



## BOMB BLASTS ON THE RISE AND THE AFGHANISTAN SITUATION

Several major bomb blasts have shaken Pakistan in the past two months; the first two in Peshawar, the next in Lahore, and then in Sehwan. Apart from these, several relatively minor blasts too have taken place in the country. All of these attacks were claimed by either Jamaat-ul-Ahrar or the TTP. Following these attacks, a high security alert was declared in the whole country and the Pakistan-Afghanistan border at Torkham was closed with immediate effect, demanding action from Afghanistan against incoming threats of terrorism.

The Afghan ambassador Dr. Omar Zakhilwal has since then written to Pakistani military officials for the reopening of border and several exchanges have taken place. According to Foreign Office spokesman, Mr. Nafees Zakaria, "Pakistan is ready to work with Afghanistan on all issues in a spirit of mutual respect, trust and cooperation. Decision on the reopening of Pak-Afghan border will be taken in due course."



## PANAMAGATE CASE AGAINST THE PRIME MINISTER NAWAZ SHARIF AWAITS SC VERDICT

The current case against the Sharif family regarding their offshore investments now awaits judgment by the Supreme Court of Pakistan. The case has gone on for quite some time with involvement of and exchanges between all political parties, and now finally rests with the SC.

Talking about the case, Justice Sheikh Azmat Saeed said, "We will decide the case strictly in accordance with the law and the Constitution, unfazed by any outside clamoring and unmindful of whether it pleases or displeases someone". According to Justice Asif Saeed Khosa, the SC will take such an exemplary and thorough decision that it will remain relevant even two decades later.



## ARMY LAUNCHES RADD-UL-FASAAD AFTER SEVERAL TERROR ATTACKS:

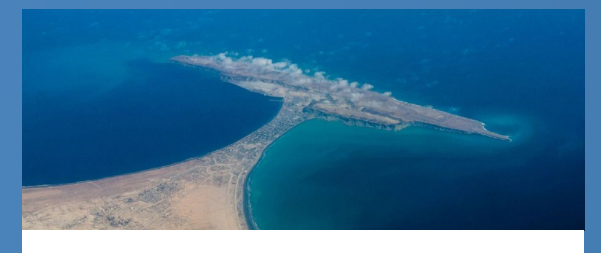
According to the ISPR, the army has launched Operation Radd-ul-Fasaad nationwide to eliminate terrorism and deal with persistent security threats in the country, focusing on the province of Punjab. The Pakistan Air Force, Navy and Civil Forces will be taking active part in this operation along with other security and law enforcing organizations. It was further reported in a statement by the ISPR that, "The effort entails conduct of Broad Spectrum Security / Counter-Terrorism (CT) operations by Rangers in Punjab, continuation of ongoing operations across the country, and focus on more effective border security management".

China has reportedly extended support for eliminating terrorism through this operation.



## THE GWADAR BOOM AND CPEC

Since the establishment and successful development of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, all of Balochistan and of course specifically Gwadar has received a notable amount of attention from local and global investors. CPEC itself includes several energy and infrastructure projects in Pakistan. Property demands and prices in Gwadar have gone up 14-fold and this has been termed a "gold rush". Employment rates too have gone up in the port city. Despite this, basic facilities such as those of education and health are still lacking.



# NATIONAL



## CHINA AND RUSSIA VETO RESOLUTION FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST SYRIA

After an investigation by the UN and the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) proving use of chemical weapons by the Syrian government in the ongoing war in the country, Western powers moved a resolution to impose sanctions on 21 Syrian military individuals and government organizations and to halt supply of helicopters as they are believed to be used to drop chemical bombs on civilians. The proposed sanctions included a travel ban and freezing of assets. The draft resolution was opposed and vetoed by China and Russia on basis of lack of proof. Bolivia also voted 'no' for the resolution.



## IRAQI FORCES IN SYRIA; ON THEIR WAY TO LIBERATING MOSUL, IRAQ

After a car bomb explosion in Baghdad, Iraq, claimed by the IS, Iraqi forces conducted an offensive raid on IS targets inside Syria, reportedly with help from the governments of the US and Damascus.

The forces recaptured most of the town of Mosul in Iraq and have taken complete control over the international airport in the town along with the nearby military camp of Ghazlani. Retaking of Mosul is the toughest battle for Iraqi forces so far and more than 750,000 civilians are stuck in western Mosul where the war now rages after liberation of eastern Mosul and one residential town of the western city.

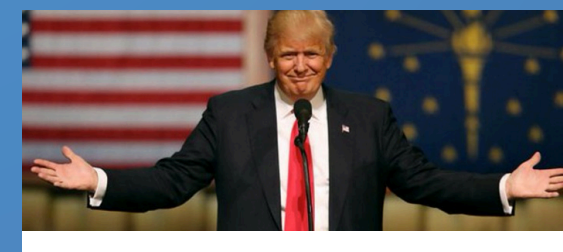


## THE TRUMP PRESIDENCY: MUSLIM BAN AND NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT

The Trump Presidency has shown its real colours from the very beginning. In the first few weeks, the presidency has already taken very bold steps by first banning immigrants from Syria and then all people from Iran, Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Libya, Yemen and Somalia.

"I am establishing new vetting measures to keep radical Islamic terrorists out of the United States of America," says President Trump.

In other news, president Trump has also urged further nuclear development. The US currently has 68,000 nuclear weapons while Russia has 70,000. In an interview he said, "It would be wonderful, a dream would be that no country would have nukes, but if countries are going to have nukes, we're going to be at the top of the pack."





by Dr Javed Khan



# EXIT WITH DIGNITY

*Kashmir seemed trapped in a time warp; much like nowadays as people aware of this long standing conflict, describe it. He explained that the boatman's answer reflected the sentiments of 1947 though Kashmir had been under New Delhi 'for nineteen summers'. He did not believe much had changed here and wrote that, 'two decades of what Ghulam Mohamed called Indian occupation had changed very little.*



But Sahib, we are Kashmiris, see. We are not Indians.' These are the opening lines of the chapter on Kashmir quoted by historian John Keay in his book *Midnight Descendants*; referring to the answer he received from Ghulam Mohamed, a houseboat owner, in the summer of 1967 when asked by the author as to why he had been refusing to take bookings from Indian tourists. Keay, then a young correspondent, wrote 'Kashmir seemed trapped in a time warp'; much like nowadays as people aware of this long standing conflict, describe it. He explained that the boatman's answer reflected the sentiments of 1947 though Kashmir had been under New Delhi 'for nineteen summers'. He did not believe much

Tariq Ali in 2010 summing up expressively as 'Not crushed merely ignored' about the world's indifference towards Kashmir crisis

had changed here and wrote that, 'two decades of what Ghulam Mohamed called Indian occupation had changed very little.' He further tried to emphasize this point and by giving us a glimpse of the mood in the street by writing verbatim how Ghulam Mohamed dissected the geographical contours of this formerly princely state that according to him is 'South Asia's bloodiest bone of contention'. 'See, Kashmir. Kashmir is not India. India begins at Jammu over there, across the Banihal Pass. Here, this is not India.' These few words of Ghulam Mohamed that even after four decades Keay remembers, and has written in his recent book that describes the turbulent course of history of the subcontinent, were echoed once again by Kashmiris recently in the last year's summer when New Delhi used muscle power to tackle the dissent, killing and blinding a record number of young Kashmiris in the process.

According to the author, the year 1967 is important as everything apparently seemed

to be settling down and it was business as usual in Kashmir and merry days for India, for 'Pakistani attempt to wrest it from India had just failed, and the Banihal Pass beneath whose summit the only access road now burrowed through a dripping tunnel had been reopened'. The tourists were returning, a new engineering college was being constructed, new emporia opened while the powder blue berets of UNMOGIP were the only reminder that Kashmir issue was not forgotten by the world at large. As the lull set in, this was also the time when Kashmir became the dream destination of the Indian film industry; for the colour replaced the black and white of Indian cinema and the love affair of Kashmir and Bollywood started, which continued till late eighties of the last century when the armed struggle started by Kashmiris, in an attempt to untangle the Kashmir knot shook the region, bringing at times the two rival countries born out of partition, India-Pakistan head on with each other.

But even then the author writes, 'yet the place remained palpably un-Indian. Uniquely, here English and Urdu were the official languages, with Hindi not much heard or written. Islam was the prevailing faith, tweed the preferred textile, and shawls and carpets the main trade.





Instead of the shady banyan and mango of the plains, sprightly willow and poplar lined the roadside. The year had recognizable seasons; they came in the right order; and judging by the umbrellas and the galvanized roofing, rain could be expected in all of them. The tea was sometimes pink; the meat was cooked in milk. Kingfishers piped among the sedge, dahlia and marigolds bedecked the gardens and the timbered bridges cantilevered crazily over the waterways. In Srinagar, the capital, the puddled alleyways and higgledy houses with their lattice shutters reminded V. S Naipaul, then writing his *An Area of Darkness*, of a dank medieval Europe.

Instead of India's heat and dust, here there was water everywhere, snow on the peaks and scarcely a sari to be seen. Of all the erstwhile princely states, Kashmir alone neither fitted the image of India nor felt like India. If the calm of sixties that blossomed into the love of Kashmir and Bollywood, if not Indians, with no expressive demonstration of simmering discord was still un-Indian. I doubt my naivety if I believe everything has changed and the two have become compatible during the last few decades. For now, the sentiment having survived and continued in the frozen period or the lull period, only to surface first as a violent struggle, then largely as nonviolent with strong

This is not unique to Muslims only, Stalin embraced Orthodox Church as a rallying point when under assault of Third Reich in World War 2, Japanese sought the sacred character of Shinto religion before World War 2 for its expansionist and imperialist policies in Asia, so did the Buddhist Sinhalese in Sri Lanka by employing monks to strengthen Sinhalese support for the civil war, and so did the Hindus in India by using rath yatra in recent past to increase the communal fervor to build Ram Temple in place of Babri Masjid.

expressions on the streets, repeating more than thrice in a decade with noted writer Tariq Ali in 2010 summing up expressively as 'Not crushed merely ignored' about the world's indifference towards Kashmir crisis, it makes me wonder if someone asks to look for 'exit with dignity' and to anchor the boat to something that is fundamentally 'unlike' us.

Apart from historical background the Kashmir issue is also about the collective loss of faith in politics and the memories of iron fist approach adopted by India to quell and tame. Did anything change over these years? Yes Kashmiris found and may continue to find themselves orphans to influence the world opinion in their favor and post 9/11 'the ugly anti Muslim chauvinism that accompanies India's violence' named




conveniently 'war on terror' may not give the world those transient twinges of conscience that it did in the past, but it cannot be a reason to abandon the truth and side with falsehood for it is neither a liberal value, nor a leaf from enlightened moderation and is in fact against most religious tenets.

One may raise queries as to why mixed signals have been given by Kashmiris, why in between the cry for Azadi, a Pakistani flag is raised? Is there a search for ideas that have a broad resonance among the Muslim majority populations for a caliphate or secular democracy? But one needs to understand that every individual carries multiple identities from family to ethnicity to religion, these intertwine and play at different levels and when communities are obliged to protect themselves against others, they seek to forge common grounds against the enemy. To rally public support against external intervention they will turn to whichever banner that unites more people most effectively and religion being powerful will be invoked wherever it can to galvanize the public opinion. This is not unique to Muslims only, Stalin embraced Orthodox

Church as a rallying point when under assault of Third Reich in World War 2, Japanese sought the sacred character of Shinto religion before World War 2 for its expansionist and imperialist policies in Asia, so did the Buddhist Sinhalese in Sri Lanka by employing monks to strengthen Sinhalese support for the civil war, and so did the Hindus in India by using rath yatra in recent past to increase the communal fervor to build Ram Temple in place of Babri Masjid. At a time when the whole Muslim world is felt to be under siege most other identities are bound to lose importance and symbols that define unity, resistance and strength will be seen flying in the hands of those who organize to defend it from aggression. Till this persecution directed against Muslims wherever fighting for their rights continues it will inflate the role of these symbols and push the resolve of those holding them to abnormal levels.

**Dr Javed Khan** is from Srinagar. He is a medical doctor by profession who often writes columns for local newspapers. Dr. Javed also takes deep interest in the political history of Kashmir, India, and Pakistan.





# CPEC

## AN INTRODUCTION



The China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a megaproject which aims to be a game-changer for the South Asian region.

The corridor will not only be a network of highways, roads, and pipelines, but contains many mammoth projects related to energy and infrastructure.

The megaproject is the extension of China's One Belt One Road (OBOR)'s strategy.

This project would inevitably have effect on the region, changing its economic and political dynamics to a great extent.

The economic corridor will run about 3000 km from Gwadar to China's Kashgar. The overall construction costs are estimated \$54 billion, roughly 20% of Pakistan's annual GDP. The megaproject is expected to complete by 2030.

Along the trade routes, several economic zones will be built to assist the anticipated economic boom in Pakistan.





# THE CPEC

WILL BE COMPLETED IN THE FOLLOWING THREE TERMS



Short term plans from 2014 to 2017

Medium term plans from 2017 to 2025

Long term plans from 2025 to 2030

# THE CPEC

PROJECTS ARE CATEGORIZED UNDER THE FOLLOWING MAIN CATEGORIES



Energy-sector

Infrastructure

Railway

Roadway

Sea Port



# ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF CPEC TO PAKISTANI ECONOMY

The mega-project will add 17,045 MW to the national grid through various coal, nuclear and renewable energy projects.

The expansion of Gwadar-related CPEC projects will result in the growth of numerous future industries.

Around 2-3 million jobs are expected to be created because of this megaproject.

The revival of railway sector is expected due to the megaproject.

The economic uplift of the under-developed segments of the population especially Baloch people.

Tourism to the northern areas of the country is expected to grow in years to come.

# REGIONAL CONNECTIVITY

Revision of Afghanistan-Pakistan Trade and Transit Agreement (APTTA) to complement CPEC project can strengthen bilateral relations and trade substantially between both the countries.

The megaproject will provide China with a reliable overland access route to the Indian Ocean which will ease the physical, financial, and strategic costs of trade with its European, Mideast, and East African partners.

The Central Asia countries will be provided access to sea and diversification of energy channel through CPEC

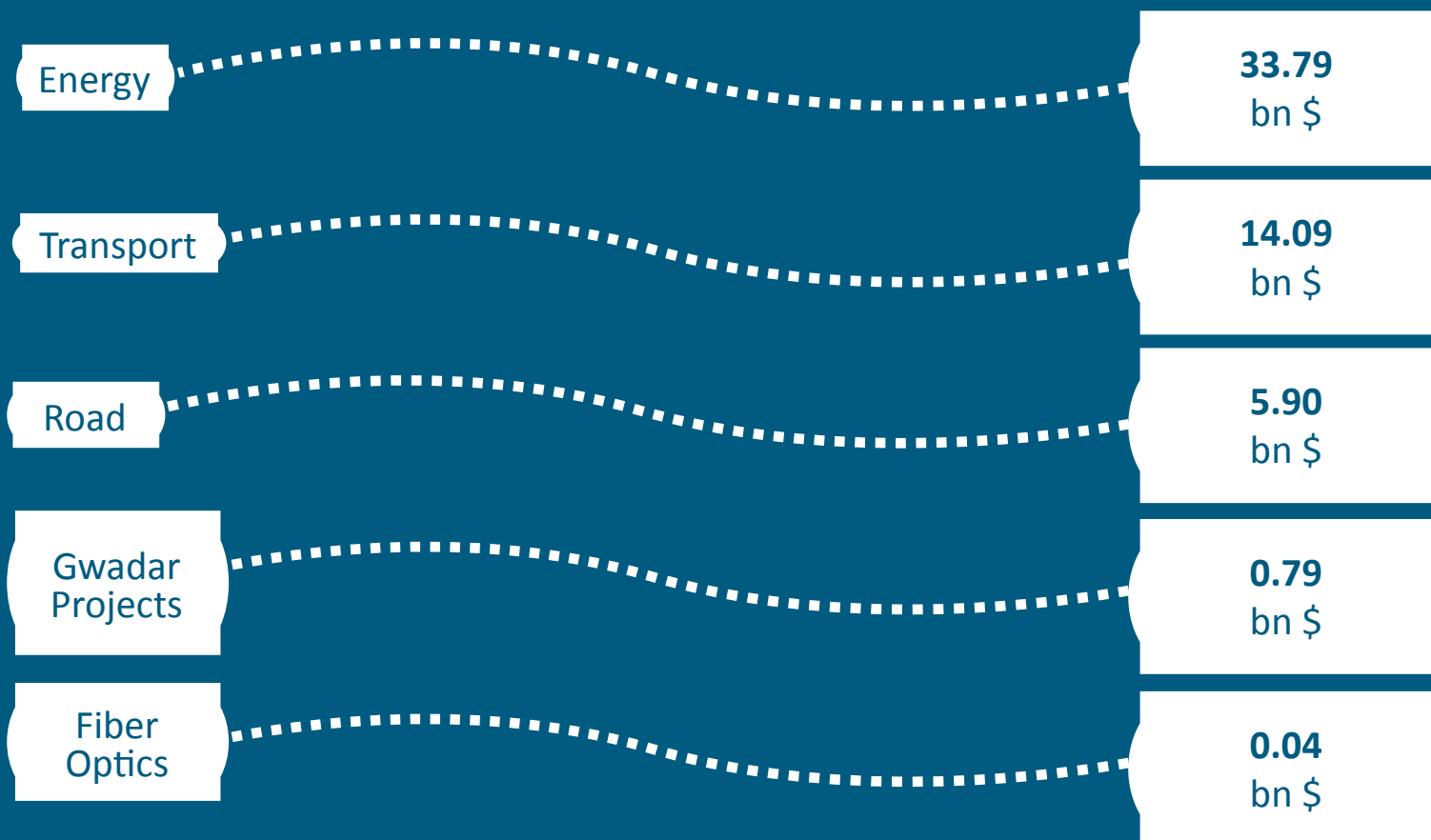
CPEC will help Iran to improve connectivity through road and railway networks.

The development of industries through CPEC shall enable Pakistan and Iran to enhance their bilateral trade capacity to \$5 billion, upwards from \$1 billion.

The CPEC will transform Pakistan into a regional economic hub and will provide China direct link to the oil-rich Middle East.



# SPENDING ON PROJECTS



## DIGITAL DIPLOMACY AND ITS ROLE IN STATECRAFT

GEOSTRATEGY



By Muhammad Adeel

Diplomacy is the principle driver when it comes to an interaction of countries on various issues ranging from trade to negotiation. Across ages, the art of diplomacy has evolved involving various facets, and advancing the study of international relations. Human history is quite fluid and has been defined through developments in ideas, and most importantly, technology. Conventional views of diplomacy associate it as conservative when it comes to handling areas of bureaucracy and sovereignty. The age of internet has brought about rapid changes in all facets of state craft. From governance to formulation of foreign policy, the 'e-age' has opened a Pandora's Box for new interventions. Gone are the days of tight governmental control and conservative policy making. Diplomacy is now in the age of digital diplomacy. In a world where political opinions are formed based on tweets and social media accounts' based information, it is imperative to discuss policy framework related to digital diplomacy.

Within the context of international relations, states respond to changes in the technological environment and create policies accordingly. In response to the age of internet, U.S responded first with the creation of an eDiplomacy unit way back in 2002. Started as a task force, this is now a fully functional Office of e-Diplomacy. Other nations have also caught on to the trend of creating specific divisions to handle eDiplomacy, like UK's Foreign and Commonwealth Office which has a division of digital diplomacy. States have also used social media as an active online communication strategy, with think tanks actually analysing most connected social media leaders. A term "Twiplomacy"



has been created which refers to diplomacy done through Twitter. There are as many as 264 Twitter accounts of heads of states. More recently, in the wave of populism, we have seen how the Twitter presence of the likes of Modi and Trump played a major role in their electoral success. Not only states but non-state actors including terrorists have used social media as a platform to advance their causes. Poland is an example whereby the Foreign Ministry has a very dynamic online presence and has a dedicated website which has details of official social media accounts. The image provided below (taken from their webpage) provides a snapshot of their eDiplomacy.

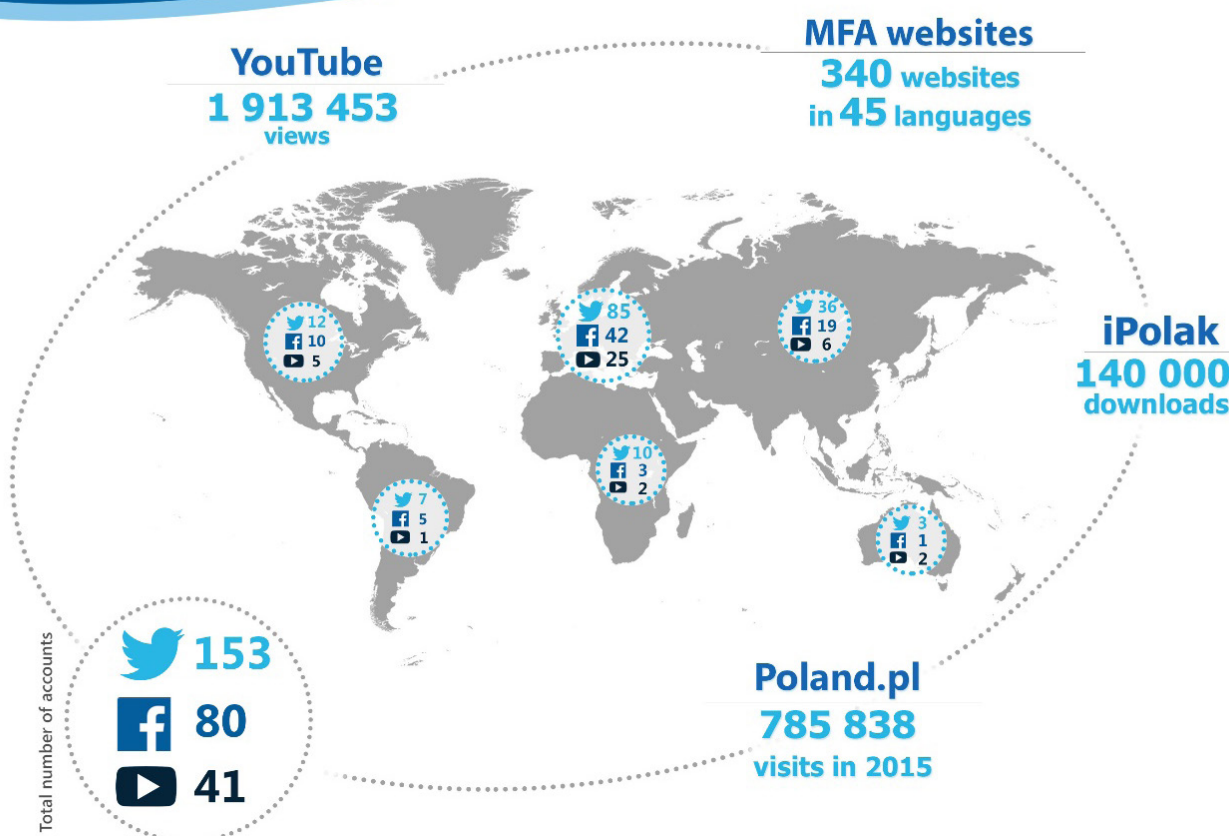
Today, crises events across the world are followed by a large population of the globe resorting to Twitter and Facebook for updates and reactions. Such developments have led to states having to respond rapidly, thus diplomacy in the age of internet has to keep pace. Diplomatic delays or conventional red-tapism has paved way for responsive



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governance, whereby embassies and diplomats who do not have an e-presence are viewed as backward or non-responsive. The case of Sony hacking and more recently, the presumed role of Russia in rigging U.S presidential elections can be viewed as cyber conflicts which require cyber diplomacy. An important related point to discuss here is the difference between ‘cyber diplomacy’ and ‘digital diplomacy’. The former deals with the use of diplomatic tools to resolve issues arising in cyberspace, while the latter

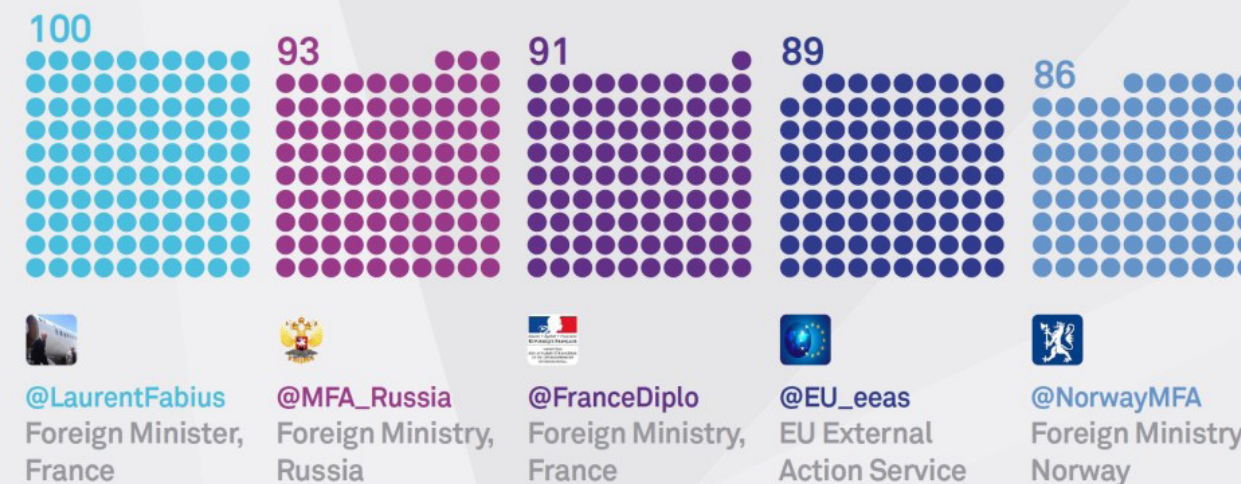
## MFA - Internet & social media



Source: [http://www.msz.gov.pl/en/news/polish\\_ediplomacy/](http://www.msz.gov.pl/en/news/polish_ediplomacy/)

## Best Connected World Leaders 2015

NUMBER OF MUTUAL PEER CONNECTIONS



Source: <http://twiplomacy.com/blog/twiplomacy-study-2015/>

involves the usage of digital tools to advance diplomatic ends.

A study done in 2015 on the role of Twitter in diplomacy summarised that there are more than 4,100 embassies and ambassadors who are active on Twitter. The figure provided below from the report summarizes the vitality of Twitter and increasing connectivity among the embassies across the world.

Digital diplomacy has an impact on sovereignty as well, as can be seen of the case of Kosovo in 2013. Kosovo became the first nation-state of the world that was recognized by Facebook.

Despite such international developments, eDiplomacy is yet to be pursued as an active domain of policy making in many places. While Open Government has been frequently debated, diplomacy in the digital age has been less discussed.

Usage of Information Communication Technologies (ICT) tools to achieve diplomatic objectives is a key focus of eDiplomacy. Diplomatic functions that are directly impacted owing to digital presence include:

### a. Bilateral and Multilateral Relations

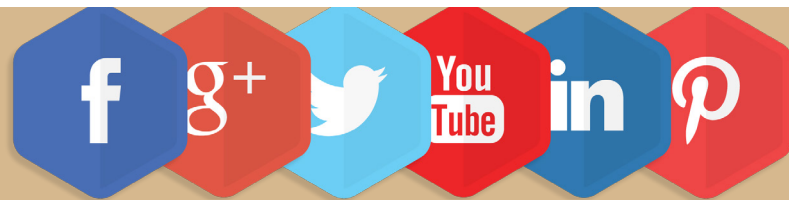
Digital diplomacy is expanding the scope of

relations and we are seeing how social media is being used to advance relations between countries and global organizations such as the UN, EU among others. For instance, in Pakistan, the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is seen as a major bilateral trade agreement which has important geopolitical and economic impacts for the region. The CPEC Monitor on Twitter provides a consistent stream of information for interested stakeholders and the world alike.

### b. Promotion and Image Building

It goes without saying that a key pillar of diplomacy is to be able to project a positive image of a country. Countries that are associated with negative international images such as violence and terrorism, are also castigated on Twitter and Facebook. The flip side to this is that countries that have been wrongly accused of such negative development can project a counter image as well. The Twitter handle of Dr. Maleeha Lodhi (Pakistan's Permanent Representative to the United Nations) is a good example of this. She has been vocal in projecting the country's effort in fighting against terrorism, highlighting violations of human rights by India and also ensuring a relatively unbiased dialogue towards NSG membership of India.





### c. Public Diplomacy and Social Engagement

Public diplomacy differs from Traditional diplomacy in covering interactions with non-governmental organizations. This is one avenue that Pakistan needs to rapidly improve. There is a large diaspora of every country living abroad. Generally, embassies are able to mobilize them through effective service delivery, and they in turn promote their country globally. There needs to be a strong eDiplomacy connection between diplomatic missions of a country and how the citizens feel about it. Using social engagement, people across the globe are able to place diplomats under public scrutiny.

### d. Consular Services

Availability of effective consular services has become much more important during the age of internet. A large number of entrepreneurs have e-businesses and require digital diplomacy to advance their presence. Digital India is one such venture which is using consular services and eDiplomacy to increase the country's footprint across the world.

### e. Internal Administrative Functions and Usage of ICT

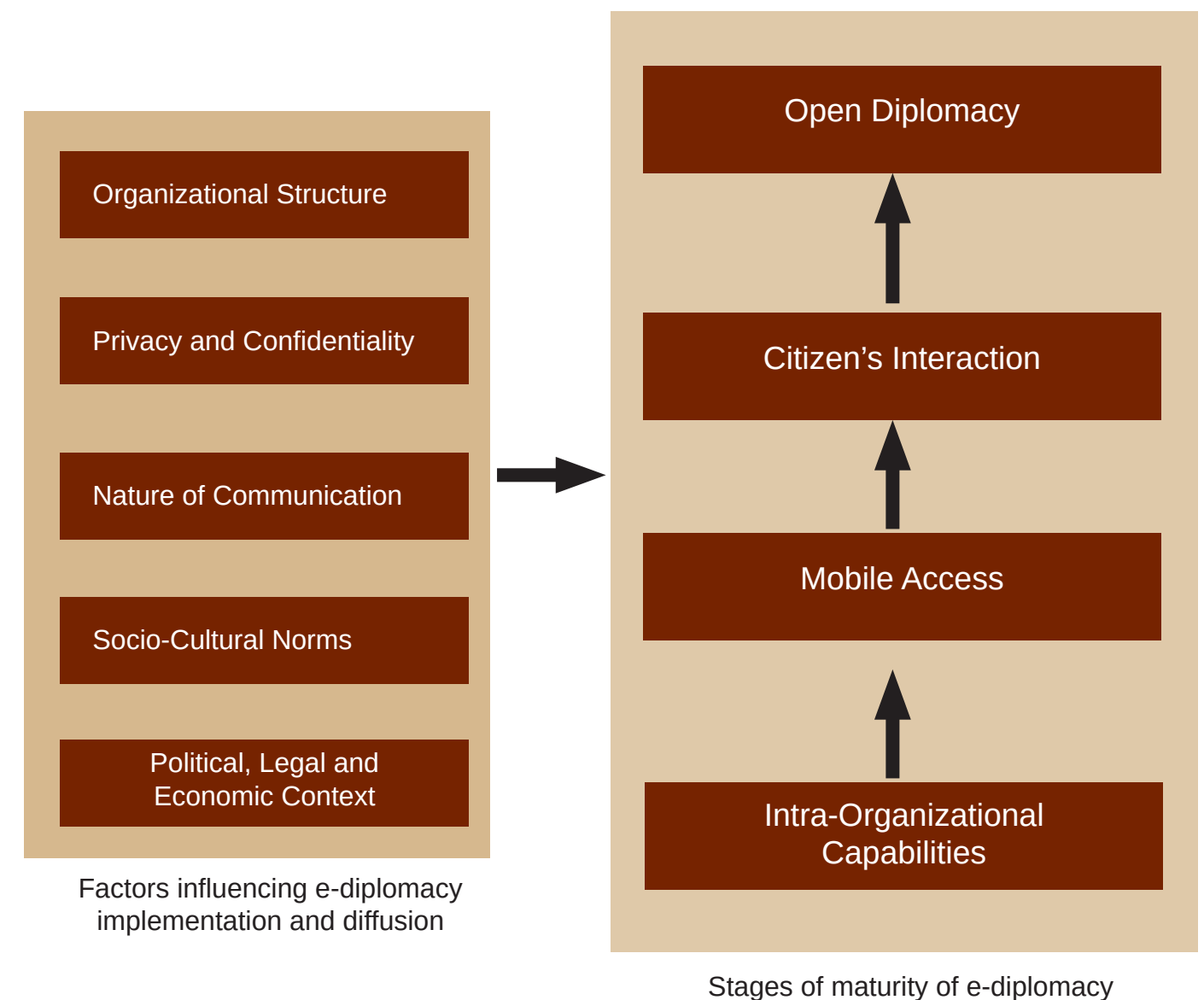
Citizens also expect their embassies to be well established in terms of ICT infrastructure they are providing. The more detailed the information and communication systems of a Foreign Ministry, the more will be the public appraisal, and its impact on the world. We have already seen the web presence of Poland. Another case for this can be seen through the little known Marshall Islands, which using its vibrant e-presence was able to play a key role in the sign of the Paris climate deal.

Interestingly, the development of internet was a product of the Cold War (ARPA net as a communication system between military

industrial complex and civilian research institutions). We are now in the age of post-industrial information society, offering new ranges of transnational production and distributive processes. Conflicts have also included the aspects of cyber, drone or robotic technologies, making ICT a key tool of modern warfare. Thus, digital diplomacy becomes more important than ever. Thus, states and non-state actors have adapted new strategies and policies to manage these technologies' driven challenges and capitalize on these transformations, making digital diplomacy more important than ever.

Provided below is a model e-diplomacy maturity framework which has been adapted from a research study. This is one model which embassies and foreign ministries across the world have either developed or are envisaging to develop.

The use of innovative ICT tools such as e-mails, social media, interactive websites, and e-services can greatly improve the effectiveness of a country's foreign ministry, of note is that there are a number of factors that are observed to limit the adoption of these technologies. These factors essentially range from bureaucracy, secrecy, and communication with the public to political, social and technological factors. It is essential for foreign ministries to carefully analyze these factors before implementing programs aimed at integrating ICT into their operations as this can have massive ramifications on the ministries. More recently, former UK diplomat Tom Fletcher has also called for involving representatives from Facebook, Google and Twitter during diplomatic interactions. These are really interesting times to be alive in, imagine a plaque reading Facebook or Google or Twitter in a session of the General Assembly. Digital diplomacy is surely headed towards that end.



Source: Almuftah, H. and Sivarajah, U., 2016. Toward Formulating a Digital Diplomacy Maturity Framework: A Theoretical Prospective.



Conflicts have also included the aspects of cyber, drone or robotic technologies, making ICT a key tool of modern warfare. Thus, digital diplomacy becomes more important than ever.

**Muhammad Adeel** is a Career Diplomat (44th Common) at Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad. He has also served as a lecturer at FCCU and manager of PABIC, Pakistan Biotechnology Center.

He has an experience of debates of more than five years. He has also been honored by the roll off honor for Debates, Essay writing completion and a summa cum laude award from FCCU.



## COVERSTORY

# PAKISTAN'S IDENTITY CRISIS

by Ousama Khursheed Khan



To be quite blunt and straightforward, is it because we are what we are or because we aren't what we should be?

If the question lingering over Pakistan's apparent crisis in its self-image was to be put in an intermezzo, it would have to be the aforementioned one. Nods of disapproval would await you if you dare assert that there's no incontestable distinction between Indians and Pakistanis that extends further than the border between them while a similar

and yet more condemnation will be directed at you if the mere thought of Pakistanis being Arabs ever crossed your mind. So, what is it about Pakistan that has propelled it forward for nearly 70 years. There can be no denying the obvious fact; Pakistan's very promulgation is an abject exception to the identity cliché that has come to be associated with other nations. And yet, for all of its supposed miraculous conceitedness in relation to its past, what is Pakistan exactly? Or more precisely, what does it epitomize?

But why does this question need to be asked, even after all these years? 70 years, though by comparison to some other countries of the world still in infancy, and rightly so albeit in matters of economics and indeed geopolitical clout. However, on the issue of identity it seems that 70 years would firmly allow any country to understand where it stands on this particular subject and how it moves forward in reforming or more eloquently, ameliorating this particular facet of it.

## DIAGNOSIS



## Nation-state or a State-nation: Pakistan in Prerogative

One must understand exactly what this identity is. Is Pakistan, to put it, in an albeit clichéd terminology, a nation-state or a state-nation?

There are partial and dubious distinctions, antagonistic to what others might say.

By deliberating on the fundamental concepts and the proverbial "meaning" of these terms such as nation-state, nation, country, and state, it can be safely concluded that not all of them are exact synonyms of one another, and are four discrete admittances. Each term, or word for that matter symbolizes a completely independent meaning that proceeds to illustrate unique designs. Typically, the ideal synonyms result in fewer diverse references. Additionally, for those willing to dwell deeper into this rather obfuscating idea, even the most basic form of scouring on the internet will allow the chance to recognize the distinct expressions that these words represent and how taken as individual context, their meaning both implicit and implied can be so radically diverse.

The sub verse non-clarity of this proposition is apparent in its presumptive form, by what criteria is a morsel of land described as a nation-state, state, nation or a country. By general assumption, it isn't much concern when discussing these concepts in everyday usages, they are all meant to make the same sense. Within a particular sphere, like international law there should exist cohesion regarding the exact meaning of them, as these can become the source of information in the grander scheme

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of things and more importantly in the understanding of this issue.

It should also be noted that many of the prescribed delineations observed are simply – putting it mildly – not true. For example, "nation-state" is the least hazy, because it overtly circumvents the needs from the intended audience to draw a clear distinction between the state and nation. Americans, for example would call the United States of America, a nation or on a more geographically accurate scale, a country with 50 main secondary units, the states. The

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USA is by conjoint description that has been accepted generally, one autonomous state under international law. However, in the US law itself, it is the 50 states that are defined as "sovereign", although they have ceded restricted fragments of sovereignty to the federal government, most conspicuously regarding







international affairs.

A layman in this matter would often believe state means a national subdivision, but this is only true in amalgamated nation, as far as the general norm goes. Just north of it, Canada proclaims itself to be a confederation, which seems to be a synonym for a federation, but contradictory to the US, uses the term province in place of state.

Though by purely professional decree there is no sense, at least practically, in which the above four terms are not synonyms in general parlance. It would not only be acceptable, but also not entirely inaccurate to use these four terms to mean a self-determining state under global law. Though in the recorded history of the current global, political, and economic continuum, it is unlikely that a self-professed nation-state is used as a mere subordinate element in a federation.

Upon further inquiry into this particular terminology and its perceived usage in both print and speech, it is laid bare that in quite a prudent yet suave play in linguistics, a nation-state is often defined as a "form of political organization in which a group of people who share the same history, traditions,

or language live in a particular area under one government". Similarly, a more refined form of phrasing it with a particular emphasis on its more physical manifestation, "A nation state is a geographical area that can be identified as deriving its political legitimacy from serving as a sovereign nation".

A state is, in intended form, a political and geopolitical entity, while a nation is more, by definition, a sum of its cultural and ethnic characterizations. It can drive a sane person towards a tip of insanity if he's left brooding on this particular drafting of above. Isn't political aspiration partially subsumed in the concept of geopolitical collectivism, likewise ethnic and cultural?

Of course, one can always argue that nations are generally grander than countries, contributing the same definition for both, minus the omission of "grander" in the latter, which leads unsurprisingly to another question: Why would traditionally integrated units be demarcated as larger than political entities? And therein lies the conundrum that the Islamic Republic of Pakistan faces. It was Islamic ambition veiled as a firm political decree that led the struggle for this country. "A country for a

nation", as some would call it. But a nation of whom? A nation deriving its root from religion or culture? A nation of Muslims that have an internal conflict, most notably the Shia-Sunni split or a nation of Punjabis, Bengalis, Baloch, Sindhis and Pakhtuns etc.?

In most reputable pieces of literature on this subject, particular those in the more sophisticated Oxford-esque corners of the suave English speaking world, sovereignty is mentioned at almost a parallel scale along with states, but and it is important, that it is optional, implicating that sovereignty is not a necessary component of either. It should be noted here that the dictionary has a comparatively multifaceted explanation of nation-state than of nation or state, hitherto it is still not clear there is a distinction (or even if there is one to begin with!) nor does it appear cogent that "reflective definitions", two synonyms that contrast only in size of the entity being addressed makes sense (it is now incongruous in terms of proportions) or that it produces a sense of not quite the elaborate synonyms. By a simple verbose thought considering the exact paradigms of defining it or more precisely in order to put into words, it should state that "a country can be sovereign, or occupied by a foreign sovereign", but this appears to be wholly fictitious of a nation. For example, West Germany was a country throughout the Cold War, but Germany became a nation when the enforced shadowy occupation finished upon reintegration. A nation under division is not a nation et al. The consolidation of the culture that binds them together is what forms the fabric of a nation.

And by these banal measurements, it brings us right back to the initiation of this question. If what a nation categorically requires is traditional camaraderie, predominantly language, as many urge and the common rational thought insists, then China would certainly not be termed a nation, as it has no fusing language. "Chinese" is an

all-inclusive language clan, no more commonly comprehensible than the languages of Europe. Ask a pro-Maoist Chinese about the divergence of Mandarin and Cantonese, and you'll see the point being made.

A concrete argument in this matter would be the use of all these positions is compound in unitary (non-federate) states that comprise self-governing sovereign subdivisions like found in Brazil or Russia. These sovereign tracts are allowed to exist, or more accurately allowed to come to existence because of extreme contrast in culture/ethnicity that the country possesses. So, are they nations? Yet, since the smaller components are nations, they aren't countries per the more established version of how nations are larger than countries. Obviously, what is not a nation cannot be a nation-state, so they are apparently just, states?

### Was it a mistake all along?

Starting off, why is this even a problem to begin with? How was it allowed to fester all these years and upon its - excuse the term, identification - allowed to continue?

One would do good to call upon the wisdom of the stoic Roman emperor, Marcus Aurelius who was the living embodiment of what Plato called "the Philosopher King" in his chef-d'oeuvre, *The Republic*, the book that effectively founded Political Science. One of Aurelius most quoted ideas are, "Of each particular thing ask: what is it in itself? What is its nature?". Pakistan's problem needs to go through a similar dissection, where does this problem really start and is there an underlying mutilated fact in its foundations, perhaps a lingering white elephant in the room that no one in the country wants to face?

From their very commencements in the academic foray, children and

wards in Pakistan's both private and public schools are presented with literature that has been designed, to educate them -or putting it a little more punitively - indoctrinated. Though in the defense of the state, there's legitimately no other country in the world that can lay a claim on being pure of this act, not in the civilized world at least. So, what exactly is this indoctrination supposed to achieve, it is one would imagine pretty minuscular, but in the grander scheme of things, the future generation of the country is the subject here.

Iqbal, long considered the intellectual marrow of a country so desperately in need of it, once proclaimed that no other concept other than religion itself, and to be quite precise, Islam can unify the masses of India and the lands inhabited by those who follow it. Culture, caste, creed, class and education are but the mild additions that Muslims bring upon themselves, referring back to Aurelius' statement, "This is what Muslims are in their selves, Muslims. Nothing more, absolutely nothing less".

An idea that brings upon emotions ranging from pride and unity to untethering fervor for fellow brethren, it seems true once taken on its face value. Is it not religion that acts as the single greatest unifier, and divider in many aspects. Can anyone really come upon with another point of identification, where people cling to it as fanatically as they do to their religions? And were the Crusades, not testament to this notion. Where people who were busy in petty squabbles in both the European and Arabian peninsulas, united under the cross or the star and crescent to defend this particular identity of theirs. No other identity can make people so readily and hastily agree to take up arms in its defense, no other identity brings upon such an emotion. Or does it?

As mentioned earlier, taken purely on its face value, Iqbal makes a point excellent with regard to its

appeal to the masses' emotions and zeal, however, rationally with what's happened in the years since Dr. Iqbal departed, one has to wonder whether he'd have maintained this position of his, or whether he understood the graveness of his suggestion with respect to the political climate of the Indian Sub-Continent at the time. It's a slogan every boy knows by heart, "Pakistan ka matlab kya la illaha illallah", which translates word by word to "Pakistan's meaning is there is no god but Allah". A more literal analysis of this text would make one thing abundantly clear, the most basic and absolute tenant of Islam, the doctrine of belief in the one true God, the god of Prophet Muhammad, of Jesus, of Moses, of Islam, Allah has an undeniable presence in Pakistan's very fabric. That such Islamic vehemence has been the characteristic mirror of Pakistan's society would please Dr. Iqbal absolutely, but again, in what's happened in the year since his passing, would he feel vindicated or would he be left brooding over this hypothesis of his?

Would the Fall of Dhaka, for example, have shaken his stern belief in Muslim unity, would the outbreak of a civil war in the land that chants, "Pakistan ka matlab kya la illaha illallah" have made it apparent to him that factors other than religion can play just as much of a crucial role, culture and class have become an integral part of not just the economic backdrop of this country but the societal aspect too. Perhaps, this was the case in Dr. Iqbal's time as well, although not in such absolute terms as they are today.

Indeed, a recent survey conducted by the reputable Pew Research Center would have brought about a sense of dismay for him, where in a 2010 survey of roughly 7,000 Muslims from several Muslim majority countries were asked to reveal what lines of identity do they mostly associate themselves with. With particular regard to the Muslim identity, they did choose to identify



themselves on the spectrum, however, in a way that Dr. Iqbal would not have been much too pleased with. Muslims, they all chose to identify as, but a very specific sectarian kind of Muslim. Whether it be in Jordan where Sunni Muslim was the answer given by a whopping 90%, with a similar percentage coming from respondents from Egypt. A similar kind of response was observed from other nations, where sectarian particularity was a common denominator. In Pakistan, a similar gloomy picture emerged where people were more inclined to align themselves along denominational perspectives of Islam rather than as an abject Muslim, itself. One can make a strong case, that although a bit troubling, this sectarian divide, it is still a part of the Muslim identity. If you are a Muslim, chances are vigorously high that you follow a particular school of thought. Nothing wrong with this idea in principle, however a crucial element comes into play when its practical implications are counted; more so in recent times when civil unrest has disrupted peace, tranquility and harmony among the public due to this issue. Undeniably, the idea of any conflict of thought of practice within Islam that emerged in its infancy still holds relevance today, perhaps now more than ever.

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So, by the virtue of this almost undeniable idea that unity amongst nations depend on more sophisticated and erudite factors than religion alone, where culture and race play just an important part internally and economic-cum-social parity playing an equally relevant extrinsic part, is Iqbal's original idea, flawed or rather putting it in perspective, simply obsolete?

The answer to this is quite complicated; and that would be putting it mildly. But in a nutshell, it would have to be: No. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal was not wrong and the ideologue on which the esteemed Allama chose to place his trust is still as warranted and validated as it was then, to a certain degree. How so? We have just gone through a Pew Research data, which is the absolute gold standard of any sort of research of this nature, which clearly suggests that Iqbal's idea of a grand unification of the Muslim

masses unilaterally on the basis of their faith is questionable and even verging on refutable. However, one exceedingly important detail needs to be highlighted in this particular aspect; what Iqbal professed held true for the scenario in which he saw his homeland in, and if applied in a tinkered manner, his concept is the most honorable idea that can be conjured up taking the current Islamic world in perspective.

### In the words of its founder:

Words, or to be precise, particular words can be of extreme importance and in the grander perspective, extreme motivators to infuse the masses with the necessary zeal and spirit to unify for or against an idea and be ready to give everything they have and everything they ever had for that one cause, words as once saying goes, "Words are containers for power, you choose what kind of power they carry" as said by Joyce Meyer.

It was the galvanizing words of the All-India Muslim League and its political lexicon that inspired a nation within a nation to aspire for something larger than life and

become a living embodiment of what will of steel can accomplish. Say what you might about Pakistan and what has gone through in the intervening years, there can be no denying the idea that what was achieved by a movement driven solely by courage and ambition of a people united under their Islamic identity is unparalleled in its nature across history.

In one of his more iconic addresses to the nation,

*"The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contended people. We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind"*

(Speech on the occasion of the inauguration of the State Bank of Pakistan at Karachi, 1 July 1948)

It will not take a man of bewildering intellect to dissect the undistorted message that the Quaid meant when he uttered these words. A frequent criticism that comes up whenever this topic is discussed and any evidence is given of Mr. Jinnah's support for a model of economy and socio-political setup that supports the values prescribed by Islam is his apparent contradictory statements that seem to support a seemingly different and opposing view than the one he's advocating for here. And the most logical response that one can make on such an impasse is referring back to another one of his landmark addresses,

*"Pakistan is the premier Islamic State and the fifth largest in the world. . . The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1,300 years ago. Islam and idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of men, justice and fair play to everybody"*

(Radio Broadcast to the People of the United States of America, February 1948)

The reasons for quoting this particular excerpt from his address is fairly simple; but to understand that it needs to be established that in this instance Mr. Jinnah was being an advocate of his newly formed state in front of what was at that time (and still is) the leader of the democratic movement in the world, an icon of liberty and justice, Mr. Jinnah was in this moment about to establish the coveted "first impression" of Pakistan in the mind of one of the – perhaps THE – staunchest allies in matters of economy, politics and societal harmony. What he chose in this instance was a firm tone to make certain that the message got through, the message: Islam is the fuel that propels Pakistan. No doubts lingered in the mind of the Quaid when he was making this speech, he was clear on this topic where he was stoic in his regard for Islamic ideology and Pakistan's ideology to be the same and that it was Islamic principles that would formulate the moral compass that drives Pakistan forward. He makes multiple references to democracy and the vital role it will have to play in carving up a progressively tolerant and vibrant society in

Pakistan, however, it should be noted he makes a distinct nod to Islamic principles each time democracy is mentioned and the emphasis is often laid on the former rather than the latter.

In the light of this statement, another myth can be eradicated that Mr. Jinnah, who it has to be noted was continuously labelled a secular and never denied that particular tag by certain quarters amidst the independence movement, states it in an unblemished lexicon, the 1300-year-old principles that many would consider outdated and obsolete in the world of today were just as relevant and applicable as then, and judging from whom he was addressing it can be established unequivocally that Mr. Jinnah genuinely considered these principles to be of immeasurable value and crucial to Pakistan's own identity in the future.

Another such address which solidifies this case is,

*"I am glad that there is full realization on your part that now the position is basically different. It is no longer a foreign Government as it was, but it is now a Muslim Government and Muslim rule that holds the reigns of this great independent sovereign State of Pakistan. It is now the duty of every Musalman, yours and mine, and every Pakistani to see that the State, which we have established, is strengthened . . ."*

(Address to the Tribal Jirga at Government House, Peshawar, 17 April 1948)

Again, emphasis on the wording he chose to bring perspective to his ideas. Far too often we have had cases of politicians who have on instances pandered to the secularists or to the fundamentalists; such was not the case with Muhammad Ali Jinnah at

# Identity crisis



this juncture where he made certain that his vision was not obfuscated in form. Not a government that just happens to belong to the Islamic faith by a Muslim government which would ensure firm execution and implication of Islamic ideas and principle, something which in the Quaid's mind and vision was to symbolize Pakistan, as a modern Islamic democracy that would embrace its adapted ideology and look towards the horizon of progress.

### The hypocrisy of its critics:

It would not be erroneous at this juncture to return to the original question, the initial dilemma as it were; why has this even been allowed or rather managed to turn into such a monolith of a predicament. The answer is admittedly not that simple, which is what makes way for any sense of non-clarity on this topic, Pakistan in the years subsequent to that of its independence has undergone a wave of cultural and social reformist mentality that has not always been on the same wavelength as that of its citizens. Specifically, the left-wing Pakistan has allowed itself not to be as perplexed by the modernization as it should have been with constant barrage of comparisons to that of India as a model for the restructuring of the social framework that allows a cohesion between tradition and progressiveness. It is an unhealthy obsession, some might observe. For such a comparison makes the entire idea of partition as redundant. What would then be the point of a separate country if the ultimate goal is to emulate or rather, mimic the country we sought separation from in the first place, based on irreparable differences in ideology.

Was it not this ideology that led to many not just on the Muslim side back in the 40s but also other statesmen to acknowledge the fact that through their resolve it

seems implausible that Muslims would accept anything less than a separate land to ensure they have a place to practice their ideology or in the words of the Quaid himself, "carry out an experiment" based on this ideology in this new country. The experiment has been continuously hindered by these baseless appraisals of the adversarial practice.

Sure moderation should be brought in, and one could argue with the society that we have today much represents the only form of moderation one could hope to ever see fulfilled in this country but does the abandonment of the very basis of its formation make even the inkling of sense?

In years that have passed we have seen this unhealthy obsession from both sides of aisle, to be more than willing to support their cause within the country at the cost of its stability. The left clambering for a shift towards a more secular societal reformation with the right wing agenda being that of transforming Pakistan into a virtual conservative Middle Eastern-esque satellite state. Both these ideologies pose a serious threat to the very fabric that made Pakistan such a unique specimen of history. It has led to Pakistan seemingly overlooking the ideals that were meant to serve as constant reminders of the direction it was meant to take. Often the question is asked, "what is it that makes Pakistan so distinctive?"- one should add "for better or worse" to that. For many it is a poignant question to consider, after all it still hasn't been agreed upon whether Pakistan's future shines bright as a progressive secular country or

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a theocracy driven forward with emphasis on conservative ideals to ensure that its traditions and values are not marred by any false pursuits of appeasing those who deem Pakistan's very inception a mistake.

Reverting back to an earlier assertion where the illusory idea of emulating India is frequently perpetrated by the left wing, it would bring them in great deal of misery to actually be made aware of the incredible shortcomings our neighbor had in that particular department. By no means can we lay a claim on having had the most untainted nature of governments in our 70 years, but indeed we can find better examples than a country so fixated with producing its own brand of toxic nationalism-pseudo-democracy that it will not stop at any length to amalgamate them. But rather than delve deep into that particular issue, though a lot of material is there to be delved into it seems more prudent to state in non-compromising terms the sincerest commitment that the cause of Pakistan and particularly its ideology craves.

Pakistan is not an Arab nation, although a simpleton's remark it has a remarkable sense of veracity in it. So, one might by justification wonder, what are we then?

As mentioned earlier, Pakistan is a unique specimen when it comes to international spectrum of this nature. Nor are we Arab and neither is it feasible for Pakistan's own sake to align itself on the similar sense

of moral and social values as that of its Eastern neighbor. Its identity is its own to discover and forge as it seeks to carve out a recognition for itself. It is no hard and fast written rule that you cannot be a Muslim and seek to reform yourself; the same principles it can be argued holds true for a country. 70 years, seems a lot but in the grander scheme politics it is a mere blink of an eye. Nations go for decades, centuries even millennia lost in the abyss of identification and are not inclined towards the path of enlightenment for a considerable time. By comparison Pakistan can give itself a pat on the back for having at least the tenacity to reject the notion of abandoning the ideals that have led to its inception in the first place.

The debacle of Dhaka as so many please in pointing towards, as a testimony towards the failure of the two nation theory and much more the apparent collapse of Allama Iqbal's assertion forget one vital detail. The original text of the Pakistan Resolution called for "autonomous states" and what the events in 1971 signaled towards when taken into account the intent of the Awami League to form an independent country and not amalgamate into India is the resolute feeling of the pre partition days – Under no circumstances will Muslims of the Sub-Continent except anything less than complete sovereignty".

Furthermore, as the noted French historian Christophe Jaffrelot cites the works of another renowned British-Pakistan historian Samuel Martin Burke in his book, and one should add one of the finer books available on this subjected amply titled, "A History of Pakistan and its Origins" reaffirms the aforementioned concept of the Awami Leagues push for an independent country rather than integrating back into India. Was it not the plot that the Muslim of India be allowed to form their own sovereign country to rule according to their own religious values and



affirmations and when the political instability in that country erupted, it led not the revision into the state of old but the justification of the two nation theory put into practice, ironically by the Awami League in its pursuit of an independent country.

Pakistan comprises "the land of five rivers", origins of the Vedic civilization to just name a few retrogressions into the past of the land it covers. Identity should not be as big a concern for nation that can lay claim to such a rich and diverse history dating back to nearly 5000 years. Unfortunately, this idea only springs back into contention

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once it is implied that just because Muslims are in majority in these lands now it somehow interprets into the complete desertion of the past, simply not true. Being a Muslim doesn't have to mean that roots are relinquished. Because once this particular act is carried out, there is no indigenous identity to spare.

**Ousama Khursheed Khan** is currently working as Assistant Director. He is an MPhil Scholar at National Defence University Islamabad. He has previously worked in NDU's research think tank ISSRA in 2015. His area of interest is Defence Studies and Foreign Policy of United States, and he writes on regional contemporary issues. His research focuses on changing world orders.



Pakistan first electric depot settled in the Gwadar Free Zone. February 17, 2017. The Gwadar Free Zone Company and Jolta International Private Limited Company "Free Zone Land Investment Leasing Agreement" was held in Guadal Harbor.

Electric Bicycle, Electric Motocycles and electric vehicles are already very mature in China, with low cost, low operating cost and little impact on environment", said Zhang Baozhong, Chairman of China Port control Company.

Jolta International Private Company is headquartered in Hong Kong. China is electronics technology as the core business of high-tech companies. The investment Guadal electric depot covers an area of 10,000 square meters, in the investment amount of about 100 million yuan, Pre-import parts to the main Assembly, the end of 2017 will be completed the formation of plant construction scale.

Jolta International (JI) Private Limited is the first ever formally registered Pakistani company in Gwadar Free Zone.

JI feels proud to be pioneer in e-Automobiles Industry in Pakistan (Electronic Bikes, Cars and Buses). JI intends to initially invest 10 Million USD in two phases by installing first, an assembling unit, later manufacturing unit of E-Automobiles.

JI has already got its first order of 2,500 e-bikes, Cars and shuttle buses for Gwadar Free Zone Company to made Gwadar Free Zone - Pollution Free, Omission Free.

As, Social Corporate Responsibility is at top of the vision of JI, hence, Mr. Muhammad Azim Chairman JI has recruited complete first ever batch of 30 local students of Electrical Diploma from Gwadar Institute of Technology (GIT). JI has also donated 2000 books to Gwadar Campus of Turbet. JI also intend to start a vocational Training Institute with the Collaboration of local authorities / notables.

It is worth mentioning that Mr. Muhammad Azim

- Chairman JI and Muhammad Rehan Aslam - Director Collaborations and Partnerships are Alumni of Pakistan's most prestigious National Security Workshop from National Defence University and had closely worked with relevant institutes and authorities for good.



It is worth mentioning that by signing an MOU with Gwadar Free Zone Co (GFZ) And Gwadar Port Authority (GPA) JI become world's first formal company to formally acquire land in GFZ and about kickoff our business in Gwadar. "Power to Empower" is our vision.

## Interview: Businessman to the Core

### Mr. Muhammad Azim

Interview by Mehwish Khan



Q1

**How do you see investment opportunities in Pakistan and especially in Gwadar?**

**Reply:** Basically there is a big prospect in Gwadar to invest especially Launch of CPEC plan and investment by China and Pakistan in it is a great opportunity. But private sector companies are planning a mammoth investment in Gwadar. They are planning to invest in Gwadar free zone 9GFZ) on industry Scale. Beside this, local investors are also keen to invest in GFZ. Further, real estate is also receiving investment undoubtedly. Foreign and Pakistani investors in partnership are investing in real estate and other industries located in GFZ. So overall, I see Gwadar as a land of opportunities.

Q2

**Your Company is the first one to get registered in GFZ. Would you please introduce your company and highlight its benefits to Pakistan. Please also highlight the hurdles and opportunities you have face in registering your company?**

**Reply:** Basically we are Jolta Group of Companies and different companies under Jolta group are working in different domains. Jolta international is going to launch a major project in Gwadar by manufacturing and assembling Electronic bikes (e-bikes) and e-cars. Pakistan is producing about 2.3 million bikes every year and Jolta International is converting this huge market by replacing conventional bikes with e-bikes. Jolta International ha planned to deliver its supply all over Pakistan and will also export e-bikes and e-cars.

Jolta International is basically Hong Kong based and also functioning in China. So we from Pakistan proposed the manufacturing of e-bikes in Gwadar free zone. Among many proposals for Gwadar free zone phase 1, proposal of e-bikes was accepted as e-bikes, e-buses and e-shuttles would be us on port for local transport. So they accepted our proposal and we have acquired the land as well. Regarding registration of our company, we actually did not find any difficulty except

gathering of information although it was for the first time. We found it difficult as information was not in published or documented form. But we discovered our way by meeting the concerned departments and individuals. It was a pre requisite for any company to be registered



locally in order to get registered in the free zone. Overall, it was not difficult and regarding the issue we faced about information gathering, we have decided that we will publish it by yourself for other companies.

Q3

**What is the expected production scale of your company and which areas you will target first to spread your product?**

**Reply:** As it is a new product for Pakistan and Gwadar, so we will produce 2000 e-bikes per month. The requirement on the port is for 2500 e-bikes. We planned to produce low initially as it is a trail product and after that we will bring our production in proper running. Honda is producing around 1 million annually and it is 2.3 million in total. So we are targeting and focusing to produce 1 million per year which is almost half of the total production in Pakistan.

Q4

**How do you see the employment opportunities that would be generated for people through this?**

**Reply:** As we are already producing output and we are using Chinese manpower . For this project, we will hire locals of Gwadar, Balochistan and Karachi as well. We will also take the fresh graduates from Gwadar Institute of Technology (GIT) onboard and will provide them internships. A fraction of labor force has already been moved to company for production purposes. Jolta International will provide thousands of job opportunities to people from all over the Pakistan including Gwadar, so I think it is a great opportunity.

Q5

**I would like to ask that how much share of labor and capital is to be used in assembling and manufacturing of these vehicles?**

**Reply:** As you know that in such kind of production, labor costs you heftily . Initially we intend to hire more labor as low wage rate is prevailing in the area due to less job opportunities and people are showing their consent to work on such rates. We are aiming to create jobs for people from different regions and hence a major portion of our investment will be spent on job creation and labor force.

Q6

**Sir, what do you think, what businesses should Pakistan's industry focus that can be beneficial and helpful for timely completion of CPEC?**

**Reply:** Well first of all I want to say that we generally have a very wrong perception that China has taken over our industries. Chinese companies covers a large market around the world and they are also in production mode in different free economic zones and sea ports. CPEC is providing a wide set of opportunities and it is not industry specific rather it has a great prospect for every industry. It can mobilize our fan industry, home appliances and shoe industry and food and beverages industry as well. These industries along with many others can initiate their production in free zones. We also aim to spread awareness among our major industries regarding functioning in free zones and its benefits as there are many payoffs if companies make their products export-worthy. Cotton is a major crop of Pakistan and it can be processed in free zones at low cost. Another key benefit is that our industry can enhance the levels of quality and compete in the world markets which was not possible before.

Q7

**Please express your views how Pakistan can reap benefits from your company and what opportunities will emerge once your company starts functioning in the free zone?**

**Reply:** Jolta International is working internationally and we are focusing on electronics. In Pakistan; electronic manufacturing remained low so Jolta international will provide a great opportunity in the field of electronics in Pakistan. A supportive electronic industry can be established and people from different industries of Pakistan can be moved there. We are planning to launch the production of mobile phones in near future and existing mobile manufacturing companies can be moved in free zone and a assembling of mobiles can be done there. Jolta can give new inventions to Pakistan and Jolta's R&D can help Pakistan in different ways.



Q8

**Please tell us about the legislation of your company as your company will work in Gwadar Free Zone and CPEC legislation is center of discussion?**

**Reply:** Jolta International is working in different

cities of the country.

Q9

**Please share your views on how Business community can play its role in building a relationship between citizens and the state and how it can**



cities of Pakistan like Lahore, Karachi, and Islamabad in field of Software industry. We are focusing on IT in those regions but the hardware productivity will be targeted in Gwadar Free Zone. So Jolta International is making a whole division and mapping our companies in different

**eliminate inferiority complex among people especially from Balochistan?**

**Reply:** Many people in our country even in the industry are disappointed from the state and consider themselves being isolated. But now

from Balochistan.

Q10

**Please tell us about the target market for your Product?**

**Reply:** E-bikes and E-cars will be produced for Gwadar port initially and after that we will focus Gwadar and its nearby areas. Further we will supply our output in all parts of Pakistan and afterwards we plan to export our products to Middle East, Africa and other countries.

## Last Message

I want to say to the whole industry of Pakistan especially real estate investors that due to lack of economic activities in Pakistan since many years, a major part of our industry has been shifted to real estate and kept on investing in real estate. Now this is an opportunity for them to establish a wide spread areas of industries once again and build Pakistan's economy.



Mr. Azim is a successful serial Entrepreneur. He has over twenty years of experience in bringing innovative products with Firmware development in Shenzhen's high-tech industry. He is man of ideas and mostly referred as a product scientist. Prior to this, he worked with Japanese in the embedded core products and travels the transition from PowerPC chips to Arm's core processors. He has led many successful ventures and spread the setup in more than 5 countries.

they have a chance to resolve their matters and to re-establish their businesses as the state has provided them with an opportunity in form of free zones where every facility has been provided to run a smooth business. And many people are spreading a misperception that foreign industry will capture Balochistan

and its resources. Whereas it is a big chance for people in Balochistan to reap maximum benefit from business opportunities, to get their locals employed in new industries and trigger this approach. Awareness among locals can play a crucial role in eliminating inferiority complex



Brahumdag Khan Bugti was born on October 25th, 1982 in Dera Bugti, Balochistan, Pakistan. He belongs to Bugti tribe and is the grandson of Akbar Khan Bugti. His father died in his childhood therefore, he was raised by his grandfather. Following the death of Akbar Bugti in August 2006, he fled from his home town Dera Bugti to Afghanistan. Pakistan repeatedly demands that Afghanistan hand him over for his alleged involvement in various terrorist activities via one of its militant wings.

Pakistan's remonstrations over Bugti became so insistent that the US and other NATO members urged Afghanistan to move Bugti elsewhere. He, along with his family, arrived in Switzerland in October 2010 and sought political asylum in February 2011. However, his application was denied in January last year.

Following the refusal by Swiss authorities to grant him political asylum, he applied for political asylum in India. Indian officials are under way to give citizenship to him and his key lieutenants Sher Muhammad Bugti and Azizullah Bugti. Following the death of his grandfather he split from the Jamhoori Watan Party and formed his own political party in 2008 named Baloch Republican Party (BRP). Baloch Republican Army (BRA) is considered to be the militant wing of BRP which is involved in various terrorist activities and the killing innocent people.

The BRA has been specifically involved in activities that terrorize innocent civilians. Its terror tactics involve sabotaging, ambushing and guerrilla attacks on civilian and military installations. Civilian infrastructure like communication system, electricity pylons, railway lines, communication system and state machinery have been targets of BRA attacks as well.

Bugti's involvement in various terrorist activities has resulted in cases against him in Pakistan. Currently, the Indian establishment has opened negotiations with Bugti on granting him Indian citizenship.

Name	Brahumdagh Khan Bugti
Alias/Nom de guerre	N/A
Age	35/36
Tribe	Bugti
Position	N/A
Current Location:	Geneva, Switzerland
Educational Background/Alma Mater	N/A
Political Affiliation	Baloch Republican Party



# KNOW THY ENEMY

Fazal Hayat, son of Bildaar Khan was born in 1974 and belongs to a Pashtun clan, Yousafzai tribe. He studied in madrasa of Sufi Muhammad, who was the founder of Tehreek-e-Nafaz-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM).

During General Musharraf's presidency, due to a ban on TNSM, Sufi Muhammad was captured; Fazalullah took over the reins of the Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi. After establishing the organization and bringing corps from Afghanistan to Swat, he got arrested. During his prison Sufi Muhammad changed his name from Fazal Hayat to Fazalullah, which became famous and continues to be his identity.

Fazalullah organized the TNSM in Swat valley and violently claimed to impose Shariah in that region. Upon condition of cease fire, the army agreed to let them impose Shariah in Malakand district. But after the siege of Lal Masjid in 2007, Fazalullah started strengthening his forces in Swat with the help and orders of Baitullah Mahsuud. In the same year (2007) he started making his own courts and offices in the name of Shariah, with 4500 militants reported.

He established a madrasa which was used as an operation center for his organization, with more than 2 Million dollars, and an important point to notice regarding the funding of that madrasa is that it was funded by a well-known political personality, religious scholar and ex-senator Molana Sami ul Haq. Due to challenging the state's writ and activities carried out against national interest Fazalullah was continuously being tracked by the

Name	Fazal Hayat
Age	41/42
Tribe	Yousafzai
Position	Leader of Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-shariat-e-Mohammadi, 2002. Chief of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan, 2013
Current Location	N/A
Educational Background/Alma Mater	Studied, Proclaimed Islamic studies in madrasa of Sufi Muhammad.
Political Affiliation	TTP (Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan)
Wars and Battles	Operation Black Thunderstorm, War in north west Pakistan, Operation Zarb e Azab



Pakistan army through different operations but could not be captured again. Meanwhile when Baitullah Mahsuud was killed in a drone attack, Fazalullah became the chief of TTP.

Among the most devastating incidents for which he has claimed responsibility is the attack on Army Public School (APS), where 141 innocent students were killed along with their teachers and principle.

Other than the APS Peshawar massacre, his negative stances towards the state includes destroying music video and electronics shops and more than 170 buildings owned by the state to educate women. TTP also physically beat the health organizers and polio vaccine members for negating the importance of this vaccination for the people of KPK. The attempt to assassinate Malala Yousafzai was also carried out on the orders of Fazalullah because he was not in favor of female education and its promotion.

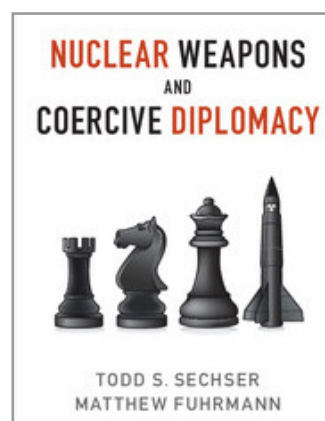


# Nuclear Weapons and Coercive Diplomacy

By Todd S. Sechser, Matthew Fuhrmann

The post-World War 2 era has shown that nuclear blackmail is exceedingly difficult. Nuclear weapons have been useful for deterrence and self-defense. Yet, their role in consolidating a state's position in international negotiations has been disconcerting and esoteric. In their latest book, "Nuclear Weapons and Coercive Diplomacy", Todd Sechser and Matt Fuhrmann attempt to determine the relevance and meaningfulness of nuclear weapons with regard to a state's foreign policy and diplomacy.

The authors undertake to understand the role of nuclear weapons in the 21st century. They believe that the bulk of innovations concerning nuclear deterrence as well as theories informing state-formed nuclear policies were really formulated during the Cold War. The world has come a long way since then: today, instead of a bipolar world where two superpowers have nuclear weapons pointed at one another, there exists one superpower and multiple regional powers. As such, for Sechser and Fuhrmann, the academic literature did not fully enable the comprehension of what nuclear weapons might do in the arena of foreign negotiations or the role they might play in today's international environment. In the book, the emphasis is not as much on deterrence (that has



dominated strategic thinking about nuclear weapons since 1945) as on the effects of nuclear weapons and proliferation in terms of more assertive foreign policy behavior. This provides a fresh outlook on the subject. In particular, the authors question that, in addition to nuclear weapons serving as an "invasion insurance" and diminishing the risk of attack on a nuclear state, whether the weapons allow states to get their way in international politics. In other words, are nuclear weapons useful in "coercive diplomacy"?

Sechser and Fuhrmann use various case-studies to ask this question. A more contemporary example used is in the context of Iran: would Tehran acquiring nuclear weapons translate into the country getting a diplomacy magic wand? Would every country in the world then bend to the nuclear state's desires? Prior to the book, the authors speculated that an answer in the affirmative was highly doubtful: there isn't much historical or theoretical basis for such an

argument to be true. This led them to develop a case for what (and what not) nuclear weapons allow states to do.

"Nuclear Weapons and Coercive Diplomacy" reviews multitudes of different disputes and crisis extending back to the post-World War 2 era in which countries attempted to use their nuclear arsenals for coercive gains. The significant finding is that it was rare (even in cases of explicit nuclear threats) for a state to extract a major foreign policy concession by virtue of merely having a nuclear arsenal. Therefore, the authors view nuclear weapons as mainly useful for deterrence but not "for these more assertive forms of foreign policy", especially not for coercive diplomacy. The book underscores that both Nixon (during the Vietnam War in 1969) and Khrushchev (to expel Western forces from Berlin in the 1960s) attempted to use their nuclear arsenals for coercive diplomacy on multiple occasions. Yet both failed, alluding to the track record of using nuclear threats for coercive diplomacy being quite poor.

Sechser and Fuhrmann do recognize the consequences of nuclear proliferation including accidents and increased risk of use of nuclear weapons in certain parts of the world. But the core theme of their book

is to suggest that if we are worried about states acquiring nuclear weapons will allow them to impose their will on every other state, then that is a misguided line of thinking. Wanting to attack a country to prevent it from attaining nuclear capability for solely this (foreign policy leverage) reason presents misplaced fears. Ultimately, playing on concerns about nuclear blackmail to justify preventive wars is not the rational way forward.

In essence, "Nuclear Weapons and Coercive Diplomacy" argues that nuclear blackmail is ineffective: several leaders, from Eisenhower to Khrushchev and Nixon, tried to extract concessions using nuclear arsenals but met with little success. Unless a state's survival is on the line, nuclear threats lack credibility since they are too costly to implement. Nuclear brinkmanship rarely works as well: nuclear signals are difficult to detect and decipher. As Fuhrmann stated: "A reputation for fighting with gloves off doesn't help", be it democratic leaders or dictators. On the contrary, the risk of misinterpretation regarding nuclear signals is at hand. Foes may be left confused at best rather than intimidated. Given all this, leaders are not emboldened by their nuclear arsenals to take greater risks and play a more aggressive foreign policy game. They may attempt to come off as unpredictable and forceful yet, nuclear superiority will contribute little to coercive diplomacy for state leaders in the international realm. Sechser and Fuhrmann's piece further

questions the utility of nuclear arsenals in crisis bargaining: among others, one reason why a state may not proliferate is that it does not believe that nuclear weapons will have a conspicuous and demonstrable impact on its potential foes.

Sechser and Fuhrmann tackle an emerging, hot topic regarding nuclear arsenals and coercive diplomacy and present a new outlook, which makes their book a pragmatic and more than handy read, particularly as global politics are headed towards unsettled waters. Even so, their book does invite some significant questions. For instance, their case regarding Iran is quite compelling yet if we only consider the regional (rather than global) implications of Tehran acquiring nuclear capability, would their argument still hold? Iran, with or without nuclear weapons, would not be able to take on the stronger world powers but would a nuclear Iran be able to bully weaker Gulf states such as Bahrain, Oman or Qatar? If yes, then "how so" is an area for further contemplation.

In addition, some scale of what passes as a 'substantial gain' would be useful too. Particularly in the South China Sea crisis, where nuclear China takes on non-nuclear players such as the Philippines or Vietnam. Even if the Philippines or Vietnam back off from claiming just a tiny island in the South China Sea and if that is attributable to the Chinese having nuclear weapons, that still stands to be a substantial gain for Beijing.

But to be fair, attributing such foreign policy behavior to nuclear weapons is quite hard (unless in cases of explicit nuclear threats). Furthermore, compellence in general is tough to implement. Therefore, the 'nuclear' aspect of the argument has to be delicately carved out from the broader explanation of compellence working (or not working) in the foreign policy arena.

Ultimately, "Nuclear Weapons and Coercive Diplomacy" impressively blends Sechser's research agenda (military coercion, uses and threats of force) with those of Fuhrmann (nuclear weapons, nuclear proliferation, and uses and threats of military force) to produce a timely and critical tool for understanding foreign policy and nuclear diplomacy. It rationally challenges the popular view that nuclear states naturally acquire reinforced compellence and coercive diplomacy. Finally, "Nuclear Weapons and Coercive Diplomacy" advises practitioners and scholars alike in grasping where (and where not) nuclear weapons might fit in crisis bargaining, international negotiations, and foreign policy.

**Muhammad Omar**

**Afzaal** is a graduate from Grinnell College and is pursuing a Masters in Public Affairs from Brown University. He specializes in international security, civil-military diplomacy and nuclear non-proliferation. He can be reached at [omar.afzaal@cscr.pk](mailto:omar.afzaal@cscr.pk). He tweets at @OmarAfzaal



# JUSTICE FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

by Zeshan Muneer



## DIAGNOSIS



### 1. INTRODUCTION:

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) ensures universal and effective recognition and observance of human rights set out in the declaration. The major purpose behind the UDHR is the provision of justice to all human beings without any discrimination. The human rights discipline has given more meaning and normative content to the concept of access to justice. Indigenous people are prone to exploitation and discrimination and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP) was a serious effort

currently governing their territories. They are present in some 70 countries and make up almost 5 per cent of the world's total population. They face lack of political representation and participation, economic marginalization, poverty, lack of access to social services, and discrimination. Despite representing a small percentage of humans on earth, they nevertheless make up one-third of the world's extremely poor rural people.

Indigenous People face difficulties in having gaining criminal justice and continue to face discrimination and

Indigenous People (IP) are those who inhabited a land before it was colonized by people from other societies and who consider themselves distinct from the societies currently governing their territories. They are present in some 70 countries and make up almost 5 per cent of the world's total population. They face lack of political representation and participation, economic marginalization, poverty, lack of access to social services, and discrimination.



to counter this exploitation. While not being formally binding as a matter of international law, it has considerable legal and political force.

Indigenous People (IP) are those who inhabited a land before it was colonized by people from other societies and who consider themselves distinct from the societies

inequalities in this context. They are often victims of crimes and are more likely to be charged with offences. Moreover, they tend to inhabit geographical regions most impacted or threatened by climate change amongst hence they are amongst the world's most exposed and vulnerable people to global warming and climate change.

International law contains mechanism to ensure justice to Indigenous People. Institutions focused on human rights have strived to ensure provision of rights to them since the 1970s. The issue of injustice against IP came to the forefront in labor markets. The international human rights framework later ensured that IP sought and obtained recognition of their rights to self-determination, lands, territories and resources, non-discrimination in criminal justice system and other constructive agreements with states.

The purpose of this research paper is to shed light on the problems being faced by IP and how they can be remedied. This study is significant because it will reduce a noteworthy gap in knowledge about the problems being faced by the IP. It will evaluate the criminal justice systems of various countries in which IP exist and will focus on the shortcomings of the criminal justice systems of



such countries and on ways to overcome them. It will also focus on the problems the IP face due to the deteriorating environment and the role they can play in countering this phenomenon.

The present study answers the following questions. Are there any international conventions dealing specifically with protection of the rights of Indigenous People and to what extent have they addressed the problem of discrimination and exploitation of IP? How can the states ensure non-discrimination against IP in their criminal justice system after doing case by case study? How has global warming impacted the lives of IP and what are the remedies to ensure protection of IP from the effects of climate change?

## 2. INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS FOR THE PROTECTION OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE'S HUMAN RIGHTS:



As defined by the UN Special Rapporteur to the Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Indigenous People are “those which having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop, and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems.” (Martinez-Cobo, 1984)

Indigenous People are found in almost all continents. They are very sensitive about their culture and traditions and are considered to be very close to nature. Several international

instruments protect the rights of IP. IP rights overlap with many other human rights provided in international agreements. Many essential rights of IPs are not framed in specific treaties for Indigenous People but are part of more general treaties like UDHR or the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The UNDRIP, which shall be discussed later, is one of the fundamental documents dealing exclusively with the rights of IPs. However, several other conventions also protect the rights of IPs indirectly. Some of them are discussed below:

### 2.1. Instruments dealing indirectly with the rights of Indigenous People:

#### a. Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

UDHR provides equal rights to all human beings without any discrimination. Article 1 and Article 2 of the charter ensures this; hence it provides protection to IPs.

#### b. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) :

Article 27 of the ICCPR provides freedom to minorities to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their religions and to use their own language. This article can be extended to grant protection to IPs throughout the world.

#### c. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) :

This Covenant describes the basic economic, social, and



cultural rights of individuals. It also includes provisions for collective rights.

#### d. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1966):

This convention prohibits discrimination against any ethnic community on the basis of race. It can be extended to provide protection to IPs.

### 2.2. The United Nations declaration on the rights of indigenous people (UNDRIP):

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People provides a normative framework for the development and implementation of bi-lateral mechanisms for access to justice, conflict resolution and redress of Treaty violations with full and equal participation of both the state and Indigenous Nation Treaty partners. The Declaration consists of 46 Articles and is an extensive document ensuring the protection of rights of IPs and provides a mechanism for the provision of justice to Indigenous People. Some of the important

articles dealing primarily with criminal and climate justice for the Indigenous People are as follows:

#### Article 26

1. “Indigenous peoples have the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired.

2. Indigenous peoples have the right to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources that they possess by reason of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use, as well as those which they have otherwise acquired.

3. States shall give legal

Article 26 of the UNDRIP ensures the protection of environmental rights of indigenous people. IPs are very close to nature. The extraction of natural resources at a quick pace and the phenomenon of climate change has made IPs vulnerable to threats emerging as a result of this phenomenon.

recognition and protection to these lands, territories and resources. Such recognition shall be conducted with due respect to the customs, traditions and land tenure systems of the indigenous peoples concerned”.

Article 26 of the UNDRIP ensures the protection of environmental rights of indigenous people. IPs are very close to nature. The extraction of natural resources at a quick pace and the phenomenon of climate change has made IPs vulnerable to threats emerging as a result of this phenomenon. This Article compels a state to grant legal protection to the lands and resources utilized by the IPs.

#### Article 27

“States shall establish and implement, in conjunction with indigenous peoples concerned, a fair, independent, impartial, open and transparent process, giving due recognition to indigenous peoples’ laws, traditions, customs and land tenure systems, to recognize and adjudicate the rights of indigenous peoples pertaining



*to their lands, territories and resources, including those which were traditionally owned or otherwise occupied or used. Indigenous peoples shall have the right to participate in this process”.*

Indigenous People give great importance to their customs and traditions. This article ensures that states recognize and formulate laws in consultation with the IPs to protect their culture and resources.

Article 3, Article 18 and Article 37 of UNDRIP in particular and some other articles in general provide a principled, right-based, but as yet unimplemented, normative framework for access to justice based on the internationally recognized minimum standards for such processes.

The 46 Articles of UNDRIP have addressed almost all the issues being faced by indigenous people throughout the world. This declaration is a serious effort on part of international human rights bodies and states to guarantee safeguards for the IPs. It provides “minimum standards” of protection to IPs spread throughout various regions of the world.

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### 2.3. Instruments dealing exclusively with the rights of Indigenous People:

a. UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations :

This body reviews the development concerning the promotion and protection of Indigenous People human rights and develops international standards for IPs human rights and freedom.

b. UN Permanent forum on Indigenous Issues :

This is the first and only international body in the UN that has Indigenous Persons as members. It meets once a year for ten working days and submits annual reports to the Economic and Social Council. It works on issues related to economic and social development of IPs.

c. UN Working Group on the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People :

This Working Group of the Commission on Human Rights meets once a year and is responsible for reviewing and debating the Draft Declaration. The Declaration is non-binding for states, however, it will serve as a powerful statement of universally accepted norms as it will be adopted by consensus of all member states of the UN and will provide a strong basis for arguing for greater legal protection for indigenous rights in many countries.

d. UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of Indigenous People :

A national census held in Australia provided alarming figures of over representation of Aboriginal people in the criminal justice system of Australia. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adults are incarcerated at 15 times the rate of non-indigenous adults.

The mandate of the Special Rapporteur on IPs is to gather information on the violation of human rights and fundamental freedom of IPs, to formulate recommendations to prevent and remedy such violations and to work together with other experts on UN Commission on Human Rights.

### 3. ACCESS TO JUSTICE TO INDIGENOUS PEOPLES:

#### Indigenous People and the criminal justice system:

##### 3.1. Australia: The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders:

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People of Australia comprise the oldest living cultures in the world. The Aboriginal peoples of Australia feel discriminated due to the current criminal justice system formulated on western principles. This system was formulated without consultation of the IPs of Australia. Aboriginals are more likely to be victims of offence and are also more likely to be charged with offences which entail harsher punishments with lesser chance of receiving bail. A national census held in Australia

Overrepresentation of Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders in the justice system is the result of a complex interplay of historical and contemporary factors. At present, there is no agreement between the government of Australia and Aboriginal and Torres Island peoples to deal with this problem.

provided alarming figures of over representation of Aboriginal people in the criminal justice system of Australia. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander adults are incarcerated at 15 times the rate of non-indigenous adults. Moreover, the imprisonment rate for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women has grown by 58.6 percent between the years 2000 to 2010, and it has grown by 35.2 percent for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander men.

Overrepresentation of Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders in the justice system is the result of a complex interplay of historical and contemporary factors. At present, there is no agreement between the government of Australia and Aboriginal and Torres Island peoples to deal with this problem. The absence of an effective national strategy or commitment defies the fact that there is a significant gap between the level of exposure and nature of interaction of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

In order to ensure access to justice for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, an effective strategy must

be formulated. This includes a constitutional reform in Australian laws that recognizes the unique place of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples to end discrimination against them. Relationships based on principles of justice, democracy, respect for human rights, non-discrimination and good faith must be established between the state and the IPs. The government must facilitate access to justice as well as political, social, cultural and economic development.

##### 3.2. Maori and the criminal justice system in New Zealand:

Like Australia, New Zealand was also colonized by white settlers specifically from Britain. The English legal system was adopted by the settlers who neglected the cultural norms of Maori. This paved way for the marginalization of Maori. The Law Commission of New Zealand acknowledged that Maori are overrepresented in court proceedings and are more likely to be incarcerated than the European settlers. There is a realization in New Zealand legislative circles to address this issue of over representation of Maori in criminal justice system and various programs have been launched by the Department of Correction to address this problem.

Despite these initiatives the statistics reveal that the Criminal Justice System in New Zealand has failed to deliver meaningful results in addressing the issues of IPs. A famous jurist, Justice Heath opines that two options must be considered. First,

that the Maori custom should be incorporated as part of the common law and second that where both parties are Maori, their custom should be chosen as the method of resolving disputes. This can be done by over-hauling the justice system or the development of a new system of adjudication based entirely on the Maori customs to adjudicate matters involving Maoris only.

The Maori must be given the right to self-determination in order to enable them to provide their inputs to resolve the issue of overrepresentation in criminal justice system. This is essential because the inclusion of IPs as decision makers will help in achieving this endeavor. The thrust of self-determination is to grant the IPs the right to be in control of their destinies and to create their own political and legal organizations.

##### 3.3. Indigenous People and access to justice in Africa:

Traditional hunter-gatherers Batwa, residing in Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are some of the most widely recognized and most marginalized IPs in Africa.

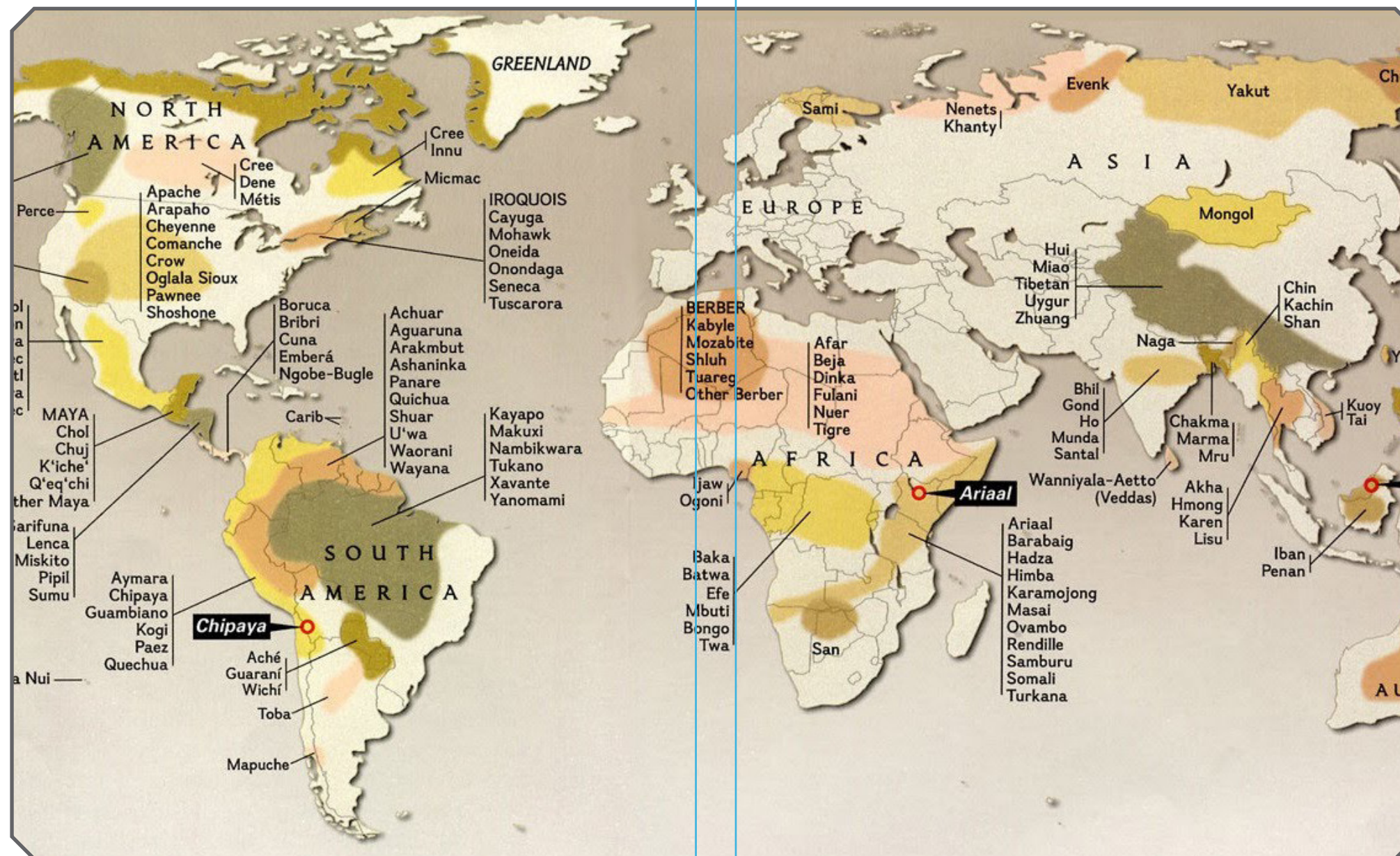
A famous jurist, Justice Heath opines that two options must be considered. First, that the Maori custom should be incorporated as part of the common law and second that where both parties are Maori, their custom should be chosen as the method of resolving disputes.



Ogiek, Sengwer, Maasai, Turkana, Samburu, Endorois and Imazighen are some other traditional hunter-gatherer communities that self-identify as Indigenous People.

Like other minorities around the globe, IPs in Africa are prone to discrimination and exploitation. In stark contrast to Australia and New Zealand where the courts have authority, the African states have often refused to be bound by the declarations of their own courts. This has exacerbated the problems of IPs across the African continent. The failure of African states to protect the rights of IPs has compelled them to seek justice from other forums. The African regional human rights system, including the African Commission on Human and People's Rights and the African Court, has taken concrete steps to recognize and protect the unique and collective rights of IPs. The main African human rights treaty is the African Charter on Human and People's Rights or the African Charter. The African Charter is one of the most comprehensive instruments of civil-political, socio-economic and peoples' rights; it has granted plausible protection to IPs.

In Africa, various frameworks and bodies have been established to provide protection to Indigenous People. However, access to justice remains a substantial challenge for the Indigenous People. The lack of interest from the African states have increased the vulnerability of the IPs in Africa. Africa as a whole is marred with political instability, poverty, disease, and wars. In



this scenario, the plight of IPs has gone from bad to worst. Only a sincere effort by African states and the international bodies can bring relief to these downtrodden peoples.

### 3.4. Indigenous People and access to justice in Canada:

The indigenous people in Canada face many legal problems. The ratio of Canadian IP incarceration as per their population is much higher than the ratio of settlers in jails. Between 2005 and 2015, the Indigenous inmate population

grew by 50 percent to the overall growth rate of 10 percent. Indigenous women comprise 37 percent of all women serving a sentence of more than two years and the incarceration rates of Indigenous people in some parts of Canada are up to 33 times higher than for non-indigenous peoples. The Marshall Commission of Canada suggested that excessive involvement of the Aboriginal people with the criminal justice system is a result of the disastrous socio-economic situation faced by them.

This trend can be curbed by ensuring meaningful participation and equitable treatment for IPs in the justice system. At present, the Aboriginals have absolutely no say in the current justice system of Canada. The solution to this discrimination is to encourage the IPs to participate in the system by defining the meaning, institutions and standards of justice in their own communities. The Aboriginal criminal justice must incorporate those principles and rules which are understood by them and not only those which

The solution to this discrimination is to encourage the IPs to participate in the system by defining the meaning, institutions and standards of justice in their own communities. The Aboriginal criminal justice must incorporate those principles and rules which are understood by them and not only those which are conceptualized by the non-aboriginal Canadians.

In the past five years, the ratio of Native Americans in the US prisons has increased by 27 percent. In South Dakota, the state with the fourth highest percentage of Native American residents, the IPs compose only 8.5 percent of the total population but compose almost 60 per cent of the federal caseload.

are conceptualized by the non-aboriginal Canadians.

### 3.5. Indigenous people and access to justice in USA:

One of the major problems being faced by Native Americans in the USA is that they are typically prosecuted under federal law for serious offences committed on reservations instead of state laws in which punishment for the same offences is much lighter. Like other nations where IPs live, the Native Americans in the USA are overrepresented in the criminal justice system of the USA. In the past five years, the ratio of Native Americans in the US prisons has increased by 27 percent. In South Dakota, the state with the fourth highest percentage of Native American residents, the IPs compose only 8.5 percent of the total population but compose almost 60 per cent of the federal caseload. This trend is also visible in other states where Native Americans live.

The few figures stated above indicate the existence of a gap in the US justice system which if not addressed might lead to alienation of the Natives in the





USA. This trend can be arrested by ensuring equal participation of Native Americans in the lawmaking process in the US. The IPs must be given equal participation in the lawmaking process to ensure the formulation of a justice system compatible with their own customs and traditions.

### 3.6. Access to justice for Indigenous People in Latin America:

In Ecuador, the new constitution adopted in 2008 ensures the protection of rights of almost 13 recognized indigenous communities living in the country. These steps taken by these two countries, however, are not enough to end the dismal conditions of the IPs.

Throughout South America, the justice system is marred with several weaknesses which are exploited by criminals and states alike. Access to justice for people living in rural areas is highly limited. The rural IPs living in South America are vulnerable to discrimination and injustice. It is even more so for indigenous women who are generally the most excluded, marginalized and unrepresented of all. Large portions of population in Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador consider themselves to be IPs. In recent years, these IPs have obtained a stronger impact on national politics.

All these countries have made laws to bring the IPs into main stream since they are multi-ethnic and multi-cultural. The Bolivian government has codified human rights, draft declarations and specific

legislation to recognize the rights of IPs especially the women. In Ecuador, the new constitution adopted in 2008 ensures the protection of rights of almost 13 recognized indigenous communities living in the country. These steps taken by these two countries, however, are not enough to end the dismal conditions of the IPs.

Guatemala is another Latin American country which is home to several IPs including the K'iche, Q'eqchu, Kaqchikel, and Mamm-speaking Mayans who constitute almost 40 percent of the total population of the country numbering well over 5 million. The Guatemala Constitution provides protection to IPs through Article 66 which ensures protection of Indigenous ways of life, customs, traditions, social organizations, and languages. Despite the

protection provided to IPs under the constitution, they remain one of the most exploited sections of the society. The IPs constitute almost 73 percent of the total population living below poverty line in that country. They are also underrepresented in government posts.

The civil war in Guatemala which ended in 1996 after a Peace Accord led to the massacre and rapes of thousands of IPs in the country. Several high government officials were convicted of war crimes and crimes against humanity. Since the end of the civil war, Guatemala has invited several UN experts to provide recommendations to improve the conditions of the IPs in the country. Moreover, the Guatemalan government has made several legislative changes to ensure equal representation of the IPs in the government. These steps cannot be expected to bring revolutionary changes in the daily lives of IPs but they will indeed pave way for amelioration of their condition.

Indigenous People have been coevolving with environmental changes over the centuries. They have adopted sustainable adaptive lifeways. They possess knowledge of their environment. Indigenous People are prototypical environmentalists living harmoniously with nature. This close attachment to land and the environment is often described as the defining characteristic of IP.

## 4. ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES:

Indigenous People have been coevolving with environmental changes over the centuries. They have adopted sustainable adaptive lifeways. They possess knowledge of their environment. Indigenous People are prototypical environmentalists living harmoniously with nature. This close attachment to land and the environment is often described as the defining characteristic of IP. A report published by UN titled "Our Common Future" proclaimed that, "the IPs are the repositories of vast accumulations of the

The tendency of the IPs to depend more directly on their land and its natural resources of those lands has increased their vulnerability to climate change.

*traditional knowledge and experience and larger society could learn a great deal from their traditional skills in sustainably managing very complex ecological systems".*

Climate change has adversely affected the lives of IPs. The international community must not only find ways to control climate change but should also take input from the IPs to move towards sustainable development and make use of the intelligence, knowledge and diversity of indigenous approaches and actions. This will help in improving our strategies to counter global warming and to ensure that such actions support the cultural

persistence and the rights of self-determination of IPs.

IPs tend to exist in geographically marginal places. It is evident from the fact that the IPs throughout the world own only a fraction of land which they previously owned. These marginal lands inhabited by the IP are often disproportionately affected by climate change. The drought-prone lands and the rapidly rising levels of water due to melting of ice in the Arctic region has started impacting many indigenous tribes throughout the world. The tendency of the IPs to depend more directly on their land and its natural resources of those lands has increased their vulnerability to climate change.

To exacerbate the problems of IPs, the international community ignores them in formulation of policies to tackle the phenomenon of global warming and climate change. This marginalization of IPs from such discussions is an environmental injustice to IPs and can be stopped by taking onboard the Indigenous leaders in discussions relating to environment. This will have several advantages. A significant gap exists in the understanding of how climate change plays out at local levels. IPs present empirical information which is exclusively available to them only and should be utilized by global policymakers to improve the understanding of climate change at local scales. However, IPs have been neglected and environmental injustice against them continues to prevail.

This environmental injustice



with IPs often results in tensions between them and the state authorities. For instance, the Clayqout Sound movement initiated in Canada, widely touted by the environmentalists as a successful conservation initiative to protect the pristine old growth forests of British Columbia totally ignored the Indigenous tribes in the area. The groups involved in the campaign produced a narrative that reinforced colonial ideologies of nature by ignoring the core concerns of indigenous tribes. Hence, no significant headway was made in achieving the end of clean environment.

Another example of this kind of injustice is the Dakota pipeline

protests which began in early 2016 in reaction to the approved construction of a pipeline passing through the localities of Native Americans living in the northern parts of the USA. The pipeline is supposed to pass beneath the Missouri and Mississippi rivers as well as under a part of Lake Oahe. The Indian tribes consider the pipeline a threat to the regions clean water and to ancient burial grounds. These protests resulted in violent clashes between the police and the protestors resulting in several injuries.

To end environmental injustice against the IPs, several steps need to be taken. First and

foremost is the representation of IPs at international conferences relating to climate change. IPs must be given full membership at the UNFCCC negotiations which would decrease their isolation and would enable them to provide their inputs for sustainable development.

Secondly, the IPs must be acknowledged as experts in the knowledge of sustainable development and must be given increased role in the formulation of environment-friendly policies. Their experience and environmental knowledge is crucial to developing an understanding of climate change and adaption solutions. Finally, it is imperative that a culture of



respect for IP rights, livelihood, and resilience in adapting to environmental change be promoted across all levels of society.

## 5. CONCLUSION:

Indigenous People are among the most vulnerable and suppressed communities of the world. They face various socio-economic issues and are overrepresented in criminal justice systems throughout the world. They are often victims of crime and once accused of an offence are more likely to be charged. The Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders in Australia and the Maori in New Zealand face discrimination in

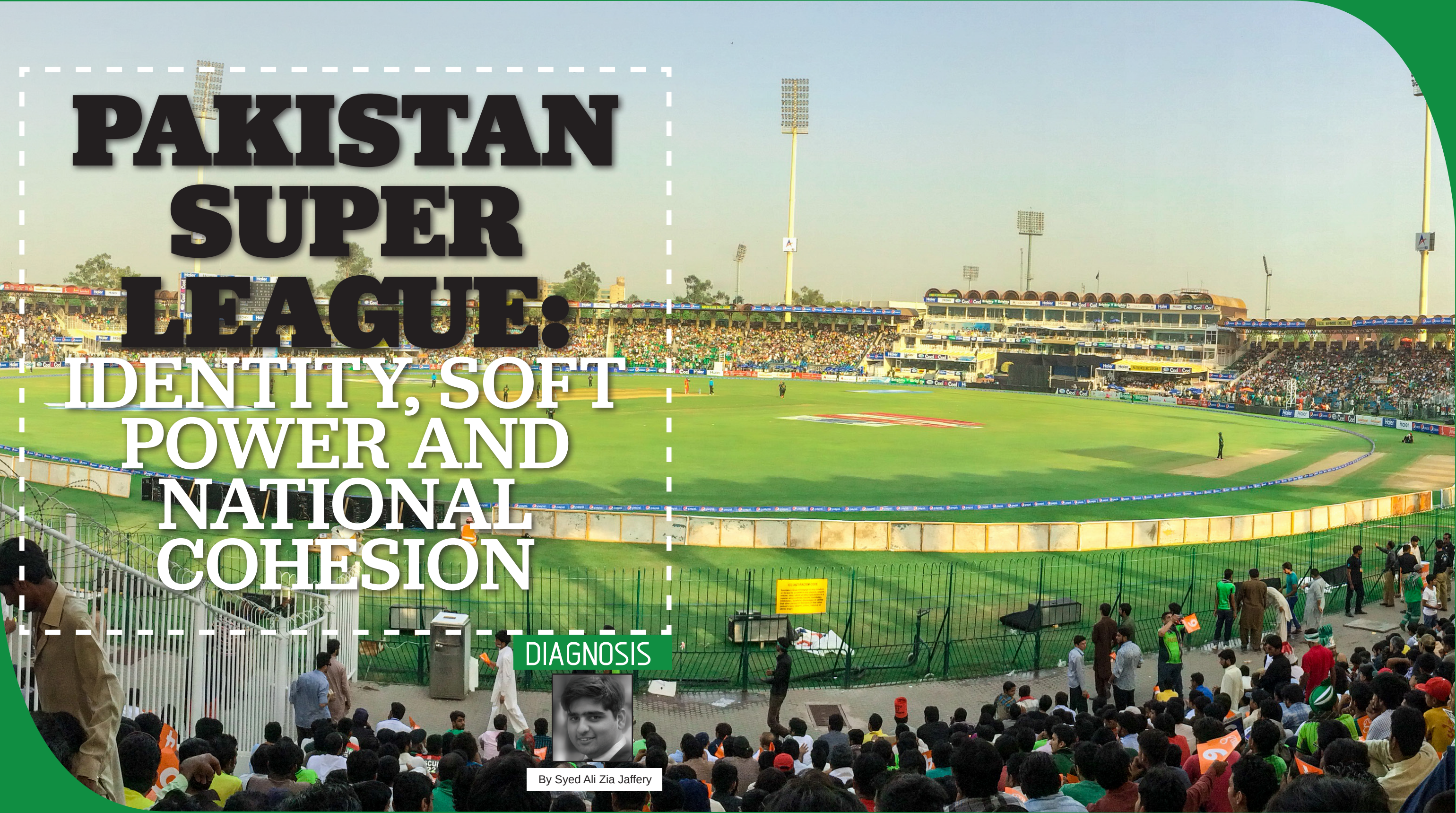
the respective criminal justice systems. Both these states have taken several steps to safeguard the rights of IP but these aren't enough. The plight of millions of IP in Africa and Americas is not different. The IP also face environmental injustice. Being close to nature and possessing valuable knowledge about sustainable development, they are major stakeholders in decisions regarding environment. However, they have been ignored and are not taken onboard. International organizations and states must take concrete steps to provide protection to the IPs. Mere existence of several international instruments for the protection of

IP is not enough to guarantee protection of one of the most vulnerable communities in the world.

### **Zeeshan Muneer**

has completed his LLB from Punjab University and a degree in International Relations from National Defense University Islamabad. He has a deep interest in international affairs and International Humanitarian Law. He is employed as a Research associate in CSCR and is part of CSCR Research Team.





# PAKISTAN SUPER LEAGUE: IDENTITY, SOFT POWER AND NATIONAL COHESION

DIAGNOSIS



By Syed Ali Zia Jaffery



**Cricket is more than a sport for Pakistan. It cobbles up the nation into one doing away with ethnic and sectarian cleavages albeit, temporarily.**

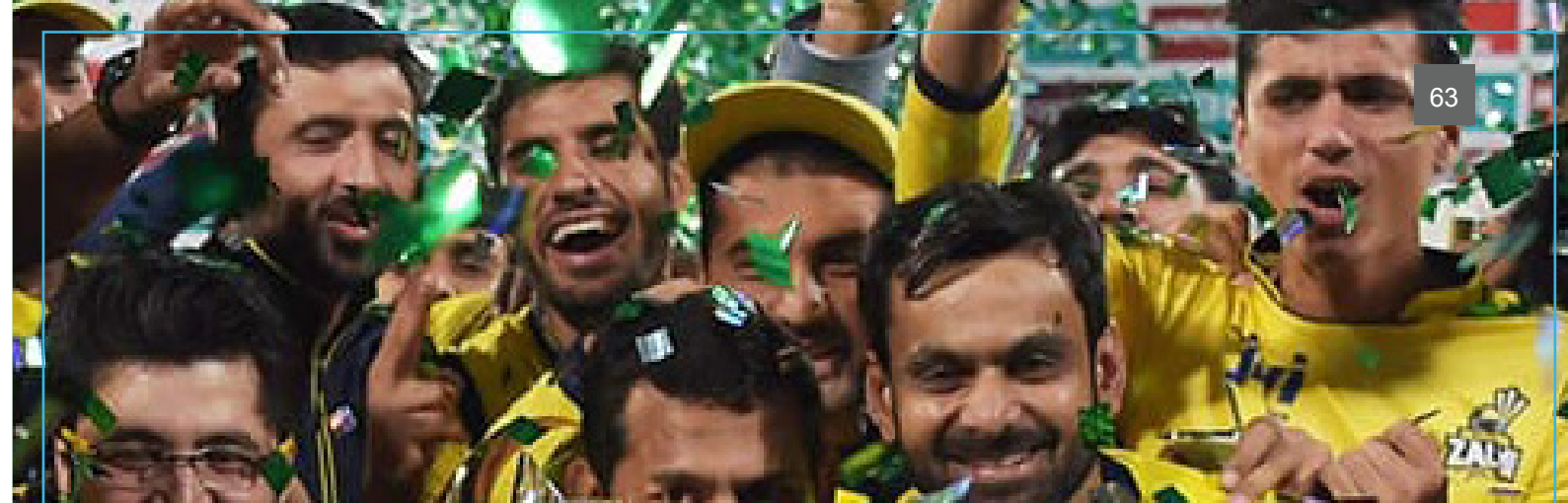
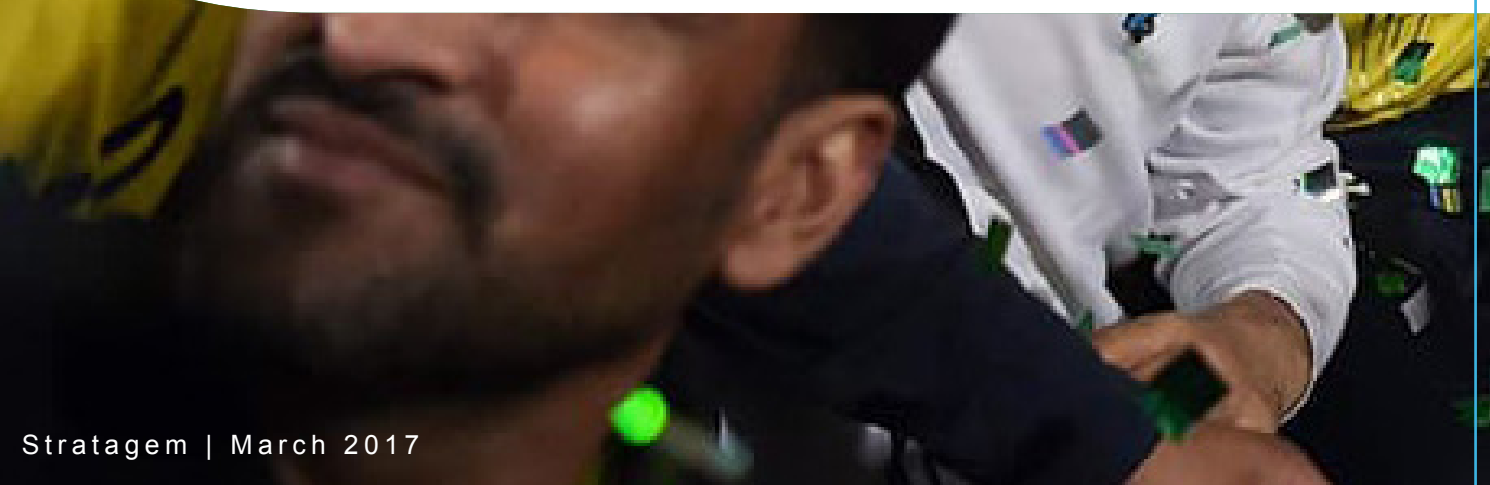
Amidst the milieu of international isolation and an ongoing insurgency, the antics of the men in green way back in June 2009 meant a lot more than a World Cup victory. The euphoria across the country; the slogan of Be Afridi, be very Afridi in morning assembly of schools in London was not an accolade for the talismanic all-rounder, but for Pakistan. The message was clear: Pakistan was the champion despite war and chaos. Pakistani diaspora around the world saw the name of their country reverberate everywhere for a reason to feel elated.

Cricket is more than a sport for Pakistan. It cobbles up the nation into one doing away with ethnic and sectarian cleavages albeit, temporarily. Cricket has brought home laurels, it has shown the world what natural knack Pakistanis are endowed with. The cricketing history of Pakistan very much typifies that of the country. Like the country in general, Pakistani cricket has oscillated between breathtaking brilliance and shambolic nadirs. The mercurial

nature of our cricketers and their ability to stun the world when the chips are down is pretty much akin to how the state of Pakistan “bounces back”.

Image and profile building comes under the realm of assiduous use of soft power. Cricket is not only a potent tool of diplomacy but is one of national integration. It is an important sport to counter terrorism. Give them bats and take away guns. Let the youth follow Javed Miandad; this is the needful. Moreover, it continues to inspire one and all. A youngster holding a ball says, I want to become the next Wasim Akram. Certainly, it is a pride for Pakistan when the left-arm maestro is still deemed as one of the very best.

Sports icons are ambassadors; they promote the name of a nation hence must be valued and more legends must be produced. Cricket and Pakistan's clout in the game has changed, but the passion for it remains the same.



Cricket was banned in Pakistan for unfortunate reasons and many believe that this impeded the development of Pakistani Cricket. The advent of franchise cricket left an indelible impact on the game. It has ameliorated standards in more ways than one. However, Pakistan was not able to reap the benefits because the security profile of the country did not favor league cricket involving foreign stars.

We saw limited skilled players becoming world beaters by roughing it out with the best in the business. On the contrary, national players regressed, and the once most marketable team found it hard to garner sponsors.

Therefore, cricket authorities floated the idea of organizing the Pakistan Super League (PSL). The knives were out and the plan was aborted as the board was marred by power scuffle and dearth of resources.

However, with the echelons well in place the PSL file was reopened with gusto. All that takes to adorn a league was put in place. Icon international stars, commentators and legendary mentors embellished the fiesta.

Despite apprehensions, the event took place and it was filled with emotions of joy and tears. There is more to the PSL than the pedigree of cricket and the players.

It is hence imperative to look at this league through the lens of identity and it being a cogent force of cohesion.

It was a Pakistan-led initiative where the country launched itself in franchise cricket. Against all the odds, this product was launched. Everything seemed indigenous. The fact that Chris Gayle played for a team named “Lahore Qalandars” gave a right feeling that this was a Pakistani league. Ramiz Raja, a World

**The mercurial nature of our cricketers and their ability to stun the world when the chips are down is pretty much akin to how the state of Pakistan “bounces back”.**



**It is imperative to embrace every constituent unit in the fold of the PSL. It would be more than symbolic to add teams from The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA); Gilgit Baltistan and Kashmir.**

Cup hero for Pakistan said that Shahid Afridi asked to be interviewed in Urdu. Afridi opined that it is a Pakistani league, "it is our league Ramiz bhai, we should be allowed to speak in Urdu." This pretty much sums up the affinity with this league. Worldwide, it is seen as a purely Pakistani product, involving Pakistani commercial entities. Right from naming teams till the selection of official anthems, a Pakistani flair was conspicuous to say the least. The Karachi-Lahore tiff on Twitter, the federation versus Balochistan banter made it as our very own. Add the special consideration given to students of Army Public School, Peshawar by one of the franchises made emotions run high.

Pakistanis were glued to their sets, rooting for Peshawar, Quetta and other teams. Ownership was gauged by the fact that Pakistanis did not have to wait for matches in foreign leagues where a few of their icons played. Now foreign players were playing for the teams that they

owned by heart and soul. Yes, it must be borne in mind that not only Pakistanis can relate with the league but can also feel a sense of togetherness. Five teams have been inducted; each one named after the four provincial capitals and the fifth one being Islamabad. With the second edition entering the business end of the competition, the frenzy increases by the minute. However, it is imperative to embrace every constituent unit in the fold of the PSL. It would be more than symbolic to add teams from The Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA); Gilgit Baltistan and Kashmir. This would have a telling impact and in all earnestness, will actually make this as a fully represented Pakistani league.

The first edition showed the world that there is resilience and grit. Pakistan can develop and sell its own product. Despite shortcomings, the PSL started off as a stellar success. Pakistan was the eventual winner at the end



of the day. The second edition is a massive upgrade; it is bigger, better and glossed with more razzmatazz. The league is becoming more watchable and its audience base is ever-increasing. This gives Pakistan a pedal to ramp up its soft power means. This could be used as a veritable tool not only to dispel a somewhat "pariah image" but also to non-violently compel actors to take actions that commensurate with Pakistani interests.

Having said that, the real success and impact of PSL will be felt if the event is organized in Pakistan. The visible improvement in the security profile of the country due to successful kinetic operations is a good harbinger. The final of the ongoing tournament is scheduled to be held in Lahore on the 5th of March. However, owing to a recent surge in terrorist attacks and

the launch a country-wide clearing operation question marks on Lahore being a safe venue for the final arise .

Though, the commitment of the nation in fighting the menace of terrorism with utmost chivalry is a reason to believe that the Pakistan Super League will eventually be organized in its rightful place: Pakistan. Given the stepped up Counter Terrorism (CT) drive by the state, the next edition can be partly, if not wholly hosted in Pakistan; this would give much needed confidence to international participants in deeming Pakistan as a safe cricketing center.

PSL will gradually develop into a highly valuable and marketable product and Pakistanis must take great pride in it and its growth.



**Syed Ali Zia Jaffery** has done his graduation in History and Political Science from Forman Christian College University . Ali has a penchant for writing on subjects like Military, Diplomacy, History and International Relations and has written for a host of publications. He has presented papers in two conferences in India on the Pakistan Army and issues of counter-terrorism. He aims to further look into the East Pakistan conundrum and the Nuclearisation of South Asia. He tweets @syedalizia1992



# ROLE OF YOUTH IN NATIONAL INTEGRATION & REGIONAL CONNECTIVITY

11 February, 2017  
HEJ Auditorium, University of Karachi



## SEMINAR REPORT

In collaboration with the Government of Sindh, the Center for Strategic and Contemporary Research, Islamabad, through its project the Voice of Balochistan, organised a seminar titled 'Role of Youth in National Integration and Regional Connectivity' at the HEJ Auditorium, ICCBS, University of Karachi on 11th February, 2017.

The entire proceedings were composed of three multi-faceted sessions. In the first session, a panel of distinguished guests from the intelligentsia and media were quizzed on the role of modern youth in juxtaposition with the contemporary media. It was followed by a second session in which students from various universities were given floor to voice their opinions. An interactive third session thereby followed in which veteran politicians orated their perspectives regarding the creation of a conducive environment for bolstering national integration.

At the conclusion of the seminar, the Chief Minister Sindh, Mr. Syed Murad Ali Shah delivered a key note address before the proceedings were wrapped off with the souvenirs distribution ceremony.

### Seminar Proceedings

#### Opening Remarks:



Miss. Syeda Ailiya Naqvi, and Mr. Talha Ibrahim, the senior non-resident fellows on behalf of the Director CSCR, Mr. Salman Javed, initiated the seminar proceedings by welcoming the audience.

Miss. Areen Shahid and Mr. Abdul Hadi Khwaja, the nominated stage secretaries for the entire proceedings took charge of the rostrum thereon, and apprised everyone about the Voice of Balochistan project. The underlying theme behind the VoB and its operational history was briefed to the audience.



The Vice Chancellor, University of Karachi, Professor Dr. Mohammad Ajmal Khan delivered the opening remarks of the conference. In his speech, he highlighted that if the youth of Pakistan is deprived from adequate opportunities, the nation cannot progress forward. A serious effort must be directed towards the science and technology sector; if sustainable funding is done for the next 25 years in the discipline of science, Pakistan will become a power to reckon with. While highlighting the significance of Karachi as the conference venue, Dr. Ajmal asserted that the seven percent of Karachi populace is paying taxes while the city in itself is contributing more than 70 percent to the economy of Pakistan.

The stage secretaries called upon the moderator, Mr. Talha Ibrahim on the stage to conduct the first session titled, 'Role of Media in Defining and Presenting Solutions to Youth for National Integration and Regional Connectivity.'



## First Session

The panellists of the first session were:



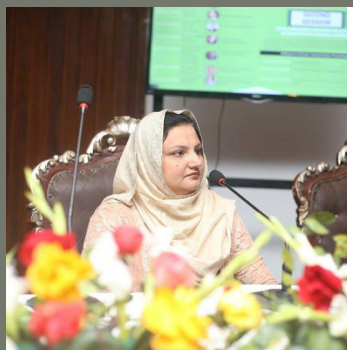
**Dr. Syed Rifaat Hussain**  
Professor Government and Public Policy Department  
National University of Science and Technology (NUST)

On the topic of media as an important corollary in the conduct of inter-state ties, Dr. Rifaat Hussain talked about how the phenomenon of globalisation has made media a conduit for broadcasting news items of a remote area to world audience. The utility of media as an important tool in the inter-state relations will continue because of the way it moulds the perception. While concluding his talk, he said that the USA is today viewed as a world power because we perceive it that way. This can also be applied in the context of China as the rising power.



**Mr. Nazir Leghari**  
Senior Executive Vice President and Editor  
BOL Media Group

On the use of media as a strong force for youth engagement and assimilation, Mr. Nazir Leghari delved into the history of Pakistan in the context of media for integrating youth. In retrospect, media has steadily improved in Pakistan although it faced different challenges in different periods. Mr. Leghari also emphasised on the agenda centrism of media outlets before talking about his personal efforts with regards to regional integration as a representative of media industry.



**Miss Nazia Malik**  
Assistant Professor Government and Public Policy Dept  
National University of Science and Technology

Miss Nazia Malik gave her perspective on the role of youth in contemporary world. She talked at length about how media industry can be harnessed to support and harvest youth potential. Her contention was that along with the corridor of economic prosperity (i.e. CPEC), a corridor of knowledge should also be raised in parallel.



**Mr. Anwaar ul Haq Kakar**  
Spokesman  
Government of Balochistan

While specifically elucidating his viewpoint on the potential of Pakistan as a State and the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), Mr. Anwaar laid stress on the pivotal role that the youth can play with the operationalisation of the corridor. CPEC will not only be about the exchange of tangible items, but there is a softer element embedded in it

which pertains to the civilizational exchange of historical cultures. Minus Pakistan, the ambitious 'One Belt One Road' undertaking of China cannot sustain. Pakistan was described as a failed and disintegrated state in 2008, but the transformation from failed to delivering state has been made possible due to Operation Zarb-e-Azb, and the CPEC project. The efforts of State in establishing vocational training centres in Gwadar and Khuzdar were also highlighted by Mr. Anwaar ul Haq Kakar.



**Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed**  
Chairperson  
Higher Education Commission Pakistan

Through video telephony, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed joined the panel, and apprised the audience about the academic progression in Pakistan. In totality, Pakistan has 182 universities, out of which eight universities are in Balochistan. According to Dr. Mukhtar, foreign faculty members are gradually recognising the educational prowess of Pakistani youth. Many universities will also be established in the coming years.

Here, the moderator of second session, Miss Syeda Ailiya Naqvi took charge of the proceedings which were integrated in a module titled, 'Youth Expression and Ideas for National Integration and Regional Cohesion.'

## Second Session

Here, select students were called upon the rostrum to present their perspectives. Mr. Sardar Jahanzaib from Quaid e Azam University, Miss Momina Abrar from National University of Science and Technology, Miss Sumera Baloch from Lasbela University, and Miss Hanifa Ubaid from Allama Iqbal Open University were the students invited to speak. Their viewpoints are aggregately clumped up in the following paragraph:

Unity is of utmost importance, because as individuals we are nothing, and collectively we are strong. The younger generation is now responsible for the socio economic societal regeneration. It is important that our youth remains active on matters of national integration which will become easier if their enthusiasm is channelized in a proper way. Development of ideas through cross provincial exchanges between the citizens of Pakistan will limit the communication gap and misperceptions regarding one another. It is high time that the disparities and differences between the provinces of Pakistan should be eradicated for the prosperity of our country.

A Voice of Balochistan video presentation of student exchange from Lahore to Gwadar was then shown to the audience amidst their resounding applause.

Mr. Anwar ul Haq Kakar, the Balochistan government spokesman, the moderator-designate of the third session, 'Role of Politicians in Creating a Cohesive Environment for National Integration and Regional Connectivity', initiated the proceedings.



### Third Session

The panellists of the third session were:



Mr. Rehmat Ali Baloch  
Minister of Health  
Govt. of Balochistan

Youth is our energy and backbone, were the words of Mr. Rehmat Ali Baloch, Balochistan's Minister of Health. He stressed upon the bridging of vacuum between the youth and political leadership for effective policy making and implementation. To engender a sense of political responsibility among the youth, the uplifting of ban on student unions was proposed. Mr. Rehmat Ali concluded his talk by stating that the youth should also gear up and responsibly play the role it is supposed to.



Mr. Mir Sarfaraz Bugti  
Minister of Interior  
Govt. of Balochistan

After expressing his gratitude to the Voice of Balochistan team for giving him the opportunity to address the youth, Mr. Sarfaraz Bugti gave a security backgrounder of Balochistan province. He highlighted the challenges of terrorism, organised crime, insurgency, and other misperceptions, as the hurdles that the provincial government has overcome. An interesting fact shared with the delegation was that the rate of organised crime in entire Balochistan is far less than Faisalabad, Karachi, and Rawalpindi. Lamenting the use of Afghan soil by the terrorists to regroup, replenish, and reattack Pakistan, Mr. Sarfaraz Bugti accused RAW and NDS of fomenting terror activities. His talk ended on a positive note with regards to the CPEC as the game changer for Pakistan and the region.



Dr. Farooq Sattar  
Chief  
Muttahida Qaumi Movement Pakistan

Mr. Farooq Sattar started off on a very positive note by acknowledging that he has reserved his pride for the youth of Pakistan. Pakistan as a nation is very resilient. National Youth Policy should be at forefront of all the legislative considerations. He stressed on the need of transparent and fair census, lining it up with the proposal that every political party should allocate 10 percent of their party tickets to women for the 2018 general elections.



Miss Shazia Marri  
Member National Assembly  
Pakistan People Party

In her address, Miss Shazia Marri lauded the facilitation efforts undertaken for the benefit of youth, also underscoring the importance of taking them on board in the formulation of related policies. Drawing lessons from her own experience as a veteran politician, she laid emphasis on the notion that the youth should not only discuss politics in the drawing room but

should also actively participate in the politics



Mr. Mustafa Kamal  
Chairman  
Pak Sarzameen Party

The Chairman of PSP called for the devolution of power to the local governments. He also called that the over centralisation is harming Pakistan in every sphere. In order to substantiate his claim, he said that 25 million children are out of schools in Pakistan, annually 350,000 children are facing food shortage, and 10 million children are afflicted with various forms of mental and physical diseases. Mr. Mustafa Kamal opined that the current situation of human development can only be improved by strengthening the local governments.



Miss Raheela Durrani  
Speaker Provincial Assembly  
Government of Balochistan

Miss Raheela Durrani, while addressing the audience cogently impressed upon the audience that the future of Pakistan depends upon its youth. All the difficult challenges can be surmounted by the younger generation through grit and determination despite the pervasive negativity. She also expressed her pleasure on addressing the young delegates and wished them well.

### Conclusion:

The keynote speech was delivered by the Honourable Chief Minister Sindh, Mr. Syed Murad Ali Shah, who in sharp criticism to the devolution of powers to the local governments, said that when we reverted back the devolution plan in 2011, 8000 schools were closed in Karachi at that time. He asked who was responsible for the closure of those schools. In addition, he also blamed those in power back then over appointing excessive employees in various organizations like Karachi Water & Sewerage Board. Meanwhile, he also called for inter-provincial student exchanges programmes so that the inter-provincial harmony can be strengthened.

The closing remarks were concluded by an announcement related to the distribution of traditional Sindhi shawl (Ajrak) and cap among the delegates by the Chief Minister Sindh. A souvenir distribution ceremony was conducted in which among others, Mr. Khalid Fareed, the Chief Organiser, Mr. Salman Javed, the Director General CSCR, and other moderators and distinguished guests were presented a token of appreciation by the CM. Sindh, Mr. Syed Murad Ali Shah.













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