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THE HAIDER MBT:

**PIONEERING SELF-RELIANCE
IN PAKISTAN'S DEFENSE INDUSTRY**

Interaction



August 2024

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EDITORIAL

SOUTH ASIA'S UNCERTAIN PATH AMIDST POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TURMOIL



South Asia, a region known for its rich cultural diversity and historical significance, is currently facing a myriad of challenges that threaten its stability and growth. Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh, three of the most populous nations in the region, are experiencing significant political and economic upheavals. These issues, ranging from social unrest to economic crises, have far-reaching implications not only for these individual countries but also for the region as a whole. The current situations in these nations, analyzing the underlying causes, potential consequences, and the broader regional impact.

BANGLADESH: UNREST AND SOCIAL INEQUALITY

Bangladesh has recently been the epicenter of significant social unrest, primarily driven by a student-led movement demanding reforms in the country's job quota system. The system currently reserves a significant percentage of government jobs for the descendants of the 1971 warfighters, a policy many students perceive as discriminatory and outdated. The protests



began at the University of Dhaka and quickly spread across the country, reflecting widespread dissatisfaction among the youth regarding job opportunities and social equity.

The unrest has brought to the forefront the broader issues of social inequality and governance in Bangladesh. Despite steady economic growth, the benefits have not been evenly distributed, leading to a widening gap between the rich and the poor. The current government faces a crucial test in addressing these grievances without escalating the situation into a larger political crisis. The potential outcomes of this unrest include a reassessment of public policies and possibly a shift in political power dynamics if the government fails to address the concerns of the protestors. This unrest according to some quarters seems to be an act of India first insisting on the Quota system and then energizing its secret operatives as Bangladesh is inclining towards China in purchasing arms as the Prime Minister of Bangladesh went to visit China after visiting India.

INDIA: ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHALLENGES

India, the so called world's largest democracy, is currently grappling with multiple crises. The country's economy, once one of the fastest-growing in the world, has seen a significant slowdown. According to the National Statistical Office, India's GDP growth rate fell to 4.2% in 2019-20, down from 6.1% in the previous year. The COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated these issues, leading to a contraction of 7.3% in the 2020-21 fiscal year. High unemployment rates, with the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE) reporting an



unemployment rate of 7.8% as of June 2024, and rising inflation have further strained the economy.

Politically, India is witnessing increasing polarization, with the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the opposition parties often at loggerheads over key issues. The government's handling of various policies, including the controversial Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) and the farmers' protests, has led to widespread dissent and protests. These political tensions have not only affected domestic governance but also India's position as a self-claimed regional leader. The potential outcomes for India

include prolonged economic hardship and further political fragmentation, which could undermine the country's stability and growth prospects.

India's false claim to fight a two-front war with the increase of defense Budget from 72 Billion US dollars to 75 Billion dollars also affected its economy. It has increased the number of armed forces personnel.

PAKISTAN: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CRISIS

Pakistan is currently navigating through a severe political and economic crisis. The country's economy is burdened with high levels of debt, with the International



Monetary Fund (IMF) estimating the public debt at approximately 86% of GDP. Inflation has surged to around 12.3%, and unemployment rates have risen, compounding the economic challenges. The government, led by one of the previous governments, has struggled to implement effective economic reforms, leading to a loss of public confidence.

Politically, Pakistan is facing instability, with opposition parties challenging the legitimacy of the government. The political unrest has been marked by protests and calls for early elections. The situation is further complicated by ongoing security



issues, particularly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), which stem from Afghanistan.

REGIONAL IMPLICATIONS

The crises in Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan are not occurring in isolation; they are interconnected and have significant implications for regional stability and cooperation. South Asia, home to over 1.7 billion people, is a region with complex socio-political dynamics and a history of conflicts. The current situations in these three countries threaten to destabilize the region further, potentially affecting regional security, economic integration, and cooperation.

For instance, the economic slowdown in India, the largest economy in the region, can have a ripple effect on neighboring countries that rely on it for trade and investment. Consequently, the tension can rise in Kashmir, and hinder efforts towards regional peace. The unrest in Bangladesh, if not addressed, could lead to increased migration pressures on neighboring countries and strain bilateral relations.

The long-term implications for South Asia include the risk of increased poverty, reduced economic growth, and heightened security threats. The region's ability to navigate these challenges collectively will be crucial in determining its future trajectory, especially in the wake of the current trends

of rising nationalism and political polarization, which pose significant barriers to regional cooperation.

CONCLUSION

The recent developments in South Asia highlight the urgent need for comprehensive and coordinated responses to the political and economic challenges facing the region. Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan each face unique issues, but their crises are interlinked and have broader regional implications. Addressing these challenges requires not only domestic reforms but also enhanced regional dialogue and cooperation which has been hindered by India in pursuit of regional hegemony.

The international community also has a role to play in supporting stability and development in South Asia. By fostering dialogue, providing financial assistance, and encouraging good governance practices, global actors can help mitigate the risks and promote a more stable and prosperous region. The path ahead is fraught with challenges, but with concerted efforts from both domestic and international actors, South Asia can overcome these crises and work towards a more peaceful and prosperous future which has been denied by Indian designs.



CISSS ARRANGES A ZOOM MEETING FOR DISCUSSION ON**“BALOCHISTAN - SECURITY & STABILITY CHALLENGES- HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE”**

The Center for International Strategic Studies Sindh (CISSS) organized a Zoom meeting on July 15, 2024, to discuss "Balochistan - Security & Stability Challenges: A Historic Perspective." The event featured a comprehensive presentation by Brig. (R) Agha Ahmad Gul, attended by members from CISSS, BTTN, RFI, and other participants. Notably, Lt. Gen. (R) Khalid Ahmed Kidwai NI, HI, HI(M), Advisor Development National Command Authority, was present throughout the meeting.

In his presentation, Brigadier Gul delved



into Balochistan's extensive history and examined its current socio-political and ethnic dynamics, socio-economic conditions, and security challenges. He outlined potential strategies for fostering stability and prosperity in the region. Brigadier Gul stressed the necessity for policymakers to comprehend and acknowledge the on-ground realities to address these issues effectively.

The session concluded with an interactive Q&A, where participants' active engagement made the discussion lively and fruitful. CISSS Executive Director Ambassador (Retired) Qazi M. Khalilullah expressed gratitude to Brigadier Gul by presenting him with a bouquet.

BRIG. (R) AGHA AHMAD GUL VISITS RFI

Brig. (R) Agha Ahmad Gul visited the RFI on July 15, 2024, where he was warmly welcomed by the RFI team. Upon his arrival, the Chairman of RFI presented him with a bouquet and a souvenir. Brig. Gul had a productive meeting with the RFI research team and also participated in an interview with Nusrat Mirza for the 'RFI Talk' program on RFI Digital TV. This comprehensive interview, which delves into the history, challenges, resources, and future directions regarding Balochistan, is available for viewing on RFI Digital TV's 'RFI Talk'.



LETTER OF APPRECIATION

Mr. Nusrat Mirza

Chief Editor of Monthly Magazines
Interaction and Zhavia-Nigah
Karachi.

Dear Mr. Nusrat Mirza,

I am in receipt of your June 2024 Issues of magazines Interaction and Zhavia-Nigah. Your monthly magazines both in English and Urdu, are generally good, very informative and contain correct reporting. However, these two magazines are certainly very educative and contain wealth of information.

The magazine in Urdu, in spite of Urdu enjoying limited vocabulary, has effectively conveyed the news and information one hears in English.

It is quite challenging to report in Urdu a Seminar conducted in English. I am pleased to note that you have done it very well. Your translation of the Seminar titled, 'Big Power Competition Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan', which was held in Balochistan Think Tank Network (BTTN) Quetta, on 2 May 2024, has been done accurately and conveys the spirit of the talks. You have also retained the nuances of the talk in English. Please accept appreciation of the Team BTTN, and Congratulations.

We, at the BTTN are fully aware that English is not read by the majority of our countrymen. However, our research and Talks continue to be conducted in English for want of suitable Urdu vocabulary. Your endeavour to publish our work in Urdu is commendable and we laud it.

With regards,

Sincerely Yours,

Brig. Agha Ahmad Gul, (Retd.)

CEO, BTTN, Quetta

HAIDER TANK



Haider			
Haider	MBT	Armor	Composite with ERA
Place of origin	Pakistan	Main Armament	125 mm smoothbore gun
Service History		Secondary Armament	12.7 mm machine gun; 7.62 mm coaxial machine gun
Used by	Pakistan Army	Engine	Four-stroke turbo charged electronically-controlled Diesel engine 1200 hp
Production History		Transmission	Hydro-mechanical Automatic Manual Transmission
Designer	Norinco / Heavy Industries Taxila	Suspension	Torsion Type
Manufacturer	Heavy Industries Taxila	Operational Range	500 km (310 mi)
Specification		Maximum Speed	70 km/h (43 mph)
Length	10.10m (33.1 ft)		
Width	3.40m (11.2 ft)		
Height	2.30m (7.5 ft)		
Crew	3		

THE HAIDER MBT: PIONEERING SELF-RELIANCE IN PAKISTAN'S DEFENSE INDUSTRY



SYED SAMIULLAH

The Haider Main Battle Tank (MBT) is Pakistan's latest development, produced by Heavy Industries Taxila (HIT) for the Pakistan Army. It was first revealed at the International Defense Exhibition (IDEX) 2023 in Abu Dhabi, UAE, and was formally unveiled on March 6, 2024, at HIT. The unveiling ceremony was attended by senior officials, including Chief of Army Staff (COAS) General Asim Munir, as announced by the Pakistan Armed Forces' Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR).

The Haider MBT is named after Hazrat Ali Bin Abi Talib (R.A.), the fourth Islamic Khalifa e Rashid, showcasing the prowess of Pakistan's defense sector. This tank represents a significant advancement in Pakistan's indigenous defense manufacturing capabilities.

TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS AND ARMAMENT

The Haider MBT follows a conventional design, with the driver seated at the front center of the hull, the turret in the middle, and



the engine at the rear. The tank has a crew of three: a driver, commander, and gunner. It is equipped with a 125 mm smoothbore gun with automatic loading capabilities, a 7.62 mm coaxial machine gun, and a remotely operated weapon system (ROWS) featuring a 12.7 mm machine gun. The tank carries a total of 38 rounds and is designed to handle a variety of ammunition types, including armor-piercing fin-stabilized discarding sabot (APFSDS), high explosive (HE), high explosive anti-tank (HEAT), and anti-tank guided missiles. In both design and functionality, it closely resembles the VT4, a modernized Chinese main battle tank (or MBT-3000) built by Norinco for export.

ADVANCED ARMOR AND PROTECTION SYSTEMS

The Haider tank's armor on the turret and the hull is a combination of composite, reactive, and spaced armor. Composite armor consists of layers of materials such as ceramics, metals, and polymers that work together to resist penetration by projectiles. Reactive armor uses explosive charges to disrupt and deflect incoming projectiles, while spaced armor consists of two layers with a gap between them that helps absorb the energy of incoming projectiles. The front of the hull is fitted with an ERA (Explosive Reactive Armor) package.

The tank also features a laser warning system to alert the crew when targeted by



laser-guided weaponry. Compared to the VT4, the Haider's ERA and other protective measures are more efficient and capable of meeting specific operational requirements.

FIRE CONTROL AND TARGETING CAPABILITIES

The Haider MBT is equipped with an advanced fire control system that includes thermal imagers, stabilized sights for both the gunner and commander, and a ballistic computer. These features enable precise target acquisition and engagement, even in challenging battlefield conditions. The thermal imaging sight allows the detection of heat signatures at long distances, while the panoramic commander's sight offers a 360-degree view of the surroundings.

MOBILITY AND ENGINE SPECIFICATIONS

The Haider tank is powered by a four-stroke turbocharged, electronically-controlled diesel engine, producing 1,200 horsepower. This engine is paired with a hydro-mechanical automatic transmission, allowing the tank to achieve a maximum road speed of 70 km/h and a cruising range of 500 km. The suspension system features torsion bars with hydraulic shock absorbers on the first and last road wheels, ensuring stability and maneuverability on diverse terrains.

OPERATIONAL AND STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS

The introduction of the Haider MBT

signifies Pakistan's strategic shift towards heavier, more armored tanks, moving away from the lightweight designs that have dominated its armored corps. This shift is highlighted by a comparative analysis of the Haider with other potential tanks, such as the Ukrainian Oplot-M and the Turkish Otokar Altay, indicating an interest in heavier, technologically advanced MBTs.

INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCEMENTS

The development of the Haider Main Battle Tank (MBT) signifies a major milestone in Pakistan's quest for self-reliance in defense manufacturing. The partnership with Norinco and local industries has enabled the transfer of crucial technology and expertise, allowing the Heavy Industries Taxila (HIT) to integrate advanced subsystems, including the power plant, electronics, cannon, munitions, and protection suites. This collaboration not only boosts the operational capabilities of the Pakistan Army but also strengthens the local defense industry's ability to support and develop these systems domestically.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

Looking ahead, the Haider MBT has the potential to lay the groundwork for further advancements in Pakistan's armored capabilities.

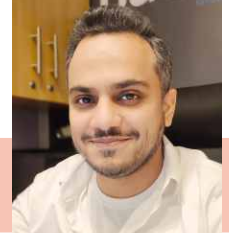


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PAKISTAN'S MAIN BATTLE TANKS:

EVALUATING AL-KHALID, AL-ZARAR AND HAIDER IN GLOBAL CONTEXT AND FUTURE STRATEGIC DIRECTIONS

MIRZA KASHIF BAIG



INTRODUCTION

Pakistan's armored forces play a crucial role in its defense strategy, particularly given its geopolitical position and security challenges. The Pakistan Army's tank fleet, featuring the Al-Khalid, Al-Zarar, and Haider, is the backbone of its armored capabilities. These tanks represent a blend of indigenous development and foreign technology, tailored to meet the region's unique needs.

This article aims to provide an analytical comparison of these tanks against some of the world's leading main battle tanks (MBTs), assessing their strengths and areas for improvement. Additionally, it will explore the strategic steps Pakistan could consider to enhance its armored capabilities in the future.

AL-KHALID TANK

The Al-Khalid, developed through a collaborative effort between Pakistan and China, is a third-generation main battle tank. It entered service in the early 2000s and has since been a cornerstone of Pakistan's armored forces. The tank is named after the famous Muslim general Khalid ibn al-Walid, symbolizing strength and resilience.

SPECIFICATIONS AND CAPABILITIES:

- **Armament:** The Al-Khalid is equipped with a 125mm smoothbore gun capable of firing a range of ammunition, including armor-piercing, high-explosive, and anti-tank guided missiles (ATGMs). It also features a 12.7mm coaxial machine gun and



a 7.62mm machine gun for anti-infantry roles.

- **Armor and Protection:** The tank utilizes composite armor, with additional explosive reactive armor (ERA) for enhanced protection against shaped charges and kinetic penetrators. This makes it relatively well-protected in conventional battlefield scenarios.
- **Mobility:** Powered by a 1,200 horsepower diesel engine, the Al-Khalid boasts a top speed of around 72 km/h and a range of approximately 500 km. Its advanced suspension system allows for good off-road mobility.

Comparative Analysis: When compared to global contemporaries like the American M1 Abrams, the German Leopard 2, and the Russian T-90, the Al-Khalid is positioned as a capable but somewhat underpowered tank. The M1 Abrams, for instance, benefits from advanced composite armor and a more powerful 1,500

horsepower engine, offering superior protection and mobility. The Leopard 2, renowned for its accuracy and fire control systems, outperforms the Al-Khalid in targeting and engagement range. Meanwhile, the T-90, a more direct competitor, offers similar firepower but with better armor protection due to advanced ERA systems.

Despite these challenges, the Al-Khalid's cost-effectiveness, ease of maintenance, and adaptability to the harsh terrains of South Asia make it a valuable asset for the Pakistan Army. However, to keep pace with evolving threats and technological advancements, there is a



need for continuous upgrades in areas such as armor protection, fire control systems, and engine power.

AL-ZARAR TANK

The Al-Zarar is an upgraded version of the older Type 59 tanks, originally of Chinese origin, which have been in service with the Pakistan Army for several decades. The Al-Zarar program was initiated to extend the operational life of these tanks and enhance their capabilities to match modern battlefield requirements.

Development and Upgrades: The Al-Zarar project involved a comprehensive upgrade package, including improvements to

firepower, protection, mobility, and electronics. The tank's main gun was upgraded to a 125mm smoothbore cannon, replacing the older 100mm rifled gun, allowing it to fire a variety of modern ammunition types, including high-penetration rounds.

KEY FEATURES AND IMPROVEMENTS:

- **Armament:** The upgraded 125mm gun is capable of firing armor-piercing fin-stabilized discarding sabot (APFSDS) rounds, high-explosive anti-tank (HEAT) rounds, and ATGMs, providing versatile engagement options. The tank is also equipped with a coaxial 7.62mm machine gun and a roof-mounted 12.7mm anti-aircraft machine gun.
- **Protection:** The Al-Zarar features improved composite armor and ERA panels, significantly enhancing its survivability against modern threats. It also includes an automatic fire suppression system and NBC (nuclear, biological, chemical) protection.
- **Mobility:** The tank's engine has been upgraded to a 730 horsepower diesel engine, providing a maximum speed of 65 km/h and an operational range of 450 km. The suspension and track systems have also been improved for better off-road performance.

Comparative Analysis: Compared to modern MBTs, the Al-Zarar stands out for its cost-effectiveness and the practical use of available technology to enhance older platforms. However, it faces limitations in terms of overall armor protection, firepower, and advanced electronic systems when compared to newer tanks like the M1A2 Abrams or the Leopard 2A7, which feature superior armor composites and advanced targeting systems.

The Al-Zarar, while a significant improvement over its predecessors, still lags in areas like advanced night vision, laser rangefinding, and data-linking capabilities, which are standard in more recent MBTs. Despite these drawbacks, the Al-Zarar remains a viable option for the Pakistan Army, offering a substantial upgrade at a fraction of the cost of acquiring new tanks.

HAIDER TANK

The Haider tank represents the latest addition to Pakistan's armored fleet, focusing on integrating modern technology to address the limitations observed in earlier models. This tank aims to bridge the gap between Pakistan's indigenous capabilities and the latest advancements in armored warfare technology.

Introduction and Capabilities: The Haider tank program is part of Pakistan's ongoing efforts to modernize its armored corps. It incorporates a range of advanced features, including improved armor, enhanced firepower, and state-of-the-art electronics.

TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS:

- **Armament:** The Haider is equipped with a 125mm smoothbore gun, capable of firing the latest ATGMs and advanced kinetic energy projectiles. The tank also features a remotely operated weapon station (ROWS) with a 12.7mm machine gun, enhancing its capabilities against infantry and low-flying aircraft.

- **Protection:** The Haider uses advanced composite and reactive armor, similar to those used in modern Western tanks. Haider's base protection consists of welded steel and composite armor, and a laser warning system is mounted on the turret roof to alert the crew if targeted by laser rangefinders or laser designators.

- **Electronics and Battlefield Awareness:** The Haider is equipped with advanced optics, night vision, and thermal imaging systems, allowing for superior target acquisition and engagement in all weather conditions. Its fire control system is also linked to a battlefield management system, providing real-time data and communication capabilities.

Positioning Against Global Competitors: The Haider aims to compete with the latest generation of MBTs, such as Russia's T-14 Armata and South Korea's K2 Black Panther. While the exact specifications and capabilities of the Haider are closely guarded, it is expected to include many of the features found in these leading tanks, including advanced active protection systems, superior mobility, and robust firepower.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Overall, Pakistan's tank fleet, while capable, faces challenges when compared to the world's top MBTs. The Al-Khalid, Al-Zarar, and Haider each offer unique strengths but also have limitations, particularly in areas like advanced armor protection, electronic warfare capabilities, and active protection systems. Modern tanks like the M1 Abrams, Leopard 2, and T-14 Armata have set high standards in these areas, often incorporating



the latest technology to enhance survivability and lethality.

STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES:

- **Strengths:** Cost-effective production and maintenance, suitable for regional operational environments, and continuous upgrade potential.
- **Weaknesses:** Generally inferior in terms of advanced armor and electronic systems, less powerful engines, and lower integration of cutting-edge technology like APS and advanced fire control systems.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PAKISTAN'S FUTURE STEPS

To maintain and enhance its armored capabilities, Pakistan could consider the following steps:

- 1. Technological Upgrades:** Invest in modernizing existing tanks with advanced armor systems, electronic warfare capabilities, and active protection systems.
- 2. Strategic Partnerships:** Seek

collaborations with technologically advanced nations to acquire cutting-edge technologies and integrate them into indigenous designs.

3. Manufacturing and Training:

Enhance domestic manufacturing capabilities and provide advanced training for tank crews to effectively utilize new technologies.

CONCLUSION

Pakistan's tank fleet, with the Al-Khalid, Al-Zarar, and Haider, forms a critical component of its defense strategy. While these tanks offer a robust platform for regional defense, continuous modernization, and technological upgrades are essential to keep pace with global advancements in armored warfare. By focusing on key areas for improvement and leveraging strategic partnerships, Pakistan can ensure its armored forces remain competitive and capable of addressing future challenges from its eastern border.

The author is the Editor of Monthly Interaction.

Continued from page 9

THE HAIDER MBT:

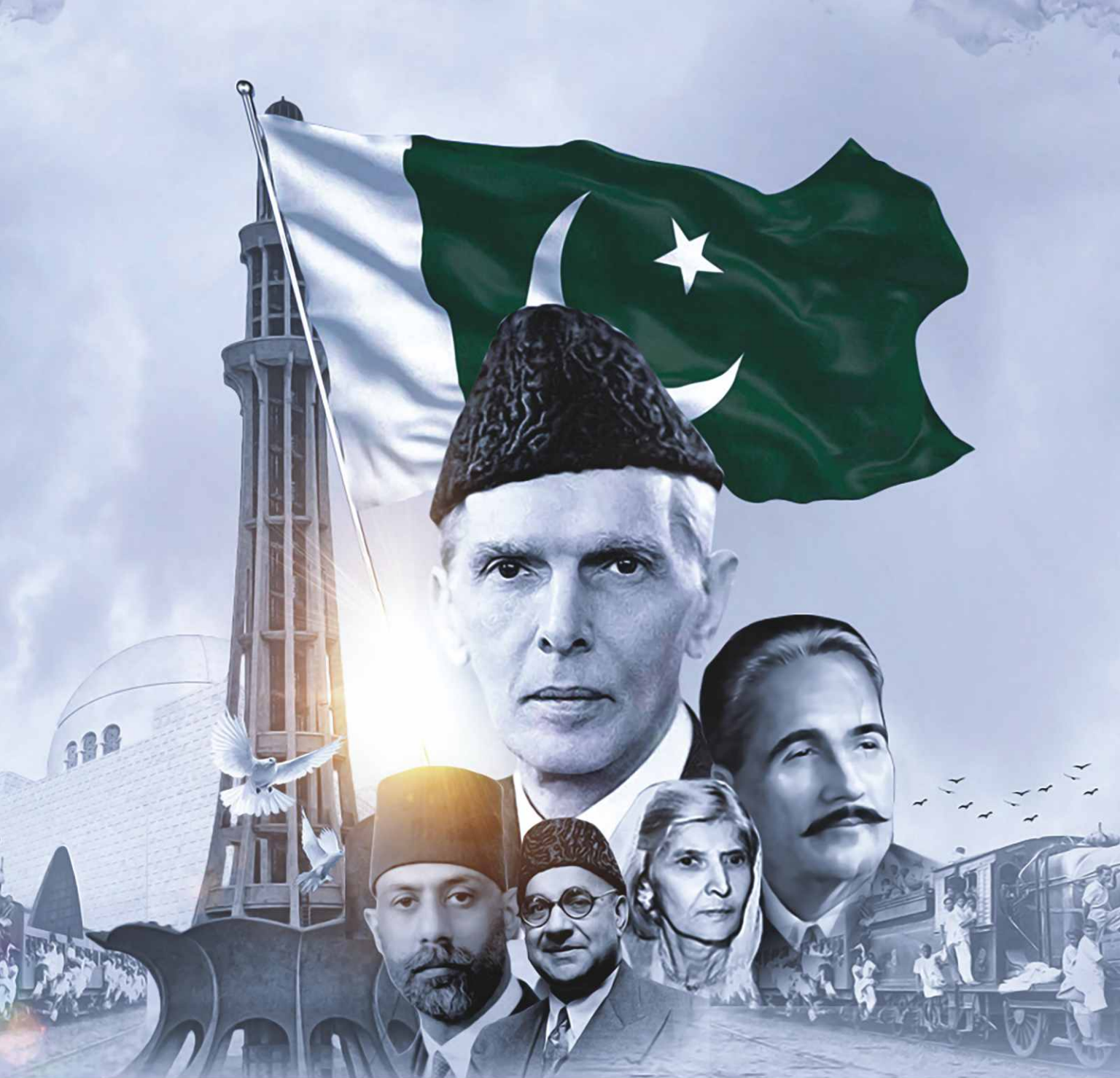
Incorporating active protection systems like the Akkor, which can intercept incoming guided missiles, and developing a network-centric warfare environment could transform the Haider into a "smart tank" comparable to the South Korean K2 Black Panther. Such enhancements would significantly improve the tank's situational awareness and operational effectiveness on the modern battlefield.

The Haider MBT represents a significant achievement in Pakistan's defense sector. Its advanced features, robust protection, and superior firepower make it a formidable asset for the Pakistan Army. As the country continues to develop and integrate cutting-edge

technologies, the Haider MBT stands as a testament to Pakistan's growing capabilities in indigenous defense manufacturing and its strategic move towards more heavily armored combat vehicles.

The author is Head of the Research Department at Rabita Forum International (RFI) and the Associate Editor of Monthly Interaction.





PAKISTAN CORNER

Welcome to "Pakistan Corner," a dedicated section in our magazine where we explore the rich tapestry of Pakistan's history, culture, and legacy before and after its independence. This series aims to illuminate the diverse heritages, local languages, various cultures, and unsung heroes of the nation, offering our readers an in-depth look into the different facets that shape today's Pakistan.

THE PAKISTAN MOVEMENT:

(PART-II)

A SAGA OF STRUGGLE AND TRIUMPH

INTERACTION TEAM

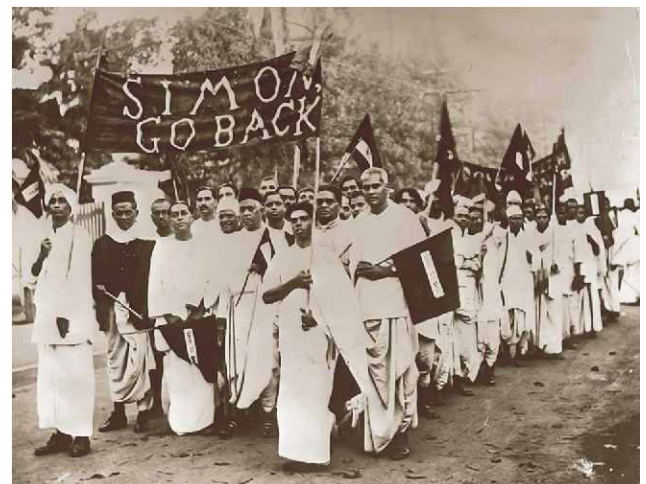
The Muslims, aware of their significant presence in the country, sought one-third representation in the central legislature. However, the Nehru Report offered them only one-fourth representation, a move that felt like a slight against their aspirations. This report did consider two of their demands, but neither was fully addressed. It proposed the separation of Sindh from Bombay, but only if Sindh could sustain itself economically. It also suggested constitutional reforms in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), but left Balochistan in the shadows.

This incomplete recognition of their needs left the Muslim community feeling alienated and discontent. They began to realize that their path to fair representation and rights might lie in a separate political journey. This sense of alienation set the stage for more organized and determined efforts to secure Muslim rights and representation.

In 1929, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, lovingly known as Quaid-i-Azam, stepped forward

with a clear and powerful response to the growing rift between Hindus and Muslims. He articulated his famous Fourteen Points, which became the cornerstone of the Muslim League's political agenda and a beacon for the Muslim struggle for independence. Jinnah's points were comprehensive and far-reaching:

1. Federal System: A government structure where provinces had clear mandates.
2. Equal Provincial Autonomy: Ensuring each province had equal autonomy.
3. Minority Representation: Effective representation for minorities without diminishing majorities.
4. One-Third Seats: Muslims should have one-third of the seats in the central legislature.
5. Separate Electorates: Muslims should retain separate electorates.
6. No Territorial Adjustments: No changes in Punjab, Bengal, and NWFP that would



7. Communal Freedom: Full freedom for all religious communities.
8. Legislative Approval: No bill should pass without the approval of the affected community's majority members.
9. Sindh Separation: Sindh should be separated from Bombay Presidency.
10. Reforms in NWFP and Balochistan: Reforms should be implemented in these regions.
11. Protection of Muslim Institutions: Adequate protection for Muslim cultural, educational, religious, and personal law institutions.
12. Muslim Employment Quota: Adequate employment quotas for Muslims.
13. Muslim Representation in Cabinets: Inclusion of at least one-third Muslim ministers in cabinets.
14. Constitutional Amendments: No amendments to the constitution without the agreement of the states or provinces.

These points were not mere demands; they were a lifeline for a community striving to maintain its identity and rights in an increasingly polarized environment.

The year 1930 brought another significant moment. The annual session of the All India Muslim League in Allahabad was presided over by the renowned philosopher and poet, Allama Muhammad Iqbal. In his address, Iqbal passionately spoke about the need for



an independent Muslim state in the northwestern part of India. He believed that only a separate sovereign state could solve the Hindu-Muslim problem. His visionary idea of a separate Muslim state, which he called Pakistan, resonated deeply with the Muslim youth. Inspired by his nationalistic poetry and the dream of a Muslim renaissance, they rallied behind this vision, ready to fight for a homeland where they could freely practice their religion and culture.

Between 1930 and 1932, the British government organized three Round Table Conferences in London to discuss constitutional reforms for India. These conferences saw the participation of prominent Indian leaders, including Jinnah and Iqbal. However, the rigid stance of the Hindu representatives made it impossible to reach a consensus that would protect Muslim rights. Despite the failure of these conferences, the British introduced the Government of India Act of 1935. This Act aimed to establish autonomous provincial governments with elected legislatures and proposed a federal structure for India, though the federal part was never implemented.

The provincial elections of 1937, held under this Act, were a turning point. The Congress party emerged victorious in most



provinces, forming governments that often marginalized and discriminated against Muslims. This period saw the erosion of Muslim rights and increased communal tensions. In provinces like Uttar Pradesh, Central Provinces, and Bihar, Muslims faced severe discrimination. The Congress governments adopted "Vande Mataram" as the national anthem, a song from the novel "Anandamath" by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, which depicted Muslims as demons to be eradicated from India. This imposition led to widespread resentment and protests among Muslims. Hindu youth, often supported by local Congress leaders, intruded into Muslim schools and religious institutions, attempting to enforce the singing of the song and install idols. These actions frequently led to communal riots, further deepening the divide.

In October 1938, the Sindh Muslim League Conference, presided over by Quaid-i-Azam, passed a historic resolution. The conference called upon the All India Muslim League to prepare a constitutional scheme for the complete independence of Indian Muslims. This resolution rejected the federal scheme proposed in the Government of India Act of 1935, asserting that it was detrimental to Muslim interests. It was a significant milestone, formally articulating the demand for a separate Muslim state and highlighting the growing realization among Muslims that their rights and interests could not be safeguarded within a united India dominated by a Hindu majority. In September 1939, with the outbreak of World War II, the Viceroy of India declared India's involvement in the war without consulting Indian leaders. In protest, all Congress provincial ministries resigned. This resignation was celebrated by Muslims as a "Day of Deliverance" from the oppressive Congress rule. The resignation provided

Muslims with a brief respite and an opportunity to regroup and strategize for their future. This period saw increased mobilization and political activity within the Muslim community, culminating in a renewed demand for a separate Muslim state.

The Lahore Resolution, passed in March 1940 during the annual session of the All India Muslim League, was the most crucial event in the Muslim struggle for independence. This session, attended by Muslim leaders and representatives from across India, was held at Minto Park (now Iqbal Park) in Lahore. The resolution, moved by A. K. Fazlul Huq and



seconded by several prominent leaders, unequivocally demanded the creation of "independent states" in the northwestern and eastern zones of India, where Muslims were in the majority. It called for territorial adjustments to form contiguous units with full autonomy.

The Lahore Resolution marked a decisive shift in the Muslim League's stance, from seeking safeguards and representation within a united India to demanding a separate sovereign state. It provided a clear and unambiguous goal for Muslims in India, galvanizing them into a cohesive political force (continue...)

PAKISTAN NUCLEAR REGULATORY AUTHORITY (PNRA)

INTERACTION TEAM

The Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority (PNRA) plays a crucial role in ensuring the safety and regulation of nuclear activities within Pakistan. Entrusted with the responsibility to control, regulate, and supervise all matters related to nuclear safety and radiation protection, PNRA is pivotal in developing rules, issuing guidelines, and implementing policies to safeguard life, health, and property from the risks associated with ionizing radiation.

HISTORY OF PNRA

The foundation of nuclear regulatory infrastructure in Pakistan dates back to 1965 with the commissioning of the first research reactor, PARR-I. This marked the beginning of a formal approach to nuclear safety, which further evolved with the commissioning of the first nuclear power plant in Karachi in 1971. Initially, the nuclear safety and licensing division within the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) served as the de facto

regulatory body.

In 1984, the Pakistan Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection Ordinance led to the establishment of the Directorate of Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection (DNSRP) within PAEC. This directorate laid the groundwork for a more structured regulatory framework. The signing of the International Convention on Nuclear Safety in 1994 obligated Pakistan to establish an independent regulatory body, separating regulatory functions from promotional aspects of the nuclear program.

CREATION OF PNRA

The significant milestone came in 2001 when the President of Pakistan promulgated the Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority Ordinance No. III, leading to the creation of PNRA. This ordinance dissolved the Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Board (PNRB) and DNSRP, establishing PNRA as a competent and independent body responsible for nuclear safety, radiation protection, and regulation of nuclear activities in Pakistan.

FUNCTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

PNRA is empowered to develop comprehensive rules, regulations, and guidelines for nuclear safety and radiation protection. These regulations cover a wide range of activities, including the exploitation of radioactive ores, production, import, export, transport, possession, processing, reprocessing, use, sale, transfer, storage, and disposal of nuclear substances and



radioactive materials.

One of PNRA's critical roles is granting authorizations and issuing licenses to nuclear installations and radiation facilities, as well as their operators. This process ensures that only qualified and compliant entities engage in nuclear activities, thereby maintaining high safety standards.

PNRA also conducts regular inspections of nuclear facilities to ensure adherence to safety regulations. These inspections are vital in identifying and mitigating potential risks, ensuring that safety measures are properly implemented and maintained.

Moreover, PNRA issues No Objection Certificates (NOCs) for the import and export of radioactive sources, ensuring that all international and national safety standards are met. It also provides Radiation Free Certificates for exportable food items, certifying that they are free from harmful levels of radiation.

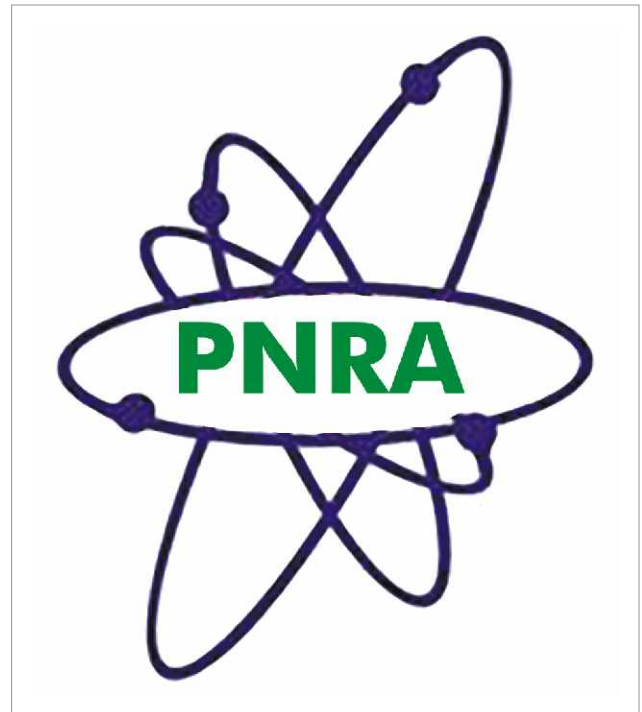
NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS AND EMERGENCY RESPONSE

PNRA is the lead agency for ensuring national preparedness for nuclear and radiological accidents. It collaborates with operating organizations and licensees to maintain readiness for any nuclear or radiological emergencies. This preparedness involves regular drills, training programs, and the development of emergency response plans.

PNRA also serves as the point of contact for international agreements and collaborations concerning nuclear and radiological emergencies. This role ensures that Pakistan aligns with global safety standards and is prepared to respond effectively to international incidents.

CAPACITY BUILDING AND INSTITUTIONAL STRENGTHENING

PNRA places significant emphasis on



enhancing its regulatory effectiveness and efficiency through capacity building and institutional strengthening. It conducts training programs and awareness campaigns for workers, operators, and the general public about nuclear and radiation safety issues.

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Collaboration with national institutions for research in nuclear and radiation safety is another critical aspect of PNRA's activities. This collaboration fosters innovation and improvement in safety measures, contributing to the overall advancement of nuclear safety standards in Pakistan.

IMPACT AND FUTURE OUTLOOK

Since its establishment, PNRA has significantly contributed to enhancing nuclear safety standards in Pakistan. Its comprehensive regulatory framework, rigorous inspection processes, and emphasis on training and awareness have resulted in a safer nuclear environment.

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THE ANCIENT ROMAN EMPIRE:



THE ANCIENT ROMAN EMPIRE:

A COMPREHENSIVE OVERVIEW

INTERACTION TEAM



The Roman Empire, one of the most influential civilizations in history, spanned from 27 BC to AD 476 in the West and until AD 1453 in the East (the Byzantine Empire). Its legacy profoundly shaped the modern world, influencing law, government, architecture, engineering, and culture. This article explores the critical aspects of the ancient Roman Empire, providing a detailed overview for readers seeking to understand its significance and enduring impact.

FOUNDATION AND RISE OF ROME

Rome's foundation is soaked in legend,



primarily the tale of Romulus and Remus. According to Roman mythology, these twin brothers were the sons of Mars (the Roman god of war) and a priestess named Rhea Silvia. They were abandoned at birth and raised by a she-wolf. Romulus later killed Remus and founded Rome in 753 BC.

Initially, Rome was a monarchy ruled by a series of kings. In 509 BC, the Romans overthrew the monarchy and established a republic. The Roman Republic was characterized by a complex system of checks and balances and a mixed constitution with elements of democracy, oligarchy (a small group of people having control of a country), and monarchy.

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

The Roman Republic's political structure was a hybrid of democracy and oligarchy. Key institutions included: 1. The Senate, A powerful body of patricians (members of the aristocracy) that advised on policy and legislation. 2. The Consuls, Two elected officials who served as the highest executive



authority. 3. The Assemblies, Bodies of citizens that voted on laws and elected officials.

The Republic expanded as a result of various conflicts and wars including The Punic Wars, A series of three wars fought between Rome and Carthage (a powerful city-state in North Africa), culminating in Rome's dominance over the western Mediterranean and The Social War, A conflict between Rome and its Italian allies over citizenship rights, leading to the extension of Roman citizenship to all Italian free men.

TRANSITION TO EMPIRE

The end of the Republic began with the rise of Julius Caesar, a military general and statesman. His crossing of the Rubicon River in 49 BC signaled the start of a civil war. Caesar's subsequent victory and declaration as "dictator for life" alarmed many senators who feared the end of the Republic.

On March 15, 44 BC, Julius Caesar was assassinated by a group of senators, an event famously known as the Ides of March. This assassination plunged Rome into further civil wars. The final transformation from Republic to Empire occurred under Augustus, Julius Caesar's adopted heir. In 31 BC, Augustus became the first emperor of Rome in 27 BC.

THE IMPERIAL STRUCTURE

The Roman Empire centralized power under the emperor, who held supreme



authority over the military, judiciary, and religious institutions. The empire was divided into provinces, each governed by an official appointed by the emperor. This system allowed Rome to maintain control over vast territories, from Britain to Egypt, and ensured a degree of local autonomy while integrating diverse cultures into the Roman system.

MILITARY MIGHT

The Roman military was one of the most formidable in history. The legion (a unit of 3,000-6,000 soldiers) was the backbone of the Roman army, known for its discipline, organization, and innovative tactics. Each legion was divided into cohorts and centuries, allowing for flexible and effective combat operations.

CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS

The Roman Empire was a hub of cultural and intellectual activities. Latin literature flourished with poets like Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, whose works remain influential. Roman philosophers, such as Seneca and Marcus Aurelius, contributed significantly to Stoicism, a philosophy emphasizing reason, self-control, and virtue.

Roman art and architecture blended Greek influences with innovative Roman techniques. The use of concrete allowed Romans to build large and durable structures,

such as the Colosseum and the Pantheon. Roman mosaics and frescoes (wall paintings) adorned public buildings and private homes, showcasing intricate designs and scenes from mythology and daily life.

In addition, Romans made significant contributions to engineering, medicine, and astronomy. Galen, a prominent Roman physician, advanced medical knowledge through his extensive writings on anatomy and medicine. Roman aqueducts exemplify their engineering prowess, supplying cities with clean water and improving public health.

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

Early Roman religion was polytheistic, worshipping numerous gods and goddesses,



such as Jupiter (the king of the gods), Mars (the god of war), and Venus (the goddess of love). Religious practices included rituals, sacrifices, and festivals, integral to public and private life.

Later on the Christianity emerged in the 1st century AD and gradually spread throughout the empire. Initially persecuted but with the passage of time Christians gained tolerance and acceptance. In AD 313, Emperor Constantine issued the Edict of Milan, granting religious freedom, and by the end of the 4th century, Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Roman society was distinctly hierarchical, characterized by clear social classes. At the top were the Patricians, the aristocratic ruling class. Below them were the Plebeians, the commoner class, which included farmers, artisans, and merchants. At the bottom were the Slaves, individuals who lacked personal freedom and were often captured in wars or born into slavery. Slaves were essential to the economy, providing labor in households, agriculture, and various industries.

THE DECLINE OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE

Several factors contributed to the decline of the Western Roman Empire. Internally, political instability, economic decline, and social decay played significant roles. Frequent changes in leadership and ongoing civil wars undermined central authority, weakening the state's ability to govern effectively. Economic challenges such as heavy taxation, rampant inflation, and over-reliance on slave labor stifled economic growth. Additionally, the widening gap between the rich and the poor led to increasing social unrest, further destabilizing the empire.

While on the external front the Western Empire faced numerous invasions by barbarian tribes, including the Visigoths, Vandals, and Huns. In AD 410, the Visigoths sacked Rome, a significant blow to the empire's prestige and stability. The last Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus, was deposed in AD 476 by the Germanic chieftain Odoacer, marking the end of the Western Roman Empire.

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE CONTINUATION OF ROME

The Eastern Roman Empire, known as the Byzantine Empire, continued to thrive after the fall of the Western Empire. Its capital,

Constantinople (modern-day Istanbul), became a center of trade, culture, and political power.

Emperor Justinian I (reigned AD 527-565) was one of the most notable Byzantine emperors. His reign saw the reconquest of former Western territories, extensive building projects (including the Hagia Sophia), and the codification of Roman law in the Corpus Juris Civilis (Body of Civil Law).

The Byzantine Empire preserved many aspects of Roman culture, law, and administration. It also played a crucial role in the spread of Christianity, particularly Eastern Orthodoxy. The empire's influence extended to Eastern Europe and Russia, shaping the region's religious and cultural development.

Gradually declining later on due to internal strife, economic challenges, and external pressures from Muslim conquests and Crusader invasions in 1453, Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks, marking the end of the Byzantine Empire.

LEGACY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

LEGAL AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS

The Roman Empire's most enduring legacy is its contribution to legal and political systems. Roman law principles, such as justice, equality before the law, and the rights of individuals, have deeply influenced modern legal frameworks. Many contemporary political structures, including republicanism and representative democracy, draw inspiration from Roman governance.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Latin, the language of the Romans, evolved into the Romance languages (Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Romanian) and significantly impacted the English language. Roman literature, philosophy, and rhetoric continue to be studied and admired for their intellectual and artistic merit.

ENGINEERING AND ARCHITECTURE

Roman engineering and architectural innovations set the foundation for modern infrastructure. The use of arches, domes, and concrete revolutionized construction techniques. Iconic structures like aqueducts, amphitheaters, and public baths demonstrate Roman engineering prowess and remain tourist attractions today.

CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE

Roman culture, including art, literature, and philosophy, has profoundly influenced Western civilization. The spread of



Christianity, initially a minority sect within the Roman Empire, has become a major world religion, shaping the cultural and ethical framework of many societies.

CONCLUSION

The ancient Roman Empire's legacy is vast and enduring, impacting numerous aspects of modern life. From its legal and political systems to its engineering marvels and cultural achievements, the empire's influence can be seen in contemporary society. Understanding the history and contributions of the Roman Empire provides valuable insights into the foundations of Western civilization and the development of the modern world.

THE NEW COLD WAR:

GLOBAL TENSIONS AND THEIR FAR-REACHING IMPACTS

NUSRAT MIRZA

The world stands at the precipice of a new Cold War, with geopolitical tensions rising and international relations becoming increasingly strained. This emerging conflict, primarily driven by the rivalry between the United States, China, and Russia, is characterized by an arms race, technological competition, economic sanctions, and a reshaping of global alliances. The stakes are high, with far-reaching consequences that could impact global stability, economic prosperity, and the political fabric of societies worldwide.

This article delves into the multifaceted dimensions of this new Cold War, examining the military buildup, cyber warfare, economic struggles, and the tug-of-war for influence in global institutions. Additionally, it explores the implications for the Global South and the strategies employed by these major powers in their bid for dominance. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for comprehending the shifting geopolitical landscape and its potential to redefine the global order.

POSSIBILITIES OF A SECOND COLD WAR

The current geopolitical climate suggests the emergence of a new Cold War, marked by an intensifying arms race, technological competition, economic sanctions, and shifting international alliances. This evolving situation has profound implications for global stability and international relations. The U.S., China, and Russia are significantly increasing their military expenditures and modernizing their arsenals. This new arms race includes the development of hypersonic weapons, space militarization, and advancements in missile defense systems, signaling a growing emphasis on military readiness and strategic deterrence, reminiscent of the original Cold War.

The digital realm has become a critical battleground, with cyber attacks and espionage escalating. Significant incidents, such as the SolarWinds hack attributed to Russian actors and numerous instances of Chinese cyber theft of intellectual property, highlight this trend. Nations are increasingly focused on securing their digital infrastructures and developing offensive cyber capabilities, underscoring the importance of technological dominance. Economic tools are heavily utilized in this geopolitical struggle. The U.S. has imposed tariffs and sanctions on Chinese goods and entities to curb China's economic rise and intellectual property theft. Russia faces sanctions due to its control of Crimea and actions in Ukraine. These economic measures lead to retaliatory actions, creating a cycle of economic conflict that affects global trade and economic stability.

China and Russia are working to reshape global institutions to reflect their interests.

China's Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) challenges the dominance of the World Bank and the IMF, while both countries exert influence in the United Nations Security Council. The formation of new alliances, such as China's partnerships with African nations and Russia's military alliances, further highlight this competition for global influence.

■ CONSEQUENCES OF A SECOND COLD WAR

The economic consequences of a second Cold War would be profound. Trade disruptions, increased defense spending, and the imposition of sanctions can destabilize global markets. Emerging economies, particularly in the Global South, may face severe economic hardships due to their dependency on trade with major powers. Supply chain disruptions, investment declines, and resource allocation shifts could exacerbate economic instability. The political and social fabric of societies may be strained under the pressure of a second Cold War. Heightened tensions can lead to a rise in nationalist and populist movements, the erosion of democratic institutions, and the spread of misinformation and propaganda. These factors can polarize societies and undermine trust in media and government institutions.

A second Cold War would likely strain diplomatic relations and reduce international cooperation. Increased rivalry may lead to deadlocks in international institutions, hindering efforts to address global issues such as climate change, terrorism, and pandemics. Trust deficits

and competing interests can weaken multilateral frameworks, leading to fragmented and ineffective international responses. The possibility of regional conflicts and proxy wars is a significant concern. Areas with existing tensions, such as the South China Sea, Taiwan, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East, could become flashpoints for broader conflicts involving major powers. These conflicts can escalate into larger wars with severe humanitarian and geopolitical consequences.

■ UNDERSTANDING THE GLOBAL SOUTH

The Global South encompasses a diverse range of countries, often characterized by historical experiences of colonialism, economic challenges, and ongoing development issues. They are also called third world countries which include:

- **Africa:** Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, Ghana, Egypt, and more.
- **Latin America:** Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Chile, Colombia, and others.
- **Asia:** India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Vietnam, and several others.
- **Oceania:** Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and other Pacific island nations.

Despite their rich natural resources and cultural heritage, these countries face significant challenges, including poverty, political instability, and underdevelopment.

The United States has long maintained a strategic interest in the Global South, primarily through economic aid, military alliances, and diplomatic initiatives. U.S. policy aims to promote democracy, economic development, and security cooperation. Programs like the Millennium Challenge Corporation and USAID are examples of efforts to foster economic growth and stability.

Objectives of the U.S. in the Global South include:

- **Economic Interests:** Access to natural resources (oil, minerals, etc.) and markets for American goods and services.
- **Political Influence:** Promoting



democracy and aligning countries with U.S. geopolitical interests.

- **Security Concerns:** Counterterrorism efforts, securing trade routes, and preventing the spread of hostile ideologies.

The involvement of powerful nations in the Global South often comes with significant exploitation. Many countries in the Global South have experienced:

- **Economic Exploitation:** Multinational corporations extracting natural resources without fair compensation, leading to environmental degradation and minimal local economic benefits.

- **Debt Dependency:** Loans and aid that lead to long-term debt dependency, with stringent conditions that often undermine local sovereignty.

- **Political Manipulation:** Support for regimes that favor foreign interests over the welfare of their own people, leading to political instability and repression.

Russia and China have increasingly asserted their presence in the Global South, often in direct opposition to American policies. Both nations seek to expand their influence through economic partnerships, military cooperation, and diplomatic initiatives.

China's Strategy: The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) exemplifies China's strategy of fostering economic ties through infrastructure investments across Africa, Asia, and Latin America. These investments boost China's economic influence and counterbalance American hegemony.

- **Economic Influence:** Massive investments in infrastructure projects.

- **Debt Diplomacy:** Offering loans that lead to dependency.

- **Strategic Alliances:** Establishing military bases and securing political support.

Russia's Strategy: Leveraging historical ties and military partnerships to assert influence in the Global South.

- **Military Cooperation:** Arms sales, military training, and support to regimes.



- **Energy Politics:** Using energy agreements to secure footholds.

- **Diplomatic Manoeuvring:** Supporting countries in opposition to Western policies.

■ POINTS OF TENSION AND CONFLICT

Several areas highlight the tension between the U.S., Russia, and China in the Global South:

- **Africa:** Chinese investments clash with American efforts to promote transparency and reduce corruption.

- **Latin America:** Russian military cooperation with regimes hostile to U.S. policies creates direct confrontations.

- **Asia:** Competition for influence in Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean.

■ RECENT AMERICAN SANCTIONS ON RUSSIA AND CHINA

The recent American sanctions on Russia and China, driven by the ongoing conflict in Ukraine, have profound implications for both countries and the broader international community. These sanctions aim to cripple the economic and military capabilities of Russia, with secondary effects on China due to its strategic partnership with Russia. The sanctions on Russia include financial restrictions, trade embargoes, and targeted measures against key individuals and entities. These measures have significantly hindered Russia's access to international markets, restricting its ability to finance its military operations and crippling its economy. Russian banks have been cut off from the SWIFT international payment system, and major

corporations face severe export controls, particularly in the technology sector. As a result, Russia's economic growth has stagnated, with inflation rates soaring and the ruble depreciating sharply.

China, although not directly involved in the Ukraine conflict, has been affected by secondary sanctions due to its close economic ties with Russia. Chinese companies trading with Russia face increased scrutiny and potential penalties from the U.S. and its allies. The sanctions have pressured Chinese financial institutions to limit their dealings with Russian counterparts to avoid jeopardizing their access to the global financial system. Additionally, China's energy sector, heavily reliant on Russian oil and gas, faces potential supply disruptions and price volatility.



■ REACTION FROM RUSSIA AND CHINA

Russia: Defiance and resilience characterize Russia's response. The Kremlin has sought to mitigate the impact of sanctions by pivoting towards alternative markets and strengthening economic ties with non-Western countries. Russia has deepened its engagement with nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, seeking to create new trade routes and financial systems that bypass Western sanctions.

China: China's response has been measured but strategic. Beijing has expressed opposition to the sanctions, arguing that they undermine global economic stability. China has

continued to support Russia diplomatically and economically, albeit cautiously, to avoid triggering further sanctions. The two countries have strengthened their energy cooperation and accelerated efforts to develop their financial infrastructure. In summary, the world is witnessing the rise of a new Cold War, marked by increased military buildup, cyber warfare, economic sanctions, and strategic maneuvers in global institutions.

This evolving geopolitical landscape has significant consequences, including economic disruptions, political and social tensions, strained international relations, and potential regional conflicts. The Global South, encompassing a diverse range of developing countries, is particularly vulnerable to these shifts, facing exploitation and economic hardship as major powers vie for influence. The U.S. maintains strategic interests in the Global South, promoting democracy and security while often exploiting these nations economically. In response, Russia and China have asserted their presence, seeking to counterbalance American influence through economic partnerships and military cooperation. The recent American sanctions on Russia and China, driven by the Ukraine conflict, have further strained global relations and underscored the resilience and strategic adaptability of these nations. As Russia pivots to non-Western markets and China strengthens its financial infrastructure, the global economic and political order continues to shift, shaping the future of international relations in profound ways. The 24th summit of Shanghai cooperation organization held in Astana Kazakhstan on 3rd and 4th July 2024 resolved to counter any action or sanction of the west (US, Europe and allies) against its member countries together with strengthening relations with Global South comprised of about 120 countries of the world. This situation is leading towards head on collision.

The author is the Chief Editor of Monthly Interaction.

75 YEARS TO THE ALLIANCE AND UKRAINE'S IRREVERSIBLE PATH TO NATO



DR. S. BUSHRA BATOOL

According to the World Economic Forum's Global Risks Report 2024, interstate armed conflict is recognized as one of the biggest risks facing the world. The year 2024 marks 75 years to the formation of the North Atlantic



Treaty Organization (NATO), a political and military alliance currently made up of 32 countries. The NATO summit, celebrating 75 years to its formation, was held in Washington. Among other issues, the summit was dominated by the Russia-Ukraine war discussions.

But why in a world where there are many social, political, economic and climate-induced issues to discuss, especially when the entire Middle East is engulfed in a deadly war, Russia is on the top agenda? This could be well understood with the historical

perspective. NATO was born on April 4, 1949, when 12 countries from Western Europe and North America came together to sign the North Atlantic Treaty. It was formed on the principle of collective defense which means that an attack against one Ally is considered as an attack against all allies. This principle is enshrined in Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty.

The NATO-Russia rivalry goes back to the time of the Cold War between the US and Soviet Union when under this collective security mechanism, members committed to defend each other through political and military means and counter the threat posed by the Soviet-led communist world. NATO is believed to be an alliance not to fight but to prevent wars. Apparently, there were no major wars after the Second World War but we also saw a number of proxy wars; the Vietnam War and the Korean War are to name a few.

Although, tensions between the two arch-rivals; were reduced after the end of the Cold War with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, however, Russia, the successor of the Soviet Union, has always been skeptical about its security westwards. Russia's leadership, particularly President Vladimir Putin's concern that NATO wasn't sensitive to Russian security needs and was violating its commitment not to move "an inch eastwards"

is still valid to date, and in Russia's view, Moscow's main concern that lethal missiles should not be deployed in states bordering Russia was never addressed. Hence, the Russian annexation of Crimea and the events that followed post-2014 is the prime example of tit-for-tat and continued the tug of war.

With the full-scale military invasion of Russia in Ukraine in February 2022, NATO suspended cooperation with Russia while deploying multinational battle groups in the Baltic States and Poland. The NATO countries declared Russia "a direct threat to Euro-Atlantic security" and decided to lend full support to Ukraine's war effort.

However, fearing global escalation, NATO chose not to deploy its own troops in Ukraine. To infuriate Russia further, NATO recognized Bosnia, Georgia, and Ukraine as "aspiring members". Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 prompted Finland and Sweden to join the alliance in 2023 and in 2024 respectively. It is important to note that Sweden abandoned its 200-year-old neutrality policy and sought greater security within NATO.

Both Sweden and Finland, which share a 1,340km border with Russia, dropped their traditional stance of neutrality and applied to join NATO after the Russian invasion of Ukraine. This is the biggest expansion of NATO since members joined from Eastern



Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Hence it is obvious why the summit declaration condemned Russia for its brutal war of aggression against Ukraine, terming it to be the latter's right of self-defense to be provided with all the necessary security arrangements against Russia.

Notwithstanding, NATO allies are extending full solidarity with Ukraine, pledging long-term security assistance for Ukraine, including a new baseline funding of 40 billion euros within the next year, Ukraine's admission to NATO as a full-fledged member is yet to be seen. President Volodymyr Zelenskiy had also received assurances at the Vilnius Summit in the Lithuanian capital in July 2023, where allies reconfirmed their commitment to make Ukraine a member, but in vain.

After Finland's and Sweden's membership, and in spite of the fact that at the 2024 Washington Summit, based on decisions taken at the 2022 Madrid Summit and 2023 Vilnius Summit, allies reaffirmed that Ukraine's future is in NATO, Ukraine is left out of the membership zone, which has the utmost security concern from Russia. This reveals NATO members' hesitance to admit Ukraine. It is believed that the Ukraine is considered in Europe as a buffer state



between west and Russia.

NATO has deployed combat-ready forces on its eastern flank; over 500,000 forces are in high readiness. The declaration also announced that the alliance would take further steps to support Ukraine's "irreversible path to full Euro-Atlantic integration".

Dozens of foreign policy experts are calling on NATO members to avoid advancing toward Ukrainian membership at the alliance's upcoming summit, warning that it would endanger the U.S. and allies and rupture the coalition. This is also visible when



in the last year 2023's NATO summit, the US focused more on improving Ukraine's self-defense capabilities rather than addressing the country's potential membership in NATO.

Upon Ukraine's membership to NATO and in the wake of a Russian attack, it would trigger Article 5, calling on members to rush to collective defense. Further, it would bring the world's two leading nuclear powers to direct confrontation once again and play into Russian leader Vladimir Putin's narrative that it is Moscow versus the West.

Debates are ongoing about the future of Ukraine in NATO and what the US and its allies would offer Ukraine about handling and ensuring its security. It is imperative for Ukraine to secure a formal security arrangement, however, the Western skepticism about the country's admission into NATO cannot be ruled out, deeming it a security challenge for the alliance and its members.

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PAKISTAN NUCLEAR REGULATORY AUTHORITY (PNRA)

By ensuring strict adherence to safety regulations and maintaining transparency in its operations, PNRA has built confidence among the licensees, the government, and the general public. This trust is crucial for the continued development and acceptance of nuclear technology in Pakistan.

FUTURE GOALS

As a young and forward-looking organization, PNRA aims to further enhance its regulatory effectiveness and efficiency.



Future goals include expanding its capacity-building initiatives, strengthening international collaborations, and continuously improving its regulatory framework to address emerging challenges in nuclear safety and radiation protection.

ISLAND AT THE CENTER:**TAIWAN'S KEY ROLE
IN THE ECONOMIC
AND STRATEGIC
BALANCE OF POWER****WAJEEHA NAJAM**

Despite geo-strategic tensions between China and Taiwan, the island nation's geographical and economic significance in the Asia-Pacific region remains crucial. Taiwan's strategic location, coupled with its robust economy particularly in the technology sector underpins its critical importance. This significance is further highlighted when comparing trade relations between Taiwan and China with those between Taiwan and the United States. Analyzing these relationships offers insight into the complex dynamics that define Taiwan's role in regional and global contexts.

Taiwan's geographical position is critically important in the Asia-Pacific region. Situated off the southeastern coast of China, Taiwan lies at the nexus of key maritime routes in the Western Pacific. The Taiwan Strait, which

separates Taiwan from mainland China, is one of the busiest shipping lanes globally, facilitating the movement of goods between East and Southeast Asia. Taiwan's proximity to major economies such as Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines enhances its strategic value, serving as a gateway to Northeast and Southeast Asia. This location renders Taiwan a pivotal player in maintaining the balance of power in the region, especially in the context of US-China strategic competition.

Taiwan's economic strength is another pillar of its regional importance. The island is renowned for its advanced manufacturing capabilities, particularly in the semiconductor industry. Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company (TSMC), the world's largest and most advanced semiconductor producer is based in Taiwan.

TSMC's dominance in semiconductor fabrication makes Taiwan an indispensable part of the global supply chain for high-tech industries. Semiconductors produced in Taiwan are critical components in a wide range of products, from consumer electronics and automobiles to advanced military hardware. This technological capability not only drives Taiwan's economy but also strengthens its role in global trade and industry.

The economic relationship between Taiwan and China is complex and deeply





intertwined, despite the political tensions. Over the past few decades, economic exchanges between the two have grown significantly. China is Taiwan's largest trading partner, accounting for a substantial portion of Taiwan's exports. Taiwanese companies have invested heavily in China, leveraging its vast market and manufacturing base.

This economic interdependence is a double-edged sword; while it fosters economic growth and integration, it also creates vulnerabilities for Taiwan such as economic coercion, dependency on the Chinese market, potential disruptions in supply chains, and increased leverage for China in political and strategic negotiations given the political uncertainties and strategic tensions.

In contrast, the trade relationship between Taiwan and the United States is rooted in strategic alignment and mutual economic interests. The United States is one of Taiwan's most significant trade partners and a major destination for Taiwanese exports, particularly high-tech products. The US-Taiwan economic relationship is also characterized by substantial technological collaboration and investment. US companies rely on Taiwanese manufacturers for critical components, including semiconductors, printed circuit

boards, and LCD panels, especially semiconductors. This reliance underscores the strategic dimension of the US-Taiwan relationship, where economic ties bolster broader geopolitical objectives.

Comparing trade between Taiwan and China with that between Taiwan and the United States reveals several key dynamics. Trade with China is driven by geographical proximity, economic complementarities, and the integration of supply chains. Taiwanese businesses benefit from lower production costs and access to China's vast consumer market. Conversely, trade with the United States is driven by technological and strategic factors. The US-Taiwan trade relationship emphasizes high-value industries, innovation, and the mutual benefits of a secure and resilient supply chain.

One significant aspect of Taiwan's trade with China is the high degree of dependence on the Chinese market. Taiwanese exports to China include electronics, machinery, and chemicals, which are integral to China's manufacturing and export sectors. This dependency poses risks for Taiwan, particularly in the context of geopolitical tensions. Any disruption in cross-strait relations could severely impact Taiwan's economy. On the other hand, trade with the United States provides Taiwan with a strategic counterbalance to its economic reliance on China. The high-tech nature of US-Taiwan trade, coupled with strong political and military ties, offers Taiwan a measure of economic security and diversification.

The role of Taiwan in the regional and global economy is further underscored by its participation in international trade agreements and organizations. Taiwan is a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and actively pursues bilateral and

multilateral trade agreements to enhance its economic integration. These efforts help Taiwan mitigate the risks associated with its political isolation and reliance on specific markets, such as economic coercion, trade barriers, and supply chain disruptions. By diversifying its trade relationships and participating in global economic governance, Taiwan strengthens its economic resilience and global standing.

The geopolitical significance of Taiwan's economic ties cannot be understated. The island's technological capabilities, particularly in semiconductors, make it a strategic asset in the US-China rivalry. The United States has



increasingly emphasized the importance of securing supply chains for critical technologies, and Taiwan's semiconductor industry is central to these efforts. Initiatives to deepen technological collaboration and safeguard the semiconductor supply chain are critical components of US strategy in the Asia-Pacific.

China, on the other hand, views economic integration with Taiwan as a means to assert its influence and potentially facilitate political reunification. Chinese policies often aim to leverage economic incentives to draw Taiwan closer. However, the strategic implications of Taiwan's economic autonomy and its ties with the United States counterbalance these efforts.

Taiwan's ability to navigate these complex economic relationships is crucial for its strategic positioning and security.

Taiwan's economic significance is also evident in its contributions to global innovation and technological development. The island nation invests heavily in research and development (R&D), fostering a culture of innovation that drives advancements in various high-tech sectors. Taiwanese companies are leaders in fields such as biotechnology, green technology, and information and communication technology (ICT). This innovative capacity not only enhances Taiwan's economic competitiveness



but also positions it as a key player in global technological trends.

The economic importance of Taiwan is further highlighted by its resilience and adaptability. Despite challenges such as natural disasters and political uncertainties, Taiwan has demonstrated robust economic performance. The island's economic policies emphasize diversification, innovation, and integration into the global economy. These strategies have enabled Taiwan to maintain steady growth and adapt to changing global economic conditions.

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MODI 3.0: EMERGENCE OF INDIA AS AN ELECTORAL AUTOCRACY



TARIQUE AHMED ABRO

On 9 June 2024, Narendra Modi was sworn in as the Prime Minister of India for the third consecutive term after garnering support from the coalition parties that are part of National Democratic Alliance (NDA). His party, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), managed to secure 240 of 543 seats during the recently held 18th Lok Sabha elections that concluded on 1 June 2024.

Unlike the previous two elections, when BJP had won an outright majority, they were 32 seats short of 272 number required to form a government. In 2014 elections, BJP had secured 282 seats the first straight majority for any party since 1984. It was able to secure 303 seats in 2019 elections. However, in 2024, BJP lost 38 seats, primarily from the states where farmers were protesting i.e., western UP, Punjab, Haryana, northern Rajasthan, and Maharashtra. Interestingly, looking at BJP's poor performance during

recent elections, Modi's boastful slogan of 'Abki Baar 400 Paar' turned out to be nothing more than wishful thinking.

The persecution of religious minorities, restrictions on press freedom, increased concerns regarding the independence of the judiciary and decline in civil liberties and political rights, especially of the Muslims, are some of the most infamous characteristics of Modi's previous two terms. In regard, "To perceive 'Modi 3.0' as any less dangerous would be misreading," opined Professor Anand Teltumbde, a renowned Indian writer and civil rights activist, in his latest article carried by The Wire on 12 June 2024.

He noted that it is most likely that "Narendra Modi will revert to his typical fascist tendencies and seek vengeance," once he is done with forming the government. According to his analysis, Modi's main targets during his third term would be the Muslims and Dalits, who have collectively voted against the BJP during the recent elections. Owing to Modi's autocratic style of governance and utter disregard for civil, religious and political liberties, he is blamed for the weakening of the country's democratic credentials and polarizing the Indian society by fanning anti-minority prejudice, especially against Muslims.

India has slipped on various international indices since Narendra Modi came into power





as Prime Minister in 2014. Since 2020, India has been labeled an 'electoral autocracy' by the V-Dem Institute, a Sweden-based think-tank, in its annual 'Democracy Report.' Likewise, India has been ranked at 159th out of 180 countries in the 'World Press Freedom Index (WPFI) 2024' by Reporters Without Borders (RSF), a France-based international non-profit and non-governmental organization. The continued marginalization of Muslims has laid bare Modi's rhetoric about the "freedom of faith" within India. The US Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) in its '2024 Annual Report' has listed a number of incidents of violence and intimidation against religious minorities in India, including Muslims and Christians, and attributed them to BJP. It notes that "the BJP government reinforced discriminatory nationalist policies, perpetuated hateful rhetoric and failed to address communal violence."

A two-part documentary series titled 'India: The Modi Question,' aired by BBC Two in January 2023, highlighted that Narendra Modi, while he was the Chief Minister of Gujrat, was "directly responsible" for providing the "climate of impunity" that enabled the violence which led to over 1,000 Muslim deaths the violence had "all the hallmarks of a genocide." In June 2023, more than seventy members of the United States

Congress had written a letter to the Biden administration to address human rights concerns during Modi's state visit to the US. They had raised serious concerns that there were "troubling signs in India toward the shrinking of political space, the rise of religious intolerance, the targeting of civil society organizations and journalists, and growing restrictions on press freedoms and internet access."

Ironically, a month later, in the city of Gurugram in northern Haryana state, right-wing Hindu mobs affiliated with BJP set on fire several shops owned by Muslims and torched a mosque and burnt alive its Imam. The United Nations Secretary General (UNSG) António Guterres, during his visit to India from 18-20 October 2022, also noted that as an elected member of the Human Rights Council, India had a responsibility to shape global human rights, and to protect and promote the rights of all individuals, including members of minority communities.

The founder and Director of Genocide Watch, Gregory Stanton, had also warned during a United States Congressional briefing in 2022 that there were early "signs and processes" of genocide in the Indian state of Assam and Indian-administered Kashmir. In the same year, Muslims were categorized as a "persecuted minority" in India by the International Panel of Law Experts comprising



Sonja Biserko (Serbia), Marzuki Darusman (Indonesia) and Stephen Rapp (United States).

Undoubtedly, the global perspective on the projection of Hindu fundamentalist organizations during the Modi era is marked by significant scepticism. Yash Raj Sharma, who contributes to Aljazeera, has quoted Michael Kugelman, Director of the Wilson Center's South Asia Institute, as saying that "Prime Minister Narendra Modi has now positioned India to become a Hindu state in a formal sense, a move that would be welcomed by his large base but decried by many non-Hindus and critics as a betrayal of India's secular traditions." The political mainstreaming of Hindu fundamentalist organizations during Modi era has transformed Hindutva into a preponderant form of Hindu nationalism, which derives its inspiration from far-right and authoritarian political ideologies such as Fascism and Nazism. This phenomenon poses great danger for the religious minorities and the Indian state itself. In the words of Arundhati Roy, "Hindu Nationalism could lead to the breakup of India." Importantly, the oppression of minority groups in India goes beyond just the Muslim community, as Christians also experience persecution. A resolution expressing concerns regarding the situation in Manipur, India, was passed by the European Parliament on 13 July 2023. It underscored that violent clash between the Meitei and Kuki ethnic communities in Manipur since 3 May 2023 had resulted in at least 120 deaths, 50,000 displacements, and the destruction of over 1,700 houses, 250 churches, temples, and schools. The resolution also highlighted concerns about politically motivated, divisive policies promoting Hindu majoritarianism.

Sushant Singh, a lecturer at Yale University, had pointed out in his article published in Foreign Affairs magazine on 4 September



2023, that Hindu "mobs have set fire to over 350 churches and burned more than 200 villages in Manipur." It was reported by The Wire on 9 September 2023 that according to the United Christian Forum (UCF), a Delhi-based civil society organization focused on issues pertaining to Christian community, "there have been 525 attacks against Christians in India during 2023." In March 2024, UCF said that more than 150 attacks on Indian Christians were reported in the first quarter of 2024.

Lastly, keeping in view Modi's dismal track record, his re-election as Prime Minister of the world's largest democracy does not augur well for certain sections of the Indian society. A large mob screaming 'Jai Bhavani', 'Jai Shivaji' and 'Jai Shri Ram' ransacked properties belonging to Muslims and desecrated a mosque in Gajapur, Maharashtra, on 14 July 2024. It signals that Indian Muslims shall continue to face discrimination and religious persecution, which critics say is aimed at marginalizing Muslims and transforming India into a Hindu Rashtra. Undoubtedly, Modi's India is two-faced: it projects itself to the world as a pluralistic society while encouraging communal hatred and the persecution of minorities internally.

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BOOSTING EXPORTS



MUSAVIR HAMEED BARECH



Pakistan has long pursued an import-based economic model, relying heavily on importing goods and services from other countries to meet its domestic consumption and production needs. This resulted in persistent trade deficits. The import expenditures exceeded export revenues, straining the balance of payments, impacting currency stability, and causing indebtedness.

The country has by far the lowest export-to-GDP ratio of nine percent among the emerging economies. It, therefore, could not attract much export-oriented foreign direct investment (FDI). Moreover, its major exports remain concentrated within the textile sector (around 60% of total exports) and confined to a few major destinations, such as the USA, EU, UK, and China, which together account for almost 60% of exports.

Amid the global tensions, Pakistan's excessive dependence on imports, particularly food items and crude oil, has made it vulnerable to external shocks such as changes

in global supply chains, geopolitical tensions, and disruptions in trade relations. Such vulnerabilities have negatively impacted industrial productivity and overall economic growth.

Global rivalries and climate change have compounded the difficulties. The abrupt seasonal variations and a cycle of floods and droughts have badly affected agriculture, resulting in Pakistan having to import cooking oil, pulses, and wheat to cater to the growing needs of its population.

Pakistan faced a significant setback due to a natural calamity that caused extensive damage, resulted in losses amounting to approximately \$31 billion in loss and damage, and required an additional \$15 billion for reconstruction. To compensate for this cost, Pakistan put forward the Resilience, Rehabilitation, Recovery, and Reconstruction Framework (4RF) and successfully got the \$9 billion from international community in the form of loans and grants

This economic plan is built around the Export, E-Pakistan, Environment & Climate Change, Energy & Infrastructure, and Equity & Empowerment. 5Es Framework, which conforms to the Vision 2025 and puts boosting exports atop it, given its importance vis-à-vis the challenges of economic downturn, high population growth rate, yawning trade gap, and unemployment.

In order to drive economic expansion and revive economic activity, the export-led growth

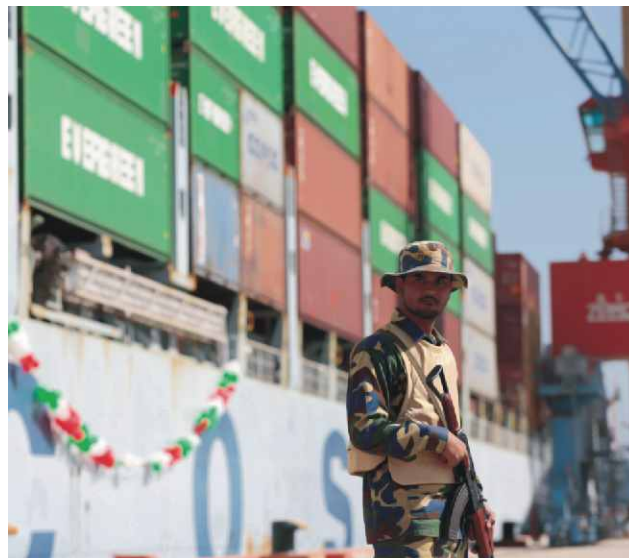
model promotes and prioritizes the production and export of goods and services to international markets, encouraging businesses and industry to strive for a competitive edge.

The country can earn foreign exchange to finance imports, repay foreign debt, and invest in development projects. Foreign exchange earnings also contribute to stabilizing the balance of payments and maintaining currency stability. Engaging in international trade exposes domestic firms to global competition and knowledge spillovers, which can drive technological upgrading and innovation.

This, in turn, enhances productivity and competitiveness, fostering long-term economic growth. The export-led economic model will primarily contribute to tackling the long-term boom-and-bust cycles by mitigating the foreign currency liquidity conundrum and preserving the economy's competitiveness by emphasizing efficiency enhancement, market diversification, and product diversification.

Export-oriented industries often have higher labor intensity, leading to increased job creation and reduced unemployment rates. This can contribute to poverty reduction and socioeconomic development. In order to promote exports, the government has launched a number of initiatives. To begin with the 5Es Framework, the government is steering a major transition in the national strategy for economic growth. This innovative framework, known as the 5Es strategy, prioritizes boosting exports over the other four Es.

Further, Pakistan has devised a National Productivity Master Plan in collaboration with the Asian Productivity Organization (APO) and the Korean Development Institute (KDI) to enhance productivity. To diversify the market,



Pakistan has signed trade agreements with the Central Asian Republics (CARS) and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, as well as established a border market with Iran to improve intra-regional trade.

Recognizing China as Pakistan's largest trade partner, the government is actively engaging with the Chinese government to strengthen exports. While China's imports with the world amount to approximately 3 trillion dollars, imports from Pakistan are currently around 3 billion dollars. To address this disparity, the government can work to identify potential products for the Chinese market, improve trade infrastructure, and negotiate favorable trade agreements.

In summary, Pakistan, facing numerous challenges such as low economic growth, a balance of payments crisis, currency depreciations, significant debt servicing, and low industrialization, urgently needs to implement the export lead model. Increasing exports can mitigate the mentioned challenges and set Pakistan on a trajectory of growth and prosperity.

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POPULISM AND TRADITION:**THE DYNAMIC LANDSCAPE OF THE 2024 US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION****SANAULLAH**

The United States presidential election, like national elections in most democracies, is primarily fought and won on domestic issues that directly affect the lives of the American people. However, more than any other



election in the world, the process and result of the United States presidential election are keenly watched and have global repercussions. From the intra-party primaries to the presidential nominations, and then to the final verdict in November, candidates must grapple with various issues, based on which American voters will elect the next US president.

As the election season heats up, dramatic changes are rapidly occurring in the election campaign. The United States President and Democratic Party nominee Joe Biden has stepped down for the next term. The furious and fuming Donald Trump, the Republican nominee, survived an assassination attempt

during a public meeting. Both developments took place within the previous month. A growing number of political observers foresee more excitement about upcoming events involving widespread impacts.

By tradition, United States presidential elections have been provoked by burning political tendencies reflecting their main concerns. For instance, a key prevailing factor in America's first election campaign was the ratification of the United States Constitution in states, and it persisted until the Civil War in 1861. The post-Civil War decades were marked by a rift between the Republicans and the Democrats in the industrialized North and the agrarian South for socioeconomic compatibility, where the Republican Party had a slogan: 'Every Democrat has not been a rebel; every rebel has been a Democrat.' In the 1868, 1872, and 1876 elections, the United States faced a choice between using the power of the federal government to defend the rights of the newly freed slaves from their erstwhile masters and white supremacist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan.

The early 20th-century era saw the rise of the progressive era, characterized by extensive business activities and progressive reforms. It was a sociopolitical movement demanding a better and reformed American society with increasing engagement. This movement inspired Theodore Roosevelt to contest the presidential candidate on its ticket.

He earned the second-highest popular votes, pushing the Republican nominee, Howard Taft, into third place. After World War II, the presidential race embraced foreign policy featuring uprisings of military industrialization and collective security to counter communism around the globe.

Presently, the presidential elections encompass a mixture of domestic and foreign issues such as abortion, healthcare, immigration, taxes, judicial reforms, trade, and NATO. Following the contemporary circumstances of the presidential race, both parties are enthusiastically adamant about the continuity and persistence of their policies executed during their presidential periods.

Apart from prevailing inclinations in the presidential campaigns, a populist desire for 'reforms' runs deep in the psyche of American voters. Every few decades, a presidential candidate channels this rebellious spirit. Andrew Jackson was such a candidate in 1828. So were William Henry Harrison in 1840, Abraham Lincoln in 1860, William Jennings Bryan in 1896, Theodore Roosevelt in 1912, F.D. Roosevelt in 1932, Jimmy Carter in 1976, and Barack Obama in 2008.

But no candidate for president carried the reform banner for honesty and competence more naturally. In some cases, the presidential elections have fallen at the moment of crisis. Just as Abraham Lincoln was elected in 1860 at the verge of the North-South split, F.D.



Roosevelt was elected in 1932 at the height of the Great Depression. Barack Obama was sworn in as president against a backdrop of economic collapse.

Now it is obvious that the Republican Party has decided to confer Donald Trump another opportunity in this 60th presidential election of the United States. Donald Trump is, at this time, the second presidential candidate after Eugene Debs to be convicted by a court of law. However, the Republican Party is more interested in paying tribute to their presidential candidate, the second president after Grover Cleveland, who returned to the White House after a gap of four years.

On the other hand, the Democratic candidate and President Joe Biden has announced his departure from the presidential election despite winning the primaries for the second term. He is thus the fourth president after Calvin Coolidge, Harry Truman, and Lyndon Johnson to withdraw from the second term while still in office.

Assessing the previous period of presidency, Donald Trump assumed a self-proclaimed isolationism to 'make America great again.' It was one such endeavour that evident itself somehow in the Monroe Doctrine. James Monroe, 5th President of the United States, articulated America's revulsion from the probable European meddling in the



western hemisphere after Napoleonic war treaties. The doctrine was successfully executed by both parties for more than a hundred years.

Donald Trump, however, took barbed measures to stay away from international conflicts with a hard-line approach of pragmatism and apolitical decision-making. Trump endeavoured to restrain American responsibilities by withdrawing from Syria, unwrapped support for Israel, talks with North Korea, trade sanctions on China, NATO budget reforms, and stern immigration steps. However, this impulsive approach with immediate result-oriented dealings mismatched conventional superpower traits and polled the White House and Capitol Hill apart.

Some academics think that Trump's first term as president was a response followed by America's war on terrorism and the economic crisis of 2007-08. They argue that it is unjust to interpret this reactionary phenomenon as the rise of populist culture. The victory of Joe Biden was an expression of confidence that the American people have come out of the spell of populism. Charges of fraud, election subversion, obstruction, mob supporters, and sex scandals vividly exhibit the absence of political behavior to rule over the world's strongest democracy and superpower. Though Donald Trump is not the Socialist Party's Eugene Debs nor the Progressive Party's Teddy Roosevelt, he is the strongest Republican Party candidate.

The party has the credits of Abraham Lincoln, Dwight Eisenhower, Ronald Reagan, and George Bush, who had unyielding and unfathomable impacts on the history of the United States. Interestingly, the Republican Party in United States history has a prominence of Ulysses Grant, Herbert Hoover, and Dwight Eisenhower club who never held public office

before the presidency. The final nomination of Trump for the second consecutive presidential term, despite the grave charges, is virtually a major shift in the political objectives of the Republican Party.

It is essential to recognize that this dramatic ideological budget is merely an illusion for those who think populism is a temporary reaction. The Trump factor is a herald of populist culture enshrining socio-political realms of the United States system. The picture is becoming clear that the culture of populism has gained acceptance in American democracy, and this trend will play a key role in the next presidential elections. The



political behavior of the Democrats, surprisingly, illustrates their ambiguity in identifying this political reality which is evident in the recent development when Joe Biden was forced to step down even after winning primary elections, just less than four months before the national election. The new Democratic candidate may set a tough stage against the opponent Trump, but now it seems too late to defeat him at these last stages. The Democratic Party needs a marvel of the Nixon-Kennedy face-off to turn the table in its favor.

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RISE OF THE REST: THE ROLE OF EMERGING ECONOMIC POWERS



ATTA ULLAH

The Great Power Competition between the United States (U.S.), China, and Russia operates in two global power-led blocs with multiple poles, including the Emerging Economic Powers as the Next Pole. However, these two blocs remain un-demarcated, and the poles merge at the politico-economic junction because of the role of emerging economic powers, such as Brazil, Argentina, India, Australia, South Africa, Indonesia, the UEA, etc. Dino Patti Dajala, a speaker at the World Economic Forum 2024, believes that the proliferation of middle powers, particularly in the Global South, will shape the 21st-century world order rather than greater or major powers. Similarly, a panel of renowned scholars, including the renowned political scientist Graham Ellison-, contended that if these powers act more or less in a uniform fashion, they can 'end up being a superpower'. Or, according to Ziya Onis and Mustafa Kutlay, these powers can create a 'world of regions'.

In addition, in this major power competition, Fareed Zakaria, the renowned realist and - author of 'post-Americanism', argues that it is not necessarily the decline of the major powers, such as the US, but the rise of the rest. This is where emerging economies matter the most because they belong to the 'era of middle powers. In the major power competition, the Middle Powers, the emerging economic powers or influential states that sit below the great powers but still exert influence, play an important role due to their

instrumentality in shaping global politics. Organski, the proponent of the 'Power Transition Theory' on middle powers, posits that these powers typically align with the winning side to claim victory or avoid responsibility in the event of failure or defeat. Thus, they act unpredictably in the international system. In this case, these countries are crucial because of their growing economic power in the form of international trade, energy markets, economic growth, technological advancement, and possibly strong currencies. In the wake of the Ukrainian conflict and resulting economic sanctions on Russia, these emerging powers are aware of the vulnerability of reliance on the Western Financial System, especially on the US dollar.

Hence, they have started decoupling their economies and using local currencies, or currencies other than the US dollar, to be able to withstand or escape Western sanctions. This can accelerate the phenomenon of de-dollarization led by emerging economic powers. Subsequently, this may antagonize the West against the rest if they challenge the



existing financial system.

The Inter-regional trade between these middle powers increases their interdependence with the rest of the world thus, increasing their say in world politics. However, countries like India, Brazil, South Africa, and Australia, do not risks taking sides in this major power competition due to the constraining sensitivity as well as the vulnerability of economic Interdependence with other countries. Likewise, these powers can bring balance and stability to the international order to preserve international peace and security. Especially in a crisis, these countries can also influence conflict dynamics, as well as play a stabilizing role and prevent conflict escalation. i.e., the Ukrainian crisis, in which Middle powers like India and Brazil refused to take sides. However, they can also prove to be disruptive as well as instrumental in worsening the already fragile international order marred by great power competition.

For instance, on the other hand, if these powers choose to side with a major power, Like India aligning with the US, in their quest for hegemony and against another major power, such as China; local-level conflicts would be quick to turn into regional crises with the potential to escalate into a global conflict. Therefore, the degree of their tilt towards great powers would be detrimental to the outcome

of such a possibility, in either case. Besides, the independent path, if these countries follow could be equally important in defining regional as well as international politics. Similarly, a Barometer of International Cooperation, devised by the World Economic Forum, records some instances of international cooperation during a great power competition. However, it does not account for the prevention of genocidal acts of war, such as in the Hamas-Israel conflict, and consensus over the security needs of major powers such as those of Russia in Eastern Europe. This is likely due to the lack of an assertive middle power role.

Likewise, these middle powers sometimes play a different regional role compared to their global role. For instance, they may confront regionally and cooperate globally, and vice versa. Particularly in the South Asian region, the emergence of India as an economic power has emboldened it to project its hegemonic ambitions on the smaller regional countries by bullying them into submission, such as the Maldives, Sri Lanka, and Bhutan, and portray- itself as the leader of multilateral cooperation and responsible international actor. Moreover, in the post-US withdrawal from Afghanistan, India has become the buck-passer and leaning shoulder for the US to look after regional politics, despite its acclaimed democratic credentials of non-interference in the sovereign affairs of its neighbors. On the other hand, India is in a general confrontation with China at the regional level. Still, it keeps away from conflicts internationally, such as Ukraine, or other disputes outside the region, such as the Hamas-Israel conflict. It confirms the dual-nature role these middle powers play at different levels.

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A DAY IN KARACHI CENTRAL CHILDREN JAIL



MUHAMMAD SAQIB

As I crossed the threshold of Karachi Central Jail, the heavy iron gates closing behind me, I couldn't shake the sense of nervousness that gripped me. This was not a place one entered lightly, nor was it a place easily forgotten. Yet, as I embarked on my journey through the corridors of imprisonment, I quickly realized that there was more to this imposing institution than met the eye. Guided by the prison authorities, I was led to a section of the jail known as the 'Children's Jail' - a place reserved for the rehabilitation of young offenders. Here, within the resounding walls and barred windows, I encountered a scene that challenged my expectations.

At the heart of the Children's Jail was Dr. Humaira, a woman whose presence radiated warmth and compassion in equal measure. As the sole lady doctor in the facility, she played a pivotal role in the lives of the imprisoned youth, offering not just medical care, but a beacon of hope in an otherwise unwelcoming environment. It was Dr. Humaira who introduced me to Zakir Hussain, a figure whose name was synonymous with hope and transformation within the confines of the prison. For the past twenty-six years, Zakir had run a tailoring workshop within the jail, teaching countless young men the art of tailoring and providing them with a pathway to a brighter future.

But the Children's Jail was not merely a place of vocational training; it was a miniature of society itself, with its own schools, libraries



and even a mosque. Here, young offenders were given the opportunity to not just serve their sentences but to educate themselves and acquire the skills they needed to mix-up into society upon their release. Yet, for all the progress that had been made within the walls of the Children's Jail, reminders of the harsh realities of confinement were never far away. I asked a senior police officer, who is the biggest motivator behind crime? The answer came, the search for shortcuts.

In pursuit of these shortcuts, jails are filled. After completing their sentence, when these children return to their homes, society does not accept them and they end up associating with criminals again. Their parents should migrate, change cities, or settle in other houses. Dr. Humaira faced the daunting task of balancing her duties within the jail with her responsibilities at home. Yet, despite the challenges she faced, her commitment to her work remained solid, a witness to the

resilience of the human spirit in the face of hardship. It was this spirit of resilience that I encountered time and again during my visit to Karachi Central Jail. From the dedicated police officers who accompanied me on my journey, to the countless prisoners who had found relief and recovery within its walls, theirs were stories of courage and perseverance in the face of overwhelming odds.

But perhaps the most inspiring aspect of



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RISE OF THE REST:

These powers, such as India, Brazil, Japan, and Germany, are also critical of the existing power structure at the international level, for instance, particularly in the UN Security Council, but at the same time have the incentive to be part of the global order based on liberal norms. This would entail their selective approach to the international system where they want to benefit the most without any loss. Subsequently, this may result in a Neo-Cold War that -differs from the old one. The middle powers, such as India, South Africa, and Brazil, would likely play an assertive role or Strategic Autonomy rather than a submissive one. The most consequential fallout of this geopolitical race of interests is, as the UN Secretary-General said at the World Economic Forum 2024 in Davos, that the 'Geopolitical divides - prevent)- us from coming together around

my visit was the realization that hope can flourish even in the most unlikely of places. As I emerged from the confines of the prison, blinking in the harsh light of day, I carried with me the stories of those I had encountered within its walls. Theirs were stories of struggle and triumph, of despair and redemption and they served as a powerful reminder of the resilience of the human spirit in the face of adversity. In the end, my journey through Karachi Central Jail was not just an exploration of a physical space; it was a journey of the heart, a testimony to the unconquerable spirit of those who refuse to be defined by their circumstances. And as I stepped back into the outside world, I carried with me a renewed sense of hope, and a profound belief in the power of redemption to transform even the darkest of places.

global solutions' such as climate change, and poverty. Therefore, the chances of multilateral cooperation are becoming highly unlikely or otherwise would be very issue-specific in the case of emerging powers. In sum, these emerging powers can influence and reshape the global order into a complex web of multiple poles, but with two important spheres of influence: the economic sphere and the security sphere. China, with its largest economy and trading partner in the world, is likely to dominate the financial system and global trade. And the Security Sphere is going to remain dominated by the US, which leads the largest alliance of collective security, nuclear umbrella, and military bases around the world. Therewith, the emerging economies, as middle powers, can bring stability to the system by balancing both spheres, too.

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THE CLIMATE BOOK

REVIEW OF

GRETA THUNBERG'S NEW BOOK

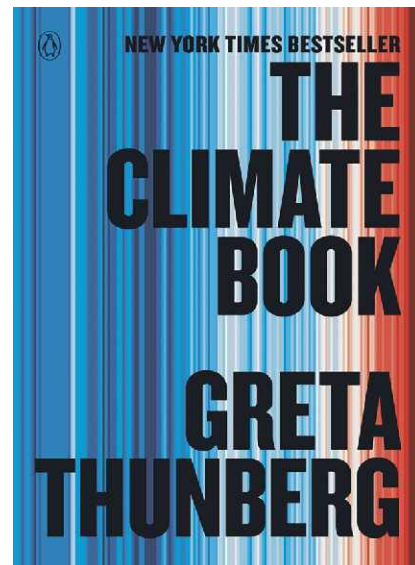


HAFSA AZAM

Climate change has emerged as the defining challenge of our era, casting a shadow over Earth's delicate ecosystems and demanding urgent collective action. The *Climate Book: The Facts and the Solutions*, spearheaded by climate activist Greta Thunberg, is a collaborative non-fiction work that compiles short essays from over a hundred experts. These essays delve into the origins, outcomes, and obstacles of the climate crisis. The book's cover features a data visualization of warming stripes, a design pioneered by British climatologist Ed Hawkins, symbolizing the gradual increase in global temperatures.

Divided into five parts with 84 short essays, the book covers a wide range of topics. Part I, "How Climate Works," lays out the fundamentals of climate science. Part II, "How Our Planet Is Changing," examines the current transformations affecting Earth. Part III, "How It Affects Us," explores the impact on humanity. Part IV, "What We Have Done About It," reviews our responses to the crisis. Finally, Part V, "What We Must Do Now," calls for immediate and decisive action.

The introduction comprises nine short essays, starting with a message from Greta to the older generation expressing her deep concern about the repercussions of climate change. Greta then shares her personal journey into climate activism, narrating her awakening to the crisis's pressing nature and her decision to forgo school to protest, which led to the creation of the "Fridays for Future"



movement in August 2018.

Science journalist Peter Brannen contributes an exploration of the carbon cycle, highlighting how disruptions have historically led to mass extinctions. He warns, "It could even be the case that the planet is more resilient to carbon shocks today than in those very bad old days. There is no reason we need to etch our names on this ignominious roster of the worst events ever in Earth's history."

But if the rocks tell us anything, it is that we are pulling the most powerful levers of the Earth system. And we pull them at our peril." Greta's insights on the far-reaching consequences of climate change on ecosystems, species, oceans, and human communities culminate in a compelling plea for collective action.

In the second part, featuring twenty-four essays, Greta focuses on human activities as

the primary driver of climate change, especially the emission of greenhouse gases from fossil fuels. She provides a comprehensive understanding of the greenhouse effect and global warming, detailing their contributions to rising global temperatures, altered precipitation patterns, and sea level rise.

Climatologist Friederike Otto supports Greta's stance, stating, "Today, those of us who are not completely delusional have realized that climate change is not something happening somewhere else, at some point in the future, but a phenomenon that is killing people here and now." Greta concludes with an invitation to recognize the gravity of the crisis and take decisive action.

The third part offers twenty essays with tangible solutions for tackling the climate crisis, outlining steps individuals can take to reduce their environmental footprint. Greta examines high-emission sectors like energy, agriculture, and transportation, advocating for transformative measures.

The book also argues for climate justice, emphasizing the principle that polluters must bear responsibility. Saleemul Huq, Director of the International Centre for Climate Change, asserts, "Loss and damages serve as a diplomatically negotiated substitute for a topic deemed unspeakable: liability and compensation." Greta emphasizes that action is not solely the responsibility of governments and corporations but extends to every individual.

Practical guidance is provided for reducing greenhouse gas emissions, including dietary changes, minimizing private transportation, embracing renewable energy, and reducing waste. Greta asserts that while the climate crisis is formidable, it can be addressed through collaborative efforts, highlighting the necessity of collective action.

The fourth section comprises twenty-seven essays, with experts analyzing the crisis from various angles, including the need for climate justice and the impact of fossil fuels versus renewable energy solutions. Topics span land use, food systems, industrial emissions, transportation, and consumerism's environmental toll. Kevin Anderson warns, "Our remaining carbon budget range is small and rapidly shrinking. For a 'likely' chance of not exceeding 1.5°C, we have under eight years at the current rate of emissions." The section also addresses equity, degrowth, and perceptual gaps hindering effective action.

The final part contains twenty-two essays confronting the real challenges ahead. Greta emphasizes the urgency of self-education. Climate journalist David Wallace-Wells draws lessons from the pandemic, urging not to repeat mistakes in facing the climate crisis.

He notes, "When it came to public spending, every nation in the world was suddenly operating in an entirely new reality, without any of the political and social constraints which had previously set the speed limit on climate action." Kate Raworth provides guidance on adopting 1.5°C lifestyles, emphasizing that change is often most challenging just before implementation. An inspiring essay by George Monbiot and Rebecca Wrigley advocates for "rewilding," restoring ecosystems without interference.

Greta Thunberg's *The Climate Book* is an encyclopedic contribution to climate literature, emphasizing the need for urgent action. It offers comprehensive coverage, rich with facts and action-oriented recommendations, underscoring the importance of collective effort in addressing the pressing issues of climate change.

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Happy

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14TH AUGUST 2024

77TH INDEPENDENCE DAY OF

PAKISTAN

خدا کرے کہ میری ارض پاک پر اترے
وہ فصل گل جسے اندیشہ زوال نہ ہو

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