



THE NEW VISION

Volume 1, Issue II September-2022



PAKISTAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

**CONGRATULATIONS
TO
PAKISTAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
ON ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND ACHIEVEMENTS**



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KHAWAJA MURAD MASHOOQULLAH
Honorary Consul General
Consulate of Republic of Georgia, Karachi
Plot# C-50, Block-2 Clifton Karachi

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Housing Society, (S.M.C.H.S), Karachi, Pakistan.

☎ +92 213 5383701, +92 213 4555512-13

📞 +92 300 8245655, +92 345 8245655

✉ ahsan.zubairi@gmail.com 🌐 www.pcfr.pk

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About PCFR

ORIGIN

The genesis of the Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations (PCFR) can be traced to the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations (now renamed as Chicago Council on Global Affairs) which was also addressed by former President of Pakistan, General (R) Pervez Musharraf, in year 2003. Chicago Council inspired Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi, the founder Secretary General and CEO of Karachi Council on Foreign Relations (KCFR), to form Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations on the same lines with broadened scope. The idea of PCFR was welcomed and appreciated by many former ambassadors, businessmen, intellectuals, academics, and elites of the city. Establishment of PCFR was recognized as the need of the time for not only serving the projection of soft image of Pakistan but also for foreign missions based to Pakistan to interact with relevant quarters easily. After long deliberations founding members resolved to form PCFR which is now officially registered institution.

VISION

The Council organization aims to generate strategic insight on issues of national and international importance through independent and impartial analysis. We envision research and policy inputs for strategic national interests related to foreign relations, global economy, cultural affairs, and sustainable development.

MISSION

To be an internationally recognized platform for policy research on subjects related to foreign policy, global economy, law, cultural affairs, and sustainable development.

Objectives

- ★ To provide platform to deliberate on political, economic, legal, social, and cultural issues particularly those affecting Pakistan.
- ★ To undertake research and analysis for deeper understanding of national and international issues.
- ★ To assist government and private organizations in developing policies through policy inputs.
- ★ To serve as a bridge between the foreign missions, based in Islamabad, Karachi, and abroad accredited to Pakistan, and the people of Pakistan.
- ★ To establish mutually beneficial linkages with similar organizations at national and international level for joint undertakings.



H.E. Dr. Arif Alvi

**President
The Islamic Republic of Pakistan**



I am happy to learn that “The New Vision” is launching its second edition. I would like to extend my congratulations to the Chairman, Ambassador (R) Shahid Amin, Secretary General Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi and the founder members of the Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations (PCFR) on this achievement.

I am pleased to observe that Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations is organizing discussions and exchange of views, that provides an opportunity to diplomatic and consular representative stations in Pakistan for interactive sessions and enhances mutual understanding on international affairs. It will also help shape views of participants and develop new concepts. Pluralistic democratic societies pride themselves in holding reflective debates on matters that foster better links between countries and their peoples.

The signing of Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations’ MoU with foreign think tanks especially with China, Iran, Turkey, Russia, USA, Egypt, Ukraine and other neighbouring countries will further play an important role, especially in the fields of Economics, Culture, Education, Communication and Media. We must portray the soft image of Pakistan.

I wish Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations will firmly establish this direction and wish them success.

H.E. Mr. Muhammad Kamran Khan Tessori

Governor Sindh



I am glad to know that Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations (PCFR) is publishing second edition of "The New Vision", which will certainly enrich and enhance the understanding of its reader over a number of national and international issues.

It is a matter of immense satisfaction that PCFR is significantly serving to extend quality feedback and help society to become more democratic, enlightened and tolerant. I believe that PCFR has become a resourceful forum and provide opportunity for the distinguished people to exchange their views on the local, regional and global developments.

I believe that the importance of think tanks like PCFR has enhanced manifold owing to the rapid and radical changes emerging in our social lives, governance, and economic strategies. I am confident that PCFR, having distinguished academicians, intelligentsia, civil society, ex-servicemen and notable citizens, shall contribute galore for forming better policy and planning in our national interest.

I assure that the members of PCFR shall always find me standby them in accomplishment of their devised objectives and future plans.

H.E. Mr. Syed Murad Ali Shah

Chief Minister Sindh



I am pleased to congratulate Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations (PCFR) on completion of their first year of successful working. The efforts and role of the Council for promoting Pakistan's interests is worth mentioning here.

The Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations is working to promote Pakistan's moderate and progressive image at national and international level. The efforts undertaken by PCFR to bring closer the diplomatic community in Pakistan and the local citizens have made a visible difference. PCFR, besides establishing linkages with leading national and foreign think-tanks, has also organized various thought provoking sessions where diplomats, academics, government officials, and business community shared their thoughts. The role of organizations like PCFR reinforces Government's efforts for the betterment of the country.

I am pleased to note and appreciate that PCFR has also been active in promoting soft and positive image specially of Sindh. I would like thank Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi, the Secretary General PCFR for his support and efforts to promote Pakistan's national interest. On the part of Sindh Government, I assure Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations that we will extend all possible support and cooperation in its future endeavors.

H.E. Mr. Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri

Former Foreign Minister
of Pakistan



I congratulate the Pakistan Council on Foreign Relation particularly the Chairman Ambassador (R) Shahid M. Amin and Secretary General Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi on publishing the second issue of the magazine "The New Vision". I hope the latest edition of the magazine will help enlighten its readers regarding contemporary issues of the global affairs.

The purpose of a foreign policy is not to provide an outlet for sentiments of hope or indignation, but to shape real events in a real world. I am sure that "The New Vision" will help discerning Pakistanis in understanding the nuances of foreign policy and truly help promote Pakistan's national interest and not let public be guided by mere rhetoric of those with a vested interest. It should also educate the people in understanding that the strengths or weaknesses of foreign policy of any country is directly related to its domestic political and economic situation.

It is correctly stated that foreign policy is the first line of defense. This is more so for a country like Pakistan which has faced perpetual difficulties with a neighbor many times its size, over the issue of Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan has been able to keep the Kashmir issue alive on the international agenda over the decades and have also managed to maintain good relations with the U.S. and China at a time when the Americans were dead opposed to Mao's China from 1962 to 1971'.

Pakistan is lucky to have a neighbor and a steadfast ally like China, and I hope that The New Vision will encourage a debate on how to maximize the benefits of CPEC. I expect that the new publication will enlighten its readers in this respect as well it seems that the new magazine has its job cut out for it. I wish it the best of luck.

H.E. Mr. Atadjan Movlamov

Ambassador of Turkmenistan to Pakistan
&
Dean of Diplomatic Corps in Islamabad



I sincerely congratulate leadership and members of Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations on the launching of a magazine “The New Vision”, which for sure will make great contribution to the promotion and enlightening of Pakistan’s Foreign Policy, its Economic and Cultural values.

I am confident, that PCFR will further strengthen Pakistan’s relations with foreign countries in the fields of diplomacy, trade, economy, culture, education and other spheres.

As Ambassador of Turkmenistan I would like to draw your attention to the existing huge potential of trade-economic and cultural-humanitarian cooperation between Pakistan and Central Asian Countries, in particular Turkmenistan, a country blessed with huge natural reserves of energy.

In my capacity as the Dean of Diplomatic Corps, I appreciate Ambassador (R) Shahid Amin, Chairman PCFR, Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi, the Secretary-General and CEO of PCFR and all esteemed members of PCFR for their efforts aimed at friendly cooperation with Diplomatic Corps in Pakistan, and I wish them further success in enhancing relations of Pakistan with the countries of world in the spirit of equality, mutual respect, mutual support and friendly cooperation.

H.E. Mishal Mohammed A. A. AL - Ansari

Counsel General of the State of Qatar in Karachi
&
Dean of Consular Corps in Karachi



It is with great honour that I extend my sincere felicitation to Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations (PCFR) on the publication the first issue of its Magazine ("The New Vision"). The said issue has amassed a great deal of recognition and appreciation, this undoubtedly contributed to the enhancement of Pakistan's diplomatic relations and I am confident the second issue will likewise be popular.

PCFR as the name suggests has been playing a pivotal role in promoting foreign relations of Pakistan by liaising with diplomatic missions based in Karachi and relevant stockholders in Pakistan. In turn this has not gone unnoticed by the Consular Corps in Karachi.

It is also pertinent to mention in my capacity as the Consul General of the State of Qatar in Karachi, that the State of Qatar has always evinced an immense deal of interest in Pakistan's great potential which is infinite. The two brotherly nations have shared and will continue to share an intertwined narrative in all aspects, and the fraternal relations based on common aspirations and faith will further strengthen and flourish

Last but not least, I wish Ambassador(R) Shahid Amin (Chairman PCFR), Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi (Secretary General & CEO PCFR) for unsurpassed and unprecedented success in achieving their aim of promoting Pakistan's foreign relations whereby this great nation will further attain progress and prosperity.

H.E. Mr. Oybek Arif Usmanov

Ambassador of Uzbekistan to Pakistan



It is an immense pleasure to extend heartfelt felicitation to Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations (PCFR) on occasion of publishing the second edition of magazine “The New Vision”.

I do appreciate and congratulate whole team of PCFR specially Ambassador Shahid M. Amin, Chairman and Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi, Secretary General on their efforts for promoting Pakistan’s economic, cultural, and foreign policy interests.

The active input of institutions like PCFR is crucial for foreign policy related issues as they offer forum to diplomats, government officials, academics, and intellectuals to deliberate on variety of subjects. PCFR’s undertakings in this regard are worth noticing.

As an Ambassador of Uzbekistan, I am pleased to note that PCFR is playing an important role in promoting mutually beneficial relations between Pakistan and Central Asian Republics particularly with Uzbekistan. It is very positive indication that PCFR is considering signing of MoUs with Uzbek Universities and Think-Tanks.

I acknowledge and appreciate PCFR’s efforts of serving as a bridge between people of Pakistan and diplomatic corps based in Islamabad and Karachi and strengthening political, economic, and cultural relations.

The Embassy of Uzbekistan in Pakistan will be closely cooperating with PCFR in their future endeavours for promoting the crucial connectivity projects between our institutions, countries and regions as well as a people to people contacts, Inshallah.

H.E. Mr. Yerzhan Kistafin

Ambassador of the Republic of
Kazakhstan to Pakistan



I congratulate the Chairman, senior and all other members of Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations on publishing the second edition of “The New Vision” magazine which is indeed the best way to promote bilateral relations between Kazakhstan, Pakistan and Central Asian countries.

I believe that the magazines like PCFR will keep contributing to the diplomacy, trade, education, economy and stability of Pakistan to better deal with other friendly countries.

The Embassy of the Republic of Kazakhstan to Islamic Republic of Pakistan is always ready to cooperate in order to promote ties with PCFR to let Pakistan brotherly people know about the strong potential of bilateral trade in every field.

As Ambassador of Kazakhstan, I appreciate the PCFR teamwork, especially Ambassador Mr. Shahid M. Amin, the Chairman and Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi, Secretary General and other respectable members for making their great efforts and I wish each and every one all the very best in their future endeavors.

Ambassador (R) Shahid M. Amin

Chairman PCFR



The previous year has seen many important developments in global politics, as also in the foreign relations of Pakistan. The destructive COVID pandemic killed hundreds of thousands all over the world and brought immense misery in economic and social terms. The Russia-Ukraine War, since February 2022, has revived Cold War politics in an alarming manner and led to adverse global consequences. Consequently, there has been a rise in inflation and grave shortages of food and other products that have affected billions in the developing countries.

Pakistan has been directly affected by these global developments. Its desire to remain neutral in the Ukraine War has caused additional strains in the already troubled US-Pakistan relationship. In particular, Pakistan's economy has taken a heavy blow and almost destabilized the country. Abrupt political changes in Pakistan have led to grave allegations of foreign interference in its internal politics. There has been an unprecedented polarization in Pakistani politics, which affect Pakistan's political stability and security interests.

Against this background, the role of think tanks like Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations (PCFR) has become even more important. There is need for a serious study of foreign policy issues affecting Pakistan. The platform of PCFR has been available to foreign diplomats and others for an in-depth discussion of such issues. In addition, the PCFR has been engaged in highlighting the many economic and legal issues that are affecting the country at the present time.

The growing membership of PCFR, due to the increasing awareness of thinking circles in Karachi, and the untiring efforts of Secretary General Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi, is an encouraging sign for the country. The best minds in our society need to be mobilized to discuss foreign policy, and also economic and legal issues affecting Pakistan. This country has been blessed with immense resources and a talented manpower. What is needed is a concerted effort to study the various issues with a view to find solutions for the many problems besetting the country. I have no doubt that PCFR will continue to play an important role in this context.

Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi

Secretary General PCFR



It is matter of great pleasure to announce the Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations (PCFR) is launching second edition of its magazine “The New Vision”. I am pleased to highlight that the first edition of this publications received enormous appreciations and recognitions of various quarters including the diplomatic corps in Islamabad, consular corps, business community, academics, intellectuals, and notables of the city. This has encouraged us to publish this second edition with new messages and articles of prominent dignitaries from the government, diplomatic corps, academia, and legal community.

I take this opportunity to express my profound gratitude to intellectuals who have contributed their articles that not only reflect their learned insight on different subject but also enhance the academic value of this publication. I firmly believe that the worthy support of these learned people will be instrumental for further consolidating and refining the research undertakings of this organization. Moreover, PCFR is also grateful all the members for unwavering cooperation and patronage they have extended that enabled us to undertake our activities.

Keeping in view its objectives PCFR is committed to serve the people of Pakistan by offering them a forum for deliberating on variety of subjects particularly those affecting Pakistan. Moreover, PCFR looks forward to further strengthen its role as a bridge between Pakistan business community and diplomatic missions based in Islamabad and foreign countries accredited to Pakistan, and consular corps based in Karachi. On behalf of Chairman PCFR Ambassador (R) Shahid M Amin, Board of Governors, and on my own behalf, I thank members of diplomatic corps specially H.E. Mr. Atadjan Movlamov Ambassador of Turkmenistan to Pakistan and Dean of Diplomatic Corps in Islamabad, H.E. Mr. Oybek Arif Usmanov, Ambassador of Uzbekistan to Pakistan, and H.E. Mishal Mohammed A. A. Al-Ansari Consul General of the State of Qatar & Dean of Consular Corps in Karachi for their continued cooperation and patronage. Moreover, I am also thankful to business community, intellectuals, academics, and notables of the city for their unrelenting support for running the affairs of the council.

OBITUARY



HUNAIID HUSSAIN LAKHANI (Late)

Founding Chancellor Iqra University

Co-Chief Patron Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations

Hunaid Lakhani was a highly respected and admired business leader, educationist, and philanthropist. He served as head of Bait-ul-Mal (Sindh) and well known for his services to improve education landscape through setting up world class universities and schools, and help the underprivileged community of Pakistan by establishing orphanage and free hospitals. By virtue of being the Co-Chief Patron, Hunaid always remained a valuable support for the Council that gave impetus to the activities since inception of the Council.

Hunaid's demise represents an irreparable loss not only for his family and close friends but to the whole society. PCFR family prays that Allah almighty blesses the departed soul in eternal peace and gives his family patience to bear the loss.

With heartfelt prayers

PAKISTAN COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Founding Members & Co Chief Patrons



Mr. Khurshid Mahmood Kasuri
Co-Chief Patron
Former Foreign Minister of Pakistan



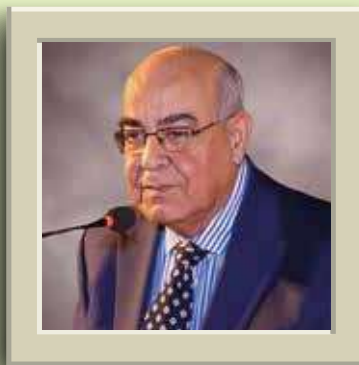
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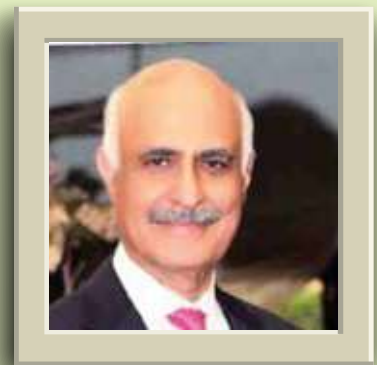
Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi
Founder & Secretary General



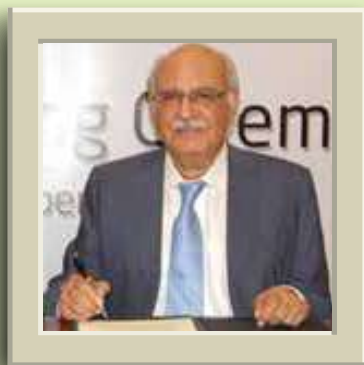
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Former President, FPPCI
President
United Business Group
Co-Chief Patron



Amb (R) Shahid M Amin
Founder & Chairman



Mr. Khalid Awan
Chairman
TCS Holding Pvt Ltd
Co-Chief Patron

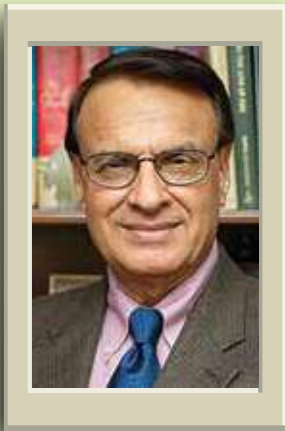


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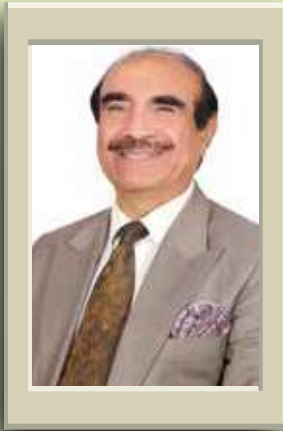


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Vice Chancellor
Greenwich University



Ms. Navin Salim Merchant
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Merchant Law Associates

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Ambassador (R) G. R Baloch



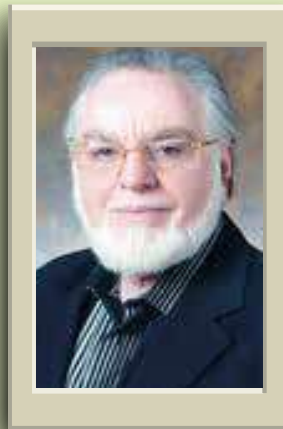
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Managing Director
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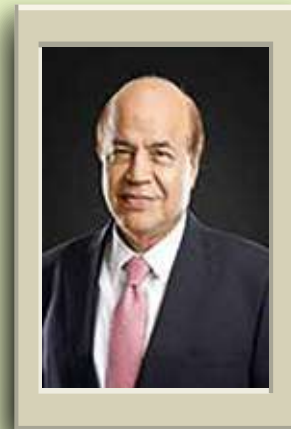
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RUSSIA'S WAR IN UKRAINE

Ambassador (R) Shahid M. Amin



A bloody stalemate has developed in Russia's current war in Ukraine. When the Russian invasion began on 24 February 2022, it looked like a highly uneven fight between a Great Power and a weak neighbour. For months, Russia had planned the invasion and collected a huge military force. The military initiative and the element of surprise was in its hands, since most observers had kept downplaying the Russian threat, thinking that Putin would not go beyond military posturing. They were proved wrong by the events that followed. But Putin was no less wrong in his confident expectation that Ukraine would be brought to its knees in a matter of days. Instead, Russia seems to be bogged down in a military stalemate, reminiscent of its military fiasco in Afghanistan four decades ago.

The War in Ukraine has disturbed international peace, caused unprecedented tensions between the two leading military powers in the world and has become the most serious crisis of the 21st century. It has produced highly adverse consequences not only for the two combatants Russia and Ukraine but also for Europe and the world at large. The global economy has taken a serious blow; oil and gas prices have shot up; inflation is high all over the world; and wheat shortages have badly hit many Third World countries. The World Trade Organization (WTO) fears that the Ukraine War has created "immense human suffering". It is also damaging global trade, which will likely impact low-income countries the most. The war is causing food and fuel crises and has adversely affected the supply of

essential goods from Russia and Ukraine, including food, energy and fertilizers. The halting of grain shipments through the Black Sea ports could have "potentially dire consequences" for food security in poor countries, the WTO has warned.

While no unanimity exists on the physical losses so far in this war, the UK Government stated in April 2022 that about 15,000 Russian soldiers had died. The BBC News Russian has recorded the names of at least 4,010 Russian soldiers' death, including 4 generals and 685 officers. Russia gave a death count on 25 March 2022 of 1,351 Russian soldiers but has since admitted "significant" losses. Ukraine has claimed that, as of June 2022, about 35,000 Russians were dead. A later claim made by the Ukraine military was that from 24 February to 2 July 2022, Russian body losses were 35,870 dead, and Russia also lost 1,582 tanks, 217 aircraft, 186 helicopters, 800 artillery systems, 144 cruise missiles and 15 ships. Ukraine's own losses have been even greater. Russia claims that it has killed 23,000 Ukrainian soldiers. The UN has reported that up till 6 June 2022, there had been 9,394 civilian casualties in Ukraine, including 4,253 killed. However, observers think that the number could be far higher, as full information about the losses is still not available.

Prior to the invasion, Russia had amassed thousands of troops along the border of Ukraine and Belarus, its ally. The Russian invasion, involving some 200,000 troops, took place from the south (Crimea), east (Russia), and north (Belarus). It is notable that on the eve of the invasion, President Putin had also announced the recognition of the independence of the two rebel-held regions of

Donetsk and Luhansk. According to the latest information, Russia is in occupation of 43,744 sq. km. of Ukraine, or 7.2% of its territory. It had already occupied Crimea in 2014 (26,081 km) and, in the current fighting, it has conquered most of Donetsk and Luhansk regions (16,799 km), and Sevastopol (864 km).

The Russian war in Ukraine needs to be viewed against a long historical background, held dear by President Putin, as also by many Russians over a long period of time. This view denies the legitimacy of the Ukrainian state. It is argued that it was in Kiev (capital of today's Ukraine) that Russia had emerged as a political entity, when Prince Vladimir was converted to Christianity in 988. Russia later expanded eastwards and made Moscow as its capital and went on to become an empire. Many Russians hold the political/ideological view that Russia, Ukraine and Belarus have a common origin and should share a common political identity. Putin has said that the distinct identities of Ukraine and Belarus have been the product of foreign manipulation and are part of an anti-Russia plot. He uses the argument of Russian nationalists that there is an organic unity between Russia and its Slavic, Orthodox Christian core. They point out that most Ukrainians speak Russian or have extensive exposure to it. Russian is still widely used in Ukraine in business and education. However, official efforts have been made since independence in 1991 to promote Ukrainian language and reduce the use of Russian. But it is a fact that the three languages Russian, Ukrainian and Belarussian are in part mutually intelligible.

Putin's views came out clearly in an article he wrote in July 2021 where he described Russians and Ukrainians as "one people" who effectively occupy "the same historical and spiritual space." It is notable that when he ordered the Russian invasion of

Ukraine in February 2022, Putin stated in a TV speech that Ukraine's claim to statehood was entirely baseless. He denied that Ukraine ever had "real statehood" and said that the country was an integral part of Russia's "own history, culture, spiritual peace." He contended that Ukraine emerged as a separate entity due to a series of 'mistakes' by bumbling Soviet leaders, and that Lenin had "carved a Soviet republic in Ukraine out of Russian land."

On the other hand, Ukrainian nationalists and independent historians reject Putin's contentions as a misrepresentation of history. They note that Kiev had existed for centuries before Moscow and the emergence of the Russian state. Ukraine has always had its own language and culture. Ukrainian nationalism has a long history, with historical tales of heroism and bravery, including that of the Zaporozhian Cossacks who had defeated an Ottoman army and then sent a famous letter of defiance to Ottoman Sultan Mehmed IV in 1676.

Imperial Russia gradually took over Ukraine in the 17th century. Ukrainian resistance countered Russian control through "Ukrainophilism", a movement for the revival of Ukrainian linguistic and cultural traditions and made attempts for reestablishment of a Ukrainian nation-state. Fearing the secession of Ukraine, Imperialist Russia imposed strict limits on the Ukrainian language and culture, even banning its use and study. Restrictions on the use of Ukrainian language began under Tsar Peter I in 1720, and reached a high point with the banning of the Ukrainian language in 1888 by Tsar Alexander III. After the Communist Revolution, Ukrainian was at times tolerated and at times suppressed. It was only in 1989 that Ukrainian was declared as the sole official language of the country.

It has been Moscow's repeated use of force over the centuries that denied statehood to Ukraine. Ukrainians repeatedly fought for their independence from Russia in the 20th century. Many Ukrainian nationalists had supported the German occupation of Ukraine in World War II after the Red Army withdrew. This 'pro-Nazi' background has been highlighted by Russia in its current dispute with Ukraine, along with accusations of a historical link with anti-Semitism.

When the Soviet Union broke up in 1991, there was a referendum in Ukraine in which 92.3% of voters opted for independence. However, ever since its independence, Ukraine has had a difficult relationship with Russia. One reason is the presence of a significant number of Russian-speaking people in Ukraine, who are concentrated in the south-eastern borders of Ukraine with Russia. They are like an irredenta and have been yearning for integration or, at least, closer contacts with Russia.

Since independence in 1991, Ukrainian nationalism is oriented towards Europe and democratic values, whereas ethnic Russian-speakers favor the Russian political system. The internal division between the Ukrainian majority and the ethnic Russians has sharpened since the Euromaidan Revolution in 2014 when the then pro-Russia President Yanukovich decided not to sign a free trade agreement with the European Union (EU), and instead chose closer ties with Russia by joining the Eurasian Economic Union consisting of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan. After fierce clashes between the demonstrators and police, Yanukovich fled the country and was formally removed from power by the parliament. Russia considered the removal of Yanukovich as an illegal coup. The Russian-speaking areas in Donetsk and Luhansk (collectively called Donbas) proclaimed independence. In 2014,

Russia invaded and occupied the Crimean Peninsula, which is overwhelmingly Russia-speaking and is the main Russian naval base in the Black Sea. This was the beginning of what initially was the Donbas War, which finally erupted into a full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022.

The key Russian reason in the current crisis is concern for its security in case Ukraine joins NATO. For years, Moscow has been warning the West not to expand eastwards by including the former Soviet republics like Ukraine in NATO. On 17 June 2021, it warned that Ukrainian membership of NATO would be a "red line" for Moscow. Historically, Russia has been invaded by European adversaries who had used Ukraine as the route for their invasions, e.g. by Napoleon and Hitler. The current CIA director William J. Burns believes that "hostility to early NATO expansion is almost universally felt across the domestic political spectrum" in Russia. Western observers like Burns accept that Russia's security concerns in this regard are genuine and that NATO's expansion eastward is seen by most Russians as directed against their country. President Putin has been emphatic for years in warning that such an expansion would be met with serious resistance, even with military action.

The Russian invasion of Ukraine began on 24 February 2022. Speaking on the eve of the invasion, President Putin said that the West had consistently and rudely ignored Russia's "biggest concerns and worries" about the fundamental threats for Russia arising from "the eastward expansion of NATO, which is moving its military infrastructure ever closer to the Russian border." He claimed that for the past 30 years, Russia had been seeking to come to an agreement with NATO regarding the principles of "equal and indivisible security in Europe". Putin said that the people's

republics of Donbas had asked Russia for help. In accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter and treaties of friendship with these republics, “I made a decision to carry out a special military operation. The purpose of this operation is to protect people who, for eight years now, have been facing humiliation and genocide by the Kiev regime. We will seek to de-militarize and de-Nazify Ukraine. It is not our plan to occupy the Ukrainian territory.”

The Russian invasion of Ukraine is seen by most people in the West as evidence that Russia has always been an expansionist state and that Putin is the embodiment of that essential Russian ambition to build a new Russian empire. President Biden stated on 24 February 2022 that the invasion was “always about naked aggression, about Putin’s desire for empire by any means necessary.” The West does not want to allow the invasion of Ukraine to become another Munich (when Hitler had deceived Britain and France). The counter-view is that Russia’s security concerns are genuine and that NATO’s expansion eastward is seen by Russians as directed against their country. Putin had repeatedly warned for years against such an expansion.

Western countries led by the US have reacted angrily to the Russian invasion of Ukraine and have imposed the toughest ever sanctions on it. President Biden said: “Putin is the aggressor. Putin chose this war and will bear the consequences”. Biden said that Putin had rejected attempts by the West to engage in dialogue before launching his “premeditated attack” which had violated International Law. “This is going to impose severe cost on the Russian economy”. The sanctions are designed to have a long-term impact on Russia, while minimizing the impact on the US and its allies. They have hit Russia’s VTB Bank, cutting it from the US financial system. Other sanctions hit Russian

oligarchs and its technology sector. The assets of four large Russian banks have been blocked and have cut off more than half of Russia’s high-tech imports of semiconductors. These sanctions limit Russia’s ability to do business in dollars, euros, pounds and yen. But Biden has withheld any additional sanctions on Russia’s energy sector. However, Biden reiterated the US forces will not be engaged in a conflict with Russia in Ukraine, but he vowed to defend “every inch” of NATO lands.

The West has placed sanctions on Russia of unprecedented severity and scope. These punitive measures have targeted trade: by restricting exports of technology and imports of Russian oil and gas; by preventing transactions by designated Russian banks, official assets; by freezing much of the Russian central bank’s foreign exchange reserves, foreign investment; by forcing Western firms to cease operations in Russia; and personal assets, by expropriating possessions of Russian oligarchs and officials.

On the other hand, Ukraine has been greatly helped in its war efforts against Russia by getting billions of dollars of weapons and military equipment from at least 28 countries, mostly members of NATO. The military aid includes conventional weapons as well as more advanced equipment, including artillery, anti-aircraft weapons, anti-tank weapons, armoured vehicles, reconnaissance and attack drones, helicopters, etc.

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy has repeatedly called on Western nations to send more heavy weapons to Ukraine, which alone would stop Russian forces from turning the war into “an endless bloodbath.” Zelenskyy has emerged as a heroic figure in this crisis and has been able to rally his people in a war of resistance.

In retrospect, it can be said that there was no compelling need for Russia to go to war against Ukraine, which was not posing any imminent threat to Russia's security. It has thus been difficult to secure strong public support in Russia for this war, which many also see as a kind of fratricide. Moreover, Moscow has clearly failed to achieve its declared objectives through this bloody war. It has neither been able to "demilitarize" Ukraine or "de-Nazify" it (a strange aim, since Zelenskyy himself is a Jew). Nor has it been able to change the regime. But in the process, thousands of Russians are dead and the economic losses have been staggering. Indeed, due to this war, the whole world is suffering. Clearly, this is the wrong war, in the wrong place and at the wrong time.

Though peace negotiations so far have been unsuccessful, a framework of a peace settlement is perhaps available. Ukraine can give a firm commitment that it will not join NATO. Russia already controls the Russian-speaking zones in Donetsk and Luhansk, apart from Crimea. Ukraine can continue its de jure claim to these areas but acquiesce in their de facto possession by Russia, as has happened already in the case of Crimea, which Russia occupied in 2014.

"The author is the Chairman Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations"

OPPRESSION LEADS TO BREACH OF PEACE AND SECURITY

Mr. Anwar Mansoor Khan



“To save succeeding generations from the scourge wars” are amongst the first words of the UN Charter in its Preamble, and was the main motivation for the creation of the United Nations. These motivational words were coined by the founders of the United Nation, who saw and lived through the devastation of the two World War by 1945. Thus, the object for the United Nations being created in 1945 was to prevent disputes or to help restore peace following the outbreak of any armed conflict and to promote the lasting peace in societies. In the recent past we see one of the permanent members having veto power, in **“Aggression”** against Ukraine. The war of Yamen, where the Saudi Arabia with the blessing of the powerful, continue to cause misery and destruction there. We have seen breach of peace in the world, powerful states attacked various smaller and weaker countries, for material gains or for reasons of their security. The members of the United Nation, instead of calling for peace and moving to secure peaceful existence of the weaker nations, have subscribed to such wars. The destruction of Libya, Iraq, Kuwait, Afghanistan are some examples of ‘Aggression’ causing breach of peace in the world.

One of the first such disputes after the second World War is the Kashmir dispute, where the United Nations Security Council intervened initially on account of its mandate to save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war being breach of peace, thus stopping the war between India and Pakistan and by famous resolution of the Security

9 of 1948, that the war needs to be stopped immediately and requiring peace to prevail. In 287th meeting on the 23rd of April 1948, the UNSC passed Resolution 47 of 1948 which ruled that the people settled in Jammu and Kashmir shall have the right to decide their own fate through a plebiscite. The responsibility was given to India to cause the Plebiscite to be conducted under the supervision of the United Nations. Additionally, observers were appointed on both sides of the ‘Line of Control’. It was in that resolution stated that India agreed to appoint a nominee of the Secretary General of the UN for the conducting of the plebiscite, where the nominee would be the Administrator giving him full authority. Thus, the said State of Jammu and Kashmir was not considered to be a part of India, though the said Resolution did allow India to keep minimum forces there. There have been 13 Resolutions of the UNSC till 1971 reiterating the Resolution 47 of 1948 to be acted upon. It is simply unfortunate that the UN could not enforce its Resolutions to be implemented in its letter and spirit since 1948 till date. The dispute continued, for that reason, India and Pakistan have since been engaged in two wars and numerous skirmishes, the recent being the aggression by Indian Airforce, by entering in Pakistan territory, where the Indian plane was shot down and the Indian Pilot was captured. Wars in the world commenced and ended. Vietnam War continued for 20 years however, ended and since then the said country continues to progress. The Iraq War, the Kuwait War continued but has since been concluded and the said countries continue on the path of progress. The war in Afghanistan has concluded, but continues to be isolated from the world being a weak country. Lebanon and Pales-

tine remain at war with Israel without any intervention from the United Nation despite the many resolutions of the UNSC in that regard. Similarly, the dispute in Kashmir has not ended.

I would want to emphasize on the issue of Kashmir where the voices of the Kashmiris are muffled by the oppressive attitude of India. Kashmir is a Stateless nation where, in 1947 the Ruler of Kashmir Maharaja Hari Singh signed an Instrument of Accession which was accepted by Lord Mountbatten of Burma, then the Governor General of India, whereby, it was categorically stated:

I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India on the assurance that if an agreement is made between the Governor General and the ruler of this state whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this state of any law of the Dominion Legislature shall be exercised by the ruler of this state, then any such agreement shall be deemed to form part of this Instrument and shall be construed and have effect accordingly.

The terms of this my Instrument of accession shall not be varied by any amendment of the Act or of the Indian Independence Act 1947 unless such amendment is accepted by me by an Instrument supplementary to this Instrument.

Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Dominion Legislature to make any law for this state authorizing the compulsory acquisition of land for any purpose, but I hereby undertake that should the Dominion for the purposes of a Dominion law which applies in this state deem it necessary to acquire any land, I will at their request acquire the land at their expense or if the land belongs to me transfer it to them on such terms as may be agreed, or, in default of agreement, determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Justice Of India.

In view of this, only the defence, the currency and foreign policy of Jammu & Kashmir State was given to the State of India however; there was a serious dispute as to this accession by the people of Kashmir who were predominantly Muslims. This led to uprising which was initially crushed by force by the Indian Army, followed by a war between Pakistan and India in December 1947, as a part of Kashmir within the area controlled by Pakistan, whereafter, the matter was taken up at the UNSC and the aforesaid resolutions were passed.

Serious resentment continued and continues till date. It is the Indian Army, Police and other forces that are and continued to be posted by India in Jammu and Kashmir with a view to crush the uprising or freedom fight. India calls these Freedom Fighters as terrorists. It is said that one man's terrorist is nother man's freedom fighter.

India has continued to keep itself away from the International Criminal Court by not having subscribed to the ICC Statute, for obvious reasons, thus; the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court is barred as against India and its citizens. By this, India continues to create crime against humanity, murder, extermination, deportation or forcible transfer of population, imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rights rules of international laws, torture, rape, sexual slavery, sexual offences, persecution against all the identifiable groups, enforced disappearances of persons and other inhuman acts including terror by use of brutal force including the use of Pellet Guns and other fire arms killing thousands of people amounting to genocide in the occupied Jammu and Kashmir.

Jammu & Kashmir has its own Constitution and a State within its own right, though presently under

control of India on account of the UNSC Resolution No. 47 of 1948. In the Constitution of India, Article 370 was introduced whereby, it was provided that the Parliament needed the consent of the government of Jammu and Kashmir for applying a law of India except for the laws of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Finance and Communication. The laws of citizenship, ownership of property, and fundamental rights of the residents of Jammu and Kashmir is different from the residents of India. Under Article 370, citizens of India cannot buy property in Jammu and Kashmir. However, by the blatant action by India the provision was done away with, and the Constitution of India was made applicable to Jammu and Kashmir, making the area as Union Territories of India. India violated the Resolution 47 of 1948 and all subsequent resolutions of the UNSC. The UNSC for political reasons keeps quiet, despite its mandate to cause peace for the oppressed.

Article 35A of the Constitution provided that the Jammu and Kashmir Legislature has full discretionary power to decide the 'permanent residents' of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It gave them the special right and privileges regarding employment with the State Government, acquisition of property in the state, settling in the state and other similar rights. The provision has now been taken away. Thus, has by 'Aggression' annexed the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which could not have been done in terms of the UNSC Resolutions, which gave the power to the people of Jammu and Kashmir to choose through an UN controlled Plebiscite. The question thus is as to why the United Nations keeps quiet, especially when the Charter of the UN in Chapter VII clearly provides for action with respect to Threat to the Peace, Breaches of Peace and Acts of Aggression.

From the above, it is apparent and clear that

Jammu and Kashmir was dealt with as a State, controlled by India, it not being the Union of India, had a special position on account of its being a disputed territory. In 2019, India on the basis of Article 370(3) caused the said Article to be revoked and made the State of Jammu & Kashmir including Ladakh, as two Union territories, controlled and governed now by the Government of India under the Constitution in its entirety, whereby, the special status of Kashmir being a State itself under its own Constitution was taken away thus, by force and coercion annexed by India unlawfully, by force causing its armed forces and para-military to take over the same despite serious riots against the unlawful annexation.

It is also unfortunate that India has closed the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir, made a defacto prison, violating the Geneva Convention, which relates to the treatment of 'Protected Persons', being the Kashmiris. It could be disputed that Kashmir was not a product of War, but may I remind all, that the State of Jammu and Kashmir is a disputed territory, being so declared by the UNSC, being a consequence of the aggression by India, in sending their forces to stop the indigenous uprising there, blaming Pakistan in 1948. It is after India sent in their troops did Pakistan move their forces. This conflict has caused two wars between India and Pakistan and numerous Line of Control violation by India. The Indians openly claim aggression against Pakistan, have violated the Pakistan air space. Peace has, and continues but can further be breached, and that is the main issue. It is mandated upon India under the Geneva Convention to protect the said 'Protected Persons' which is being violated by India.

UNCHR cannot under the said Convention be restrained from entering the area. India chooses not to allow the UNCHR from entering the area.

Phones have been restricted, Media and Press are not allowed so that they cannot cause the real condition to be reported. But the world and the UNSC keeps quite over all the violations.

It is the duty of the members of the United Nations to assume responsibility for the administration of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The principle that 'might is right' cannot be allowed in the presence of the numerous UNSC Resolutions. The UN has to take action to take the issue in their hands and free the prisoned Kashmiris. We are aware that the

International Trusteeship System enshrined in Articles 75 to 91 of the UN Charter which has not been tested nor activated. One fails to understand as to why the UN chooses not to implement the Trusteeship System in the said State of Jammu and Kashmir, where India has acted in complete violation.

The United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3314 has defined the term **"Aggression"**, being the use of armed forces by a State in contravention of the Charter would be an act of "Aggression". The State of Jammu & Kashmir being a disputed territory, a State having its own Constitution was annexed by the armed forces of India thus being in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations. Article 5 of Resolution 3314 also provides, that **no consideration of whatever nature whether political, economic, military or otherwise may serve as a justification for aggression and no territorial acquisition of special advantage resulting from aggression is or shall be recognized as lawful.** Article 7 clearly states and allows the right of self-determination, freedom and independence. Resolution 47 of 1948 clearly provides for a self-determination which India resists till date. The Charter of the United

Nations categorically provides that the formation of United Nation was to protect the scourge of war and create peace in the world. Such an aggression, whether it be by Russia in aggression against Ukraine or annexation of Crimea or war in Afghanistan, Iraq, or Libya is in no way acceptable. It is the United Nation which needs to protect and cause its own Resolutions to be implemented if peace is to be guaranteed in the various regions of the world.

I must say and with a heavy heart that it is unfortunate that the United Nation has now become a platform for political maneuvering rather than diplomacy and having power to cause to implement its resolutions for the purpose of achieving peace. Permanent Members of the United Nation need to think over this critical issue and deal with it strictly in accordance with the Charter of United Nation and various Resolutions passed by it, such that each Resolution is implemented in terms of Chapter VII specially Articles 39 to 51 its Charter. In the end, whether these members choose their countries' prosperity over the charter and the very reason for UN's existence, poses a great responsibility upon them.

"Author is Senior Advocate of the Supreme Court of Pakistan and former Attorney General"

TRANSFORMATION OF WORLD ORDER IN THE LIGHT OF WAR IN UKRAINE

Dr. Moonis Ahmar



The U.S led world order is coping with numerous challenges in the form of Russo-Chinese strategic partnership and the ongoing war in Ukraine. In June 2022, back to back summits of NATO and Group of Seven (G-7) were

held in which the participants contemplated on how to maintain the Western tutelage on global economic, security, information and technological order and mitigate growing Chinese influence in the Asia-Pacific region.

War in Ukraine is certainly a test case of world order because of growing conflict between the West and Russia along with crisis in the supply of oil and food. Will the U.S along with its western allies be able to sustain pressure over Moscow by imposing sanctions and to transform Ukraine as a 'bleeding wound' of Russia? Will Sino-Russian partnership prevent the growing Western pressure as reflected in the communiqué of NATO and G-7 summits? What are the options for Pakistan to deal with the transformation of world order and the implications of war in Ukraine? It is yet to be seen how European countries particularly Germany will cope with the closure of gas supply from Russia and to what extent there will a split in the Atlantic Alliance on sustaining sanctions against Moscow because of its invasion over Ukraine.

20th century was marked with rapid transformation of world order because till the end of the Second World War, the world order was imperial and multipolar which became bipolar with the diminishing status of European colonial powers

and the advent of United States and Soviet Union as superpowers. Following the demise of USSR and the Warsaw Pact, the world order got transformed from bipolar to unipolar. The contemporary crisis in world order is the result of its transformation from unipolar to multipolar and leadership vacuum which exists because of the perceived weakening of American edge on global affairs.

The recent visit of U.S President Joseph Biden to Israel and Saudi Arabia is termed crucial in order to seek the support of both Israel and his Arab allies against Iran's nuclear ambitions and the crisis emanating from war in Ukraine. During his conversation with the leaders of Gulf Cooperation Council, Egypt, Iraq and Jordan in a meeting held in Jeddah on July 16, American President however made it clear that the United States will not hand-over Middle East to China, Russia and Iran and will play a leadership role in order to protect its strategic interests. It is yet to be seen to what extent Biden's diplomacy in the Middle East will yield positive results and help mitigate the prices of oil, contain Iran's growing influence and seek the support of his Arab-Israeli allies to deal with Sino-Russian strategic partnership in the wake of war in Ukraine.

In its editorial entitled, "The alternative world order" published in March 19, 2022 issue of The Economist (London) it is argued that, "each day brings new horrors to Ukraine, where Russian artillery fire echoes like thunder across cities and towns. It is too soon to know if a winner will emerge from the fighting. But on the other side of the planet, the world's emerging superpower is weighing its options. Some argue that China will

build on a pre-war friendship with Russia that knows “no limits”, to create an axis of autocracy. Others counter that America can shame China into breaking with Russia, isolating Vladimir Putin, its president. Our reporting suggests that neither scenario is likely. The deepening of ties with Russia will be guided by cautious self-interest, as China exploits the war in Ukraine to hasten what it sees as America’s inevitable decline. The focus of all times is its own dream of establishing an alternative to the Western, liberal world order.” Patience followed by impatience will determine future ambitions of Sino-Russian strategic partnership in transforming the world order and finally end the U.S led global order which is prevailing since the end of the cold war.

The Russian-Ukrainian war since February 24 this year is termed as an opportunity on the part of the non-Western world to undo the unipolar world order but at the same time the United States and the West by using NATO, G-7 and European Union will resist any attempt to challenge their supremacy in global affairs. Transformation of world order in the context of war in Ukraine can be analyzed in four ways. First, the decline of the U.S and the West as a whole is a myth and not a reality because the G-7 countries possess more than half of global resources as out of \$ 100 trillion of global economy the U.S share is 25%. Furthermore, West’s edge on science & technology, R&D, media and industrialization ensures its sizeable influence on world order. Although, China is world’s second largest economy it has a long way to go in terms of excellence in original research, science & technology. In this scenario, it will be a wishful thinking to expect erosion of Western hold over global order unless armed conflicts take place in the west and its unity is fragmented. Only then, its rivals, particularly Russia and China will take advantage of the situation and diminish the west

ern dominated world order.

Behind West’s supremacy in key fields is its 500 years of consistent drive in the form of colonization, edge in research, science & technology, influencing global economy by international financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) World Bank, Asian Development Bank and other money lending organizations, control over world media through information technology and its military power. Ukraine is certainly a test case for the West because if Russia is not prevented from its adventure in its neighborhood, the outcome will be a dragon like China challenging the Western dominated world order. Second, it seems the Biden administration is taking several measures to cope with the implications of Sino-Russian partnership by strengthening NATO, G-7 and European Union. The joining of two Nordic neutral countries of Europe, Sweden and Finland in the Atlantic alliance is a major development in prevailing world order.

Now except, Austria and Switzerland, the two neutral states of Europe, most of the countries are the members of NATO. It means, the age-old policy of ‘containment’ which became a vital component of American foreign policy during the era of U.S president Harry Truman is reaching a logical conclusion by forcefully pursuing ‘dual containment’ policy by the Biden administration and its western allies. This time, the target is Russian federation and China because their perceived strategic partnership is termed as a grave threat to the supremacy of western influence. It seems the U.S and its Western allies are trying their level best to sustain their dominating influence in world order and to deny space to Russia and China.

Third, the real human security issues challenging the world order relate to a conglomeration of

crises namely, climate change, global warming, water, energy and food shortages. The world population has doubled in the last 100 years and has reached around 7.5 billion people. Unfortunately, the world order will face more instability and chaos if major powers and financial institutions continue to neglect the surge of world population and the gap in demand and supply of resources. The focus of G-7, the richest countries in their June 2022 summit was not on meeting challenges of human security but to augment their dual containment policy of Russia and China.

Food and fuel crisis reached its peak because of war in Ukraine but no serious efforts are being made by the major stakeholders of this world to deal with vital threats faced by this planet. It means the fragility of world order. A female member of German Bundestag (Parliament) aptly analyzed prevailing situation in world order by stating that it is the United States and its Western allies that want to drag Russia in a quagmire in Ukrainian war so as to weaken Moscow power. When war in Ukraine began on February 24 this year and the U.S along with NATO decided to militarily arm Kyiv in confronting Russian military invasion, it was perceived that the real objectives of the West was to transform Ukraine as Russia's Afghanistan and to bleed Moscow by imposing sanctions thus crippling its economy. It is yet to be seen to what extent calculations by NATO have worked and is Russia sinking deep into the quagmire of war in Ukraine.

Finally, how transformation in world order will impact on Pakistan and it will deal with grave crisis emanating from war in Ukraine in terms of shortages of food and fuel needs to be contemplated. Pakistan is world's sixth populated country of the world and is the only nuclear state in the Muslim world but its economy is fragile and politics insta-

ble. The United States has its reservation regarding CPEC and the refusal of Pakistan to side with the West against the Russian attack over Ukraine also antagonized the U.S. But Islamabad has made it clear that it will not take sides and would remain neutral. Despite close Indo-U.S relations, New Delhi is neutral in Russian-Ukrainian war and is also buying oil from Moscow despite sanctions imposed on Russia. Still, foreign policy makers of Pakistan are unable to take a position on growing polarization of world order.

To conclude, transformation of world order in the light of war in Ukraine two things are certain to happen. First, the absence of a global neutral leadership will further augment polarization in world order and second, China and Russia, despite dual containment policy of the West will not give up and will continue with their strategic offensive to challenge the U.S led world order and to transform it as multipolar.

"The author is former Chairman Department of International Relations and Dean Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Karachi and can be reached at: amoonis@hotmail.com"

REPAIRING FOUNDATIONAL WEAKNESSES OF PAKISTAN'S ECONOMY

Dr. Kaiser Bengali



“Economic crises in Pakistan is routine news. However, the current crisis is more than routine. The seriousness of the situation can be gauged from its external manifestation: the recent reluctance of foreign banks to accept our Letters of Credit (LC) for importing oil. This is an expression of alarm in Pakistan’s financial viability and is a first in the country’s history. The internal manifestation is the rising cost of fuel, electricity and gas, resulting in high inflation. The rates of increases within a short time span are historic. Pakistan has had to crawl to the IMF for about 23 times. Every government expresses its intention to free the country of this bane. However, empty articulation without substantive measures cannot deliver results.

At the root of the crisis is the large and growing Budget and Trade Deficits. For every 100 rupees in revenues, government expenditure is more than 200 rupees. For every 100 dollars of exports, imports are 220 dollars. These deficits are simply not sustainable. We have funded this level of free-wheeling public and private consumption through loans. This option is now drying up, unless we pay a political cost. Needless to say, these costs will be negotiated behind closed doors, away from media glare.

That we are in a corner and have little choice but to accept IMF conditions howsoever, harsh is understandable, but problematic. The question arises as to why is it that we find ourselves, again and again, in a corner with no choice? A similarly stark situa-

tion was also faced in 2001 vis-à-vis the USA in Afghanistan. This is clearly a failure of governance in economic and political management and in management of foreign policy.

This situation with regard to the economy arises on account of our proclivity to live beyond our means out of loans from tax-payers in other countries. This *‘live-it-off-today, tomorrow-will-take-care-of-itself’* mindset is reflected in Budget and Trade deficits, referenced above. It is imperative that both are maintained within fiscally acceptable limits in order to protect our economic and political sovereignty.

Budget deficits can be addressed by raising revenues and/or reducing expenditures. Trade deficits can be addressed by raising exports and/or reducing imports. Both are difficult in the short run; the reason being the stagnancy of productive sectors of the economy agriculture and industry for over three to four decades. Agriculture feeds industry, which generates tax revenues and exports and employment. However, misplaced macroeconomic policy framework has prioritized trade and services sectors over agriculture and industry and weakened the socioeconomic infrastructure base. Thus, the potential for significant revenue or export growth in the short run is limited.

Given that revenues and exports cannot be increased in the short run, the only options are reduction of expenditures and imports. With regard to the former, large and rising non-development expenditure, including defence expenditure is at the root of the fiscal crisis. Choices are as follows. Disband all Ministries and Divisions that were part of the now-abolished Concurrent List

and curtail defence expenditure not directly related to the security of the country. A reduction in total non-development expenditure of Rs. one trillion is called for in order to stabilize the economy.

Reduction of non-development expenditure and, consequently, the Budget deficit will reduce demand-side pressure on prices and curb inflation and make resources available for productive sectors of the economy; thereby, raising revenue and export and employment potential in the medium term.

Fixing the Trade deficit is more complex; given that it arises from a number of factors. Overall, thanks to the liberal inflows of foreign aid in return for political services rendered, we could 'afford' a liberal import policy and, as such, created an import dependent economy. Basic economic theory states that a country's production base must be rooted in its own resource endowments. Contrarily, our industrial sector is imported raw material based and our power production and goods transport sectors have been rendered imported fuel based. Electricity has come to be generated based on imported furnace oils, LNG and coal, ignoring local coal supplies. Goods transportation has shifted from rail to road, despite the fact that the former consumes one-third less fuel per tonne-kilometer.

And over the last two decades, the doors to unrestricted imports has been bared wide open. Everything from exotic fruits, chocolates, cheeses and cigars are now imported to salve the tastes of the rich all on borrowed dollars. Free Trade Agreements signed with a number of countries has only increased our imports, without increasing our exports; primarily because we manufacture little and have little to sell.

Remedial measures are called for on a number of fronts. For the industrial sector, the shift from largely imported to largely local raw material base is a long term objective, but steps towards it has to commence now. There are, however, other measures with medium term to short term impacts.

For the medium term, imported fuel intensity can begin to be reduced by adopting two measures. One, power generation needs to shift to local coal and a major policy boost provided to solarization; for the latter, local manufacture of solar panels needs to be promoted. And two, long-distance goods transportation needs to shift from road to rail.

For the short term, a complete ban is called for on (a) import and local assembly of all non-commercial vehicles and (b) all non-essential consumer imports food, beverages, cosmetics, tobacco products, cosmetics, building and furnishing materials, pet food and shampoos, etc. No FTA must be renewed upon expiry and no new FTA must be signed on till our manufacturing capacity is broad-based and expanded.

Pakistan is a resource rich economy with a resourceful labour force. We can reduce unemployment and poverty levels to low single digits within a decade. We are the Indus Valley Civilization that was the bread basket for the whole region. Flawed policies have turned us into a basket case. We can, however, emerge as a regional economic power, commanding the respect of the world.

"The author is renowned economist with over 40 years of experience in teaching, research and policy advice in Pakistan and abroad."

STALLED TALKS OF JCPOA-ARE WE GOING ANYWHERE?

Ambassaador (R) Syed Hasan Habib



The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), which went into effect in January 2016, imposed restrictions on Iran's civilian nuclear enrichment program. During the negotiations with Iran, the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States) and Germany collectively known as the P5+1 plus the European Union (EU) took part. Some Middle Eastern powers, such as Saudi Arabia, said they should have been consulted or included in the talks because they would be most affected by a nuclear-armed Iran. Israel explicitly opposed the agreement, calling it too lenient.

During the negotiations, the P5+1 wanted to cap the Iranian nuclear program to the point that if Tehran decided to pursue a nuclear weapon, it would take at least one year. The Western intelligence officials had estimated that, in the absence of an agreement, Iran could produce enough nuclear material for a weapon in a few months. Negotiating nations feared that in the eventuality of a nuclear weapon program, Iran risked an Israeli preemptive military strike similar to earlier attacks on the nuclear facilities of Iraq and Syria. This could trigger response (s) leading to disruptions of oil supplies in the Persian Gulf or an outright missile attack on Israel. Further, Saudi Arabia has signaled a willingness to obtain a nuclear weapon if Iran successfully detonates one.

Iran a signatory to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), had abandoned its nuclear weapon



program in 2003 but continued to acquire nuclear technology and expertise. Iran had agreed not to produce weapons-grade uranium or plutonium. It also took steps to ensure that its facilities at Fordow, Natanz, and Arak pursued only civilian work (medical and industrial research). Many believe that if all parties adhered to their pledges, the deal almost certainly could have achieved that goal for longer than a decade. Many of the JCPOA's restrictions on Iran's nuclear program have expiration dates. For example, after ten years (from January 2016), centrifuge restrictions will be lifted, and after fifteen years, so too will the limit on the amount of low-enriched uranium Iran can possess. **Some of the critics faulted these so-called sunset provisions, saying they would only delay Iran building a bomb while sanctions relief would allow it to continue to sponsor terrorism in the region.**

Iran had agreed on a protocol that would allow inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), unfettered access to its nuclear facilities and potentially to undeclared sites. Inspections are intended to guard against the possibility that Iran could develop nuclear arms, in secret.

Iran sought the JCPOA for relief from international sanctions, which starved its economy of more than \$100 billion in revenues from 2012 to 2014. The EU, United Nations, and the United States all committed to lifting their nuclear-related sanctions on Iran. However, many other US sanctions on Iran, some dating back to the 1979 hostage crisis, remained in effect. They cover matters such as Iran's ballistic missile program, support for terrorist groups, human rights abuses, treatment of women, minorities, etc. to name a few. Though the United States committed to lifting its sanctions on oil exports, it kept restrictions on financial transactions, which have deterred international trade with Iran. The parties agreed to lift an existing UN ban on Iran's transfer of conventional weapons and ballistic missiles after five years if the IAEA certifies that Iran is only engaged in civilian nuclear activity.

US-Iran relations

Two years in operation the JCPOA was abandoned by President Donald Trump in 2018 to please Israel and hawkish Senators. Though very few recognize him for his mental capability, his classic move was to designate IRGC (Iranian Revolutionary Guards) as a Foreign Terrorist Organization, effectively putting a roadblock to his successor to restore the JCPOA. This was a false issue but creates space for the anti-Iran lobby especially Israel to rally around it. Trump administration threatened sanctions on countries and companies doing business with Iran — an “us or them” approach. In return, Iran expanded its nuclear programs beyond the constraints of the agreement. In Washington, some Democrats have joined most or all Republicans to oppose an Iran nuclear deal, including a de-listing of the IRGC. **An agreement would face a contentious review by Congress via the Iran Nuclear Agreement**

Review Act, but there appears no chance of stopping the deal.

Iran accused the United States of renegeing on its commitments and blamed Europe for submitting to US unilateralism. In a bid to keep the agreement alive, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom launched a barter system, known as INSTEX, to facilitate transactions with Iran outside of the U.S. banking system. However, the system is only meant for food and medicine, which are already exempt from US sanctions. Post US withdrawal, several US allies continued to import Iranian oil under waivers granted by the Trump administration. Iran continued to abide by its commitments. But a year later, the United States ended the waivers intending to halt Iran's oil exports completely.

In response to the other parties' actions, which Tehran claimed amounted to breaches of the deal, Iran started exceeding agreed-upon limits to its stockpile of low-enriched uranium in 2019 and began enriching uranium to higher concentrations (not yet to weapon-grade levels). It also began developing new centrifuges to accelerate uranium enrichment; resuming heavy water production at its Arak facility, and enriching uranium at Fordow.

Restarted Talks

In April 2021, JCPOA signatories began talks to bring Washington and Tehran back into the agreement, but negotiations stalled after Iran elected conservative cleric Ebrahim Raisi as president in June 2021. All eight rounds were held in 2021. When they restarted later that year, Iran's new negotiating team adopted a more hard-line stance. Reports of progress left many observers expecting a deal in early 2022, but talks halted again after Russia invaded Ukraine complicating the discussions. Tehran and Washington still disagree on several issues, including the IRGC's designation as

a terrorist organization and on terms of Iran's continued nuclear development.

In mid-April 2022, the Grand Ayatollah Khamenei said that the direction of the nuclear talks is going well. One can assume it meant Iran's position in the nuclear talks is strong. But the talks remained log jammed as the United States has been hesitant to remove the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps from its list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations. He said that the United States "broke its commitments and exited the JCPOA" and is now feeling "helpless and at a dead end." President Biden's administration is hesitant to remove the IRGC from the FTO list. Meanwhile, Iran is insisting that all Trump-era sanctions be removed if Tehran is to return to full compliance with the JCPOA. Post US exit, Iran has increased enrichment levels and also used more advanced centrifuges, both limited under the JCPOA.



A letter drafted by hardline Iranian lawmaker Mahmoud Navabian received 190 signatures (more than two-thirds of the Majlis) and shifted to yet another level an increasingly toughened Iranian position amid the impasse in the Vienna nuclear talks with the United States. Reportedly, the letter urged President Raisi to seek "more robust guarantees" from Washington. According to Iranian Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Khatibzadeh, "the

Americans have not shown a firm will to return to their commitments under the JCPOA and UNSC Resolution 2231." He added that the United States is still pursuing Trump-era "maximum pressure" policies.

Iranian Foreign Minister in its tweet on the talks blamed the pause on US "excessive demands," to which "we will never give in." Iran also warned that "We cannot afford to stay patient forever." Iran currently demands that the Biden administration secure the new agreement with verifiable sanctions relief and guarantees on the compliance of succeeding US presidents.

One year ago, the Biden administration began indirect negotiations in Vienna to restore "compliance for compliance" with the JCPOA, first agreed upon in 2015 by the United States, the UK, France, Germany, Russia, China, and Iran, as well as the EU. The core of the deal is sanctions relief for Iran in return for restraints on Iran's nuclear programs.



The Biden administration was ready to de-list the IRGC if Iran would agree not to target Americans implicated in the killing of IRGC-Quds Force Commander Qasem Soleimani by a US armed drone in January 2020. The US Justice Department is reportedly investigating an IRGC plot to kill former US national security adviser John Bolton

and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo. Iran can't shelve the demand for revenge against Qasim Sulemani. The Iranians are also suspicious of a US hand in the killing of its top nuclear scientist Mohsen Fakhrizadeh (October 2021) though many blame Israel.

The IRGC, in a statement on the 43rd anniversary of the founding of the Islamic Republic, referred to the United States as “the mafia, terrorist regime,” and accused it of “delusional speech.” No regime in Iran can ignore **IRGC**.

Prisoners held by Iran

There are several dual nationals still held in Iran and family members are hoping for news about them soon. Morad Tahbaz, a 66-year-old businessman detained in 2018, holds American and British citizenship. An IRNA report stated that “according to rumors,” he was released in mid-March 2022 in addition to Zaghari-Ratcliffe and Ashoori. However, the agency quickly deleted that portion of the report without addressing the removal. Zaghari-Ratcliffe was detained in 2016 and Ashoori was detained in 2017. Both were charged with politically motivated crimes, according to international human rights organizations. Iran's Fars News Agency reported that the United Kingdom had repaid a debt of about \$530 million to Iran, owed concerning a 1976 arms deal. The United Kingdom had been reluctant to pay the money due to US sanctions and fear of secondary sanctions from the US Treasury. The debt has been a source of contention between the two countries.

The highest-profile Iranian-Americans still detained by Iran are Siamak and Baquer Namazi. Siamak was detained in 2015 and his father Baquer in 2016 after he was permitted to enter Iran and visit his son. Some other citizens from European and North American countries are also currently

being detained, including Swedish-Iranian Ahmadreza Djalali, French-Iranian Fariba Adelkhah, Canadian-Iranian Abdolrasoul Dorri Esfahani, Austrian-Iranians Kamran Ghaderi, and Massud Mossaheb, German-Iranian Nahid Taghavi and American-Iranians Karan Vafadari and Afarin Neyssari. Their release is also tied with the finalization of the JCPOA.

The Israel factor

Israel is against a new nuclear deal with Iran, but many in Israel think that a new deal would be better than no deal. Israel's official line continues to insist that the emerging deal is bad and dangerous. But divergent views are also being voiced behind closed doors terming the deal as a bad yet best option. **The diverging experts argue that reviving the 2015 agreement between Iran and world powers would grant Israel and its allies in the region and elsewhere eight to nine years of relative calm before Iran could resume its race for a bomb.** This peace would allow Israel to invest in an accelerated military buildup to counter the Iranian threat and complete building the regional anti-Iran alliance. As part of this buildup, Israel is putting together a framework it calls the Middle East Air Defense (MEAD) system with the participation of its regional allies, with other states in the region, such as Saudi Arabia being an observer and providing external support.

Israel remains worried about the so-called sunset clause in the 2015 agreement, which lifts restrictions on Iran's nuclear enrichment program after 2025. Critics contend that Iran will thus be released from a significant number of its commitments under the agreement within just 2½ years, handing it what is essentially a “license to kill” by resuming progress on its program. Israeli intelligence officials believe that Iranians have already achieved all the capabilities and know-how that they would

have obtained once the sunset clause took effect. **Surprisingly, despite the harsh economic and technology sanctions, Iran had developed impressive missile capabilities as well as attack drones and other UAV capabilities.**



Enrique Mora, a leading European Union diplomat, left, shakes hands with Iran's top nuclear negotiator Ali Bagheri Kani in Tehran, Iran, March 27, 2022. (Iranian Foreign Ministry via AP)

Israel Defense Forces (IDF) Chief Lt. Gen. Aviv Kochavi presented a similar approach during a speech he delivered in January 2021, warning world powers against the agreement. But, as mentioned, other voices are being heard within the top security echelons, similar to those expressed ahead of the signing of the original agreement in 2015. Kochavi's predecessor, **Lt. Gen. (Res.) Gadi Eizenkot, and most senior defense officials, for example, described the agreement at the time as the "lesser evil."**

Divergent views are also being heard these days on the repercussions of sanctions removal, which would result in massive funding inflows to Iran. It is speculated that even at the height of the sanctions, Iran continued its support for Hezbollah to the tune of \$50 million each month in cash and also giving smaller but significant amounts.

Enhanced cash flows may embolden Iranian into further adventures.

What Israel should be doing during JCPOA negotiations? It should accelerate the buildup, complete the regional air defense system, strengthen a NATO-style strategy (from Gulf to the Maghreb) and display strength.

Time is running out

Both Washington and Tehran appear ready to sign except for the IRGC, and the parties seem to be running out of ideas on a workaround. Both sides are playing hard till the last moment. With the lifting of sanctions, Iran would be able to sell its oil more freely and receive payments for it through more accessible avenues. Whether or not the United States delists the IRGC, there would remain many sanctions in place on Iran, including for human rights abuses and other issues. But Iran has continued to find other means to sell its oil despite the sanctions.

The deal also suggests that the United States likely gave the green light to release the money as an agreement nears on reviving the 2015 nuclear deal. Iran's Foreign Minister Hossein Amir-Abdollahian told the media that Washington has given guarantees that Iran-Russia trade would not be impacted by the latest sanctions on Russia over its invasion of Ukraine.

Following two months pause, on 10 May 2022, the senior EU diplomat Enrique Mora visited Tehran to meet with Iranian nuclear negotiator Ali Baqari Kani to restart the installed talks. But unless there is something new the task will not be completed. Iran's demand on delisting IRGC from the terror designated list is the stumbling block. EU could overcome it by offering some relief from its side independent of the US. But can it happen?

Conclusion

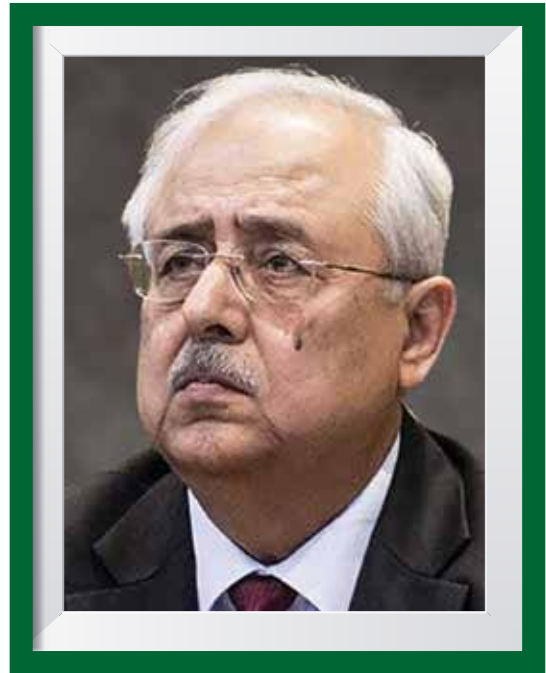
To date, the fate of the Iran nuclear deal remains uncertain. The US-Iran JCPOA talks are not heading anywhere as both sides are not ready to compromise on their key issues. The US wants Iran to roll back on its nuclear development of post-2019. Iran wants US and others to lift crippling economic and banking sanctions so that it could get back to normal trade and investment regime, especially in the oil and gas sector. The talks got more complex after the Russian invasion of Ukraine and following tougher sanctions on its energy sector. Some of the US close allies act as the spoilers in these negotiations especially Israel which was involved in the killing of a prominent Iranian nuclear scientist and a cyberattack on an Iranian nuclear facility that destroyed thousands of high-speed centrifuges.

US and Iran must narrow down their difference in the greater interest of World peace. But it is a herculean task for diplomats. **If this window of opportunity is lost, then the Middle East will be heading towards a nuclear arms race.**

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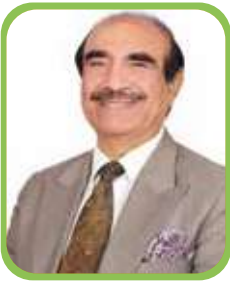
“The author is member Board of Governors Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations (PCFR) and Senior Fellow, Center for Policy & Area Studies, IoBM, Karachi.”



MR. ANWAR MANSOOR KHAN
Former Attorney General of Pakistan
Life Member PCFR

THE QUAD CHARIOT AND THE NEW GREAT GAME IN INDO- PACIFIC

Ambassador (R) G Rasool Baloch



The Quadrilateral Security Dialogue in common parlance termed as The Quad consisting of the US, Australia, Japan, and India was joined by France in a Naval exercise in the Indian Ocean which ended on 7th April. The Indian media opined that the exercise was carried out with “an eye on China”. The Times of India, a mouthpiece of the government more often than not, asserted that the exercise reflected “The growing strategic congruence in ensuring a secure and stable Indo-Pacific in face of China’s belligerence in the region”. According to media sources, in addition to France some other European countries such as Germany and UK have also expressed their intention to come on board the “Quad Chariot”. There are reports that some ASEAN Countries including Philippines, Malaysia and Vietnam are being vowed to join The Quad to make it ‘Quad Plus’.

Some Chinese analysts have equated Quad Plus to the “Eight Nation Alliance” which refers to troops from the US, UK, Germany, France, Russia, Japan, Italy, Australia and Austria-Hungary that invaded North China in 1900.

Earlier on 12th March, The Quad leaders including the US President Joe Biden, Australian Prime Minister Scot Morrison, Japanese Prime Minister Yoshihide Suga and the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi held a virtual Summit the first summit of The Quad top leaders since the founding of the Quadrilateral the brainchild of the former Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe.

For President Joe Biden the summit was the first top level engagement since taking office as the 46th President of the US on 20th January 2021. Although the agenda of the summit was couched in benign language including global collaboration to fight Covid-19 pandemic, cyber space, critical technologies, countering terrorism, quality infrastructure investment, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, yet the summit communiqué emphasized the support to rule of law, freedom of navigation over flights and territorial integrity of the regional countries; a clear pointer to China which invoked an expected severe reaction from Beijing.

The unprecedented undiplomatic spat exchanged between the US and Chinese Delegations which met in Honolulu are symptomatic of a growing distrust between the two global superpowers.

The US has an already strong Strategic military alliance with Japan and Australia, while the US and India have concluded strategic military agreements like COMCASA and BECA which lay foundations for interoperability of the two armed forces insinuating significant security implications for China their antagonist in the Indo-Pacific theatre.

Despite Quad summit’s eyewash peace agenda, the Malabar Naval exercises as well as the last week-concluded quad plus Naval exercise unambiguously suggest that this alliance is heading towards a military alliance creating a military balance of power favorable to the existing super power, that is, US and posing serious threats not only to the emerging superpower, that is, China but also to the countries in the South East Asia and

South West Asia. It appears that the Indo Pacific region is emerging as a “Global Hot Spot” with serious Geo-Strategic and Geo economic implications for the entire Indian Ocean Rim Countries and beyond.

Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov who visited Delhi and Islamabad recently, while commenting on the QUAD said, “We discussed in detail (the) situation of Asia-Pacific. Uncertain processes are happening; The US is pushing certain constructs in the region. We are categorically against new division lines”. His referring to “Asia-Pacific” rather than Indo-Pacific that has lately been coined by the US clearly outlines Russia’s displeasure for the new anti- China alignment led by the US. India finds itself on the horns of a dilemma to strike a balance between its newly-found strategic partnership with the US within the framework of QUAD on one hand and on the other hand, maintaining its traditional friendship with Russia.

Last week, India received the first shock of the new military tensions in the Indian ocean when the US Navy Ship John Paul entered the Indian Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). The Indian Ministry of External Affairs issued a press statement saying that “Indian concerns have been conveyed to the Government of the United States through Diplomatic channels”. The ministry further elaborated, “The Government of India’s stated position on the United Nations Convention on the Laws of the Sea is that it does not authorize States to carry out in the EEZ and on the Continental Shelf, military exercises or maneuvers, in particular those involving the use of weapons or explosive, without the consent of the coastal state”. The US Navy in its statement asserted that India’s requirement of a prior consent for military exercise in its exclusive economic zone was in contravention of international law.

The unprecedented undiplomatic spat exchanged between the US and Chinese Delegations led by their respective top diplomats, the secretary of state Antony J. Blinken and Foreign Minister Wang Yi which met in Honolulu are symptomatic of a growing distrust between the two global super-powers. The emerging new military alliances are apparently heading towards New Bipolar World Order (NBPWO), with Asia being its kingpin. Pakistan will have to play its diplomatic cards carefully, by continuing to strengthen strategic economic / political and military relationship with China, while keeping the US constructively engaged in Afghanistan, as well as in other mutually beneficial undertakings.

“The author is member Board of Governors Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations (PCFR) and Adjunct Faculty, Center for Policy & Area Studies, IoBM, Karachi”

Rising to Challenges and Building a Bright Future Through Cooperation

H.E. Xi Jinping
President of the People's Republic of China



President of the People's Republic of China Xi Jinping delivered a keynote speech via video at the opening ceremony of the Boao Forum for Asia (BFA) Annual Conference 2022 on 21st April 2022.

Following is the full text of the speech:

Your Excellencies

**Heads of State and Government,
 Heads of International Organizations,
 Members of the Board of Directors of the
 Boao Forum for Asia,
 Distinguished Guests,
 Ladies and Gentlemen,
 Dear Friends,**

It gives me great pleasure to once again join friends old and new online for the Boao Forum for Asia Annual Conference 2022. I want to begin by extending, on behalf of the Chinese government and people and also in my own name, hearty welcome to all participating guests and warm congratulations on the convening of the Annual Conference.

Right now, changes of the world, of our times and of history are unfolding in ways like never before. These changes are posing challenges that must be taken seriously by humanity. We have yet to walk from the shadow of a once-in-a-century pandemic, but new traditional security risks are already emerg-

ing. The weak and faltering global economic recovery is compounded by a widening development gap. While governance deficit in areas like climate change has hardly been addressed, new issues such as digital governance are also vying for attention. Viewed in such a context, the theme of this year's Annual Conference "The World in COVID-19 & Beyond: Working Together for Global Development and Shared Future" cannot be more relevant. As an ancient Chinese adage goes, "One must not change his commitment or give up his pursuit even in the face of danger and risk." A review of human history teaches us that the more difficult things get, the greater the need grows to stay confident. Problems are not to be afraid of, as it is one problem after another that have driven the progress of human society. No difficulties could ever stop the wheel of history. Faced with the many challenges, we must not lose confidence, hesitate or flinch. Instead, we must firm up confidence and press ahead against all odds.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends,

For us to break through the mist and embrace a bright future, the biggest strength comes from cooperation and the most effective way is through solidarity. Over the past two years and more, the international community has been working extremely hard to respond to the COVID-19 challenge and boost global recovery and development. The hardships and challenges are yet another reminder that humanity is a community with a shared future where all people rise and fall together, and that all countries need to follow the trend of the times featuring peace, development and win-win cooperation, move in the direction of

building a community with a shared future for mankind, and rise to challenges and build a bright future through cooperation.



We need to work together to defend people's lives and health. Safety and health are the prerequisite for human development and progress. For humanity to clinch a final victory against the COVID-19 pandemic, more hard efforts are needed. It is essential that countries support each other, better coordinate response measures and improve global public health governance, so as to form strong international synergy against the pandemic. We must keep COVID vaccines a global public good and ensure their accessibility and affordability in developing countries. China has provided over 2.1 billion doses of vaccines to more than 120 countries and international organizations. Be it in delivering vaccines abroad or producing them overseas, China has honored its commitments with concrete actions. China will follow through the pledged donation of 600 million and 150 million doses of vaccines to Africa and ASEAN countries respectively, as part of our effort to close the immunization gap.

We need to work together to promote economic recovery. The COVID-19 pandemic has seriously eroded the gains the world has made in poverty reduction over the past decade. Uneven recovery is aggravating inequality across the world, further widening the North-South divide. We should stay committed to building an open world economy, stay on top of the dominant trend of economic globalization, increase macro policy coordination, turn to science and technology for more growth drivers, keep global industrial and supply chains stable, and prevent serious negative spillovers from policy adjustments in some countries, all in an effort to promote balanced, coordinated and inclusive global development. We should follow a people-centered approach, place development and people's well-being high on the agenda and, when policies are implemented, measures adopted and actions taken, always give top priority to bettering people's lives. We should pay due attention to the pressing needs of developing countries and advance practical cooperation in such key areas as poverty reduction, food security, development financing and industrialization, in a bid to address uneven and inadequate development. The Global Development Initiative (GDI) I proposed last year has been echoed and supported by the United Nations and other international organizations and nearly 100 countries. China is working with the international community on the solid implementation of the GDI.

We need to work together to maintain peace and stability in the world. An ancient Chinese philosopher observed, "Stability brings a country prosperity while instability leads a country to poverty." Security is the precondition for development. We humanity are living in an indivisible security community. It has been proven time and again that the Cold War mentality would only wreck the global peace framework, that hegemonism and power

politics would only endanger world peace, and that bloc confrontation would only exacerbate security challenges in the 21st century. To promote security for all in the world, China would like to propose a Global Security Initiative as follows:

It is important that we stay committed to the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security, and work together to maintain world peace and security; stay committed to respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, uphold non-interference in internal affairs, and respect the independent choices of development paths and social systems made by people in different countries; stay committed to abiding by the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, reject the Cold War mentality, oppose unilateralism, and say no to group politics and bloc confrontation; stay committed to taking the legitimate security concerns of all countries seriously, uphold the principle of indivisible security, build a balanced, effective and sustainable security architecture, and oppose the pursuit of one's own security at the cost of others' security; stay committed to peacefully resolving differences and disputes between countries through dialogue and consultation, support all efforts conducive to the peaceful settlement of crises, reject double standards, and oppose the wanton use of unilateral sanctions and long-arm jurisdiction; stay committed to maintaining security in both traditional and non-traditional domains, and work together on regional disputes and global challenges such as terrorism, climate change, cybersecurity and biosecurity.

We need to work together to tackle global governance challenges. Countries around the world are like passengers aboard the same ship who share the same destiny. For the ship to navigate the storm and sail toward a bright future, all passengers must pull together. The thought of throwing anyone

overboard is simply not acceptable. In this day and age, the international community has evolved so much that it has become a sophisticated and integrated apparatus. Acts to remove any single part will cause serious problems to its operation. When that happens, both the victims and the initiators of such acts will stand to lose. In today's world, unilateralism and excessive pursuit of self-interest are doomed to fail; so are the practices of decoupling, supply disruption and maximum pressure; so are the attempts to forge "small circles" or to stoke conflict and confrontation along ideological lines. Instead, we need to embrace a global governance philosophy that emphasizes extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits, promote the common values of humanity, and advocate exchanges and mutual learning between civilizations. We need to uphold true multilateralism, and firmly safeguard the international system with the UN at its core and the international order underpinned by international law. It is particularly important for major countries to lead by example in honoring equality, cooperation, good faith and the rule of law, and act in a way befitting their status.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends,

Having been through hot and cold wars, hardships and tribulations, people in Asia deeply cherish the value of peace and understand that development gains do not come easily. Over the past decades, Asia has enjoyed overall stability and sustained rapid growth, making possible the Asian Miracle. When Asia fares well, the whole world benefits. Therefore, we need to continue developing and strengthening Asia, demonstrate Asia's resilience, wisdom and strength, and make Asia an anchor for world peace, a powerhouse for global growth and a new pacesetter for international cooperation.

First, we should resolutely safeguard peace in Asia. Peace and stability in our region does not fall into our lap automatically or come as charity from any country. Rather, it is the result of the joint efforts of countries in the region. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Bandung Spirit, first advocated by Asia, are all the more relevant today. We should honor such principles as mutual respect, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence, follow a policy of good-neighborliness and friendship, and make sure that we always keep our future in our own hands.

Second, we should vigorously advance Asian cooperation. Many Asian proverbs describe the value of solidarity and cooperation, such as “climb the hill together and go down the ravine together” and “sugarcane and lemongrass grow in dense clumps”. Win-win cooperation is a sure path to Asian development. The entry into force of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) and the opening to traffic of the China-Laos railway have effectively boosted institutional and physical connectivity in our region. We should seize these opportunities to foster a more open Asia-wide market and make new strides in mutually beneficial cooperation.

Third, we should jointly promote Asian unity. Choosing dialogue and cooperation over zero-sum games, openness and inclusiveness over a closed-door and exclusive approach, and exchanges and mutual learning over a sense of superiority: this is the only choice worthy of the broad-mindedness of Asians. We should cement ASEAN centrality in the regional architecture, and uphold a regional order that balances the aspirations and accommodates the interests of all parties. Countries, no matter their size and strength, and both in and outside the region, should all add splendor rather than trouble to Asia. All should follow the

path of peace and development, seek win-win cooperation, and contribute to an Asian family of unity and progress together.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends,

Two months ago, China presented to the world a streamlined, safe and splendid Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games, bringing warmth and hope to people across the globe. In the second half of this year, we will convene the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, which will draw the blueprint for China's future development.

The fundamentals of the Chinese economy its strong resilience, enormous potential, vast room for maneuver and long-term sustainability remain unchanged. They will provide great dynamism for the stability and recovery of the world economy and broader market opportunities for all countries. China will fully apply its new development philosophy, accelerate the establishment of a new development paradigm, and redouble efforts for high-quality development. No matter how the world will change, China's faith in and its commitment to reform and opening-up will not waver. China will expand high-standard opening-up, fully implement the negative list for foreign investment, expand the encouraged catalogue for FDI, improve services for investment promotion, and add more cities to the comprehensive pilot program for service sector opening. China will take solid steps to develop its pilot free trade zones and the Hainan Free Trade Port, align with high-standard international economic and trade rules, and move ahead with institutional opening-up. China will implement the RCEP in full, seek the conclusion of high-standard FTAs with more countries and regions, and actively work for joining the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for

Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) and the Digital Economy Partnership Agreement (DEPA). China will press ahead with high-quality Belt and Road cooperation to make it high-standard, sustainable and people-centered. China will unswervingly follow the path of peaceful development, and always be a builder of world peace, a contributor to global development, and a defender of the international order.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends,

Let me conclude with an old Chinese saying, “Keep walking and one will not be daunted by a thousand miles; make constant efforts and one will not be intimidated by a thousand tasks.” As long as we join hands and never slacken in efforts, we will build great synergy through win-win cooperation, overcome the various challenges along the way, and usher in a brighter and better future for humanity.

Thank you.

Source: Shared by Chinese Consul General Karachi.

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW PAKISTANI AMBASSADOR TO ROME-ITALY

H.E. JAUHAR SALEEM



Q 01: Have you set to build new emerging relations between Pakistan and Italy?

A) Our diplomatic relations with Italy were established in 1948. Since then, both sides have enjoyed very cordial and cooperative relations based on shared ideas and ideals on many areas of common interest. We are partners in promotion of global peace and economic development, as well as for protecting human rights and environment. Economic cooperation is an important facet of our bilateral ties and I am pleased to share that Pak- Italy commercial cooperation is on a record breaking upward trajectory. Our bilateral trade grew 33% this year compared to the previous year. More and more Italian companies from food, pharma, textiles, construction, leather and IT sectors are envisioning investments in Pakistan and have made substantial progress towards that end. Italy has also been a strong supporter of Pakistan for EU GSP Plus facility within the Union. We are

mutually endeavoring to further facilitate linkage among businesses on both sides and the future of our commercial cooperation looks very bright. I would also like to mention that Italy hosts the largest Pakistani diaspora in the EU. Around 200,000 Pakistanis are residing in Italy and they are contributing greatly to the economies of both the countries.

Q 02: Dear Excellency what are the trade volume between Pakistan and Italy and update what steps do you think need to be taken to enhance bilateral trade volume between both the countries?

A) You would be glad to know that given the extremely healthy rate of trade growth, Italy is set to become Pakistan's next billion dollar export market. In the first 10 months of this year Pakistan's exports to Italy were to the tune of US\$ 902 million, whereas imports reached \$473 million. Both exports and imports are increasing at a fast pace. Now that the Italian markets are recovering from the pandemic propelled recessionary environment we are promoting bilateral business delegation exchanges, participation in trade fairs, marketing events, and B2B meetings as well as facilitating investors in tapping business opportunities on both sides.

Q 03: How do you see Italian investment in Pakistan? What are some of the areas where Italian companies are interested to invest?

A) In order to promote bilateral investment as well as industrial and technological cooperation, a number of initiatives have been undertaken. We

have recently facilitated Italian investment in Pakistan in the fields of food processing, leather, textile, construction, chemicals and IT. There are many other initiatives in the pipeline especially in the areas of energy, steel, agro inputs and chemicals. We are particularly promoting JV mode for increased Italian investment in Pakistan, which will also help in technology and skills transfer to our businesses.

Q 04: What are the prospects to enhance Pak-Italy relations?

A) Both sides are very optimistic and sanguine about the future of our relations. Since we both subscribe to global peace and development agenda so we would also be closely cooperating in the international fora to achieve our shared goals. We share common position on a number of geopolitical and geo-issues. Helping peace and prosperity in our regions and the world at large is high on our agenda and we will continue our common endeavours in all spheres of mutually beneficial cooperation.

Q 05: Dear Excellency your twitter account shows that Pakistani workers remittances increased greatly. Can you share your views about the reasons behind this improvement?

A. After BREXIT, Italy is home to the largest Pakistani diaspora in the European Union (EU). Pakistanis in Italy are employed in all the three sectors of Italian economy i.e agriculture, industry and service. In the first 10 months of this financial year, workers remittances from Italy reached \$712 million, which marks a 47% increase over the last year, and is an all-time high figure, making Italy Pakistan's biggest source of remittances in the EU and the 7th largest in the world. There are many reasons behind this impressive growth including

some where we were able to contribute. After our constructive engagement with the Italian authorities, Pakistan has been re-included in the Italian Seasonal Work Visa Program for 2021 and 2022. Italy is expected to allow around seventy thousand seasonal workers from selected countries in 2022 to come to Italy for work. The Embassy also facilitated around 18,000 undocumented workers towards regularization of their stay in Italy under an amnesty scheme of the Italian Government. Italy and Pakistan are presently working on a Labour Agreement that aims at providing comprehensive market access to Pakistani workers to Italian labour market. The Italian market is in recovery mode and demand for labour is rising so we expect more Pakistani workers joining the labour market in coming months. We also made a consistent effort to promote the use of formal channels for sending of remittances, with help from SBP and commercial banks, to which our community responded very positively.

Q 06: Excellency our new Foreign minister Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari met with Italian foreign Minister in New York can you share its meeting outcome?

A: It has been a very important interaction between both sides in the context of bilateral relations and recent developments on the global geopolitical canvas. Our Foreign Minister underscored that Pakistan deeply values its bilateral ties with Italy and noted that Pakistan was committed to further expanding and deepening the mutually beneficial bilateral cooperation. The Foreign Minister also stressed the need to enhance commercial and economic cooperation, including by promoting trade and investment between Pakistan and Italy. The two Foreign Ministers also discussed important international issues including the food and energy security crises. The response from

Italian side was very encouraging. Both sides have resolved to work under broad parameters discussed at the meeting to further enhance and strengthen our bilateral ties in all spheres.

Q 07: Excellency during pandemic what kind of help and assistance has been given to Pakistani student and its citizens?

A) During the pandemic, we did not shut down the embassy services as was the case with some other embassies in Rome. Rather, we provided food supplies, logistic support, Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) and transportation to our students and diaspora wherever required. We also arranged special repatriation flight to Pakistan for our citizens who needed to travel for emergencies. We also facilitated workers in their arrival in Italy during the pandemic days. We stayed engaged with Italian authorities and ensured that, unlike some other countries of our region, travel ban was not imposed on Pakistanis. Here I would like to appreciate the very constructive role of our community in providing relentless support during those most challenging times.

Q 08: Excellency this interview will be published in our upcoming magazine on Italian National day kindly share your message for our readers on this auspicious occasion?

A) My heartiest felicitations to the people of Italy on the 76th Anniversary of the founding of the Italian Republic. On this auspicious day, we would like to reaffirm our commitment to further strengthen our bilateral relations in all spheres, particularly economic cooperation, and to continue our values-based cooperation in international forums. Although geographically distant, we share common ideals and aspirations. Pakistan attaches great importance to the decades old bilateral ties

and cooperation. As good friends and partners, we look forward to a bright future of our friendship and cooperation to the mutual benefit of our peoples.

**Interview conducted by:
Syed Zaigham Hussain
Editor Ambassador**



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EVENTS



Seminar on “State of Pakistan’s Economy: Present and Future”

Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations (PCFR) in collaboration with Institute of Business Management (IoBM) organized a seminar on “State of Pakistan’s Economy: Present and Future”. Dr. Kaiser Bengali renowned economist and Mr. Shabbar Zaidi former Chairman Federal Board of Revenue addressed the occasion as speakers.



Mr. Talib S Karim President IoBM presented the welcome address and presented his thoughts on the subject. Mr. Talib Karim remarked Pakistan’s economic future is a huge concern for the nation as we continuously find ourselves entangled in various economic issues. He expressed the dire need for the resolution of such predicaments.



Ambassador (R) Shahid M Amin, Chairman, PCFR presented introductory remarks during the seminar and maintained that the external factors including the Ukraine crisis and its impact on oil prices are affecting our internal situation. He recalled how Pakistan's economic situation was seen as the best nearly four decades ago. He mentioned that we must identify the shortcomings, clarify our economic problems and address each one in a non-partisan manner.



Dr. Kaiser Bengali shared that a major amount of our tax revenue is used for debt servicing and defence. He added that nearly a quarter of our import bill is oil. There are seven categories of oil that the country consumes and of these, two account for two-thirds of oil consumption, i.e., diesel and furnace oil. On the other hand, the railway uses one-third less fuel per kilometre, hence the use of railway will reduce 18% of oil consumption thus railways need to be rehabilitated. All transport entities make revenue from cargo and subsidized passenger service and the same should be the case for railway. He called for the creation of a holding company comprising railways and NLC to integrate rail and road. He suggested to pursue indigenous power production and ban all non-consumer imports. Dr. Bengali recommended that three industries, i.e., paper, sugar, and automobile should be banned. He was confident that effective policies can reduce employment and poverty rate to a single digit in a decade.



Mr. Shabbar Zaidi presented an overview of Pakistan's economy from 1947 to 2022. He commented that Pakistan did not learn lessons from the 1971 debacle and in the succeeding years, there was no serious dialogue on the real economy. While presenting solutions to strengthen Pakistan's economy, he suggested better economic management, empower local governments, debt restructuring, re-examination of conventional defence expenditure and strong economic relations with the US and the EU. The session was followed by lively question and answer session. Mementos were presented to Mr. Shabbar Zaidi, Dr. Kaiser Bengali and Ambassador Shahid Amin as a token of appreciation by PCFR and IoBM.



Mr. Talib Karim and Amb (R) Shahid Amin presenting souvenir to Mr. Shabbar Zaidi while Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar is also present in the picture.



Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi along with Amb (R) Shahid Amin and Mr. Talib Karim presenting souvenir to Dr. Kaiser Bengali.

**MEET-UP OF PCFR BOARD OF GOVERNORS WITH
MARIA AGNES M. CERVANTES**
The Chargé D' Affaires of the Embassy of the Philippines

On 25 June 2022- Pakistan Council on Foreign Relations (PCFR) organized a Luncheon meet up with H.E. Ms Maria Agnes M. Cervantes, Charge d Affaires of the Embassy of the Philippines at Avari Towers Karachi. The meeting was attended by Mr Imran Yusuf Honorary Consul General of Philippines in Karachi, PCFR Board of Governors, and embassy staff. Dr. Khalida Ghaus welcomed the worth guests while Chairman PCFR Ambassador (R) Shahid M Amin presented the introductory remarks.



Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi Secretary General PCFR presenting Ajrak to H.E. Ms Maria Agnes M. Cervantes Philippines Charge d Affaires and Mr. Imran Yusuf Honorary Consul General of Philippines in Karachi.



Amb (R) Shahid M Amin Chairman PCFR presenting his thoughts during discussion.



H.E. Ms Maria Agnes M. Cervantes, Charge d'Affaires of the Embassy of the Philippines addressing the session.

H.E. Cervantes addressed the meeting and highlighted that Philippines and Pakistan have always enjoyed mutually beneficial relations but there is need of improved trade and investment. H.E elaborated the prospects of further strengthening the cooperation between the two countries. H.E. maintained that political relations between two countries cannot grow if we do not have business relations. It was further highlighted that tourism, education, and medicine are the important sectors where both countries can productive and mutually beneficial relations.



H.E. Ms Maria Agnes M. Cervantes with Chairman PCFR Amb Shahid M Amin, Secretary General Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi, and other members of Board of Governors of PCFR

GLIMPSES OF PCFR OUTREACH INITIATIVES



Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi Secretary General PCFR hosted a dinner in honor of Mr. Li Bijian Consul General of China meeting with Chairman PCFR Amb (R) Shahid M Amin along with member Board of Governors.



Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi Secretary General PCFR along with Mr. Hassan Nourian Consul General of Iran and Mr. Hossein Amini Commercial Attaches Iran paid a courtesy call on Mr. Manzoor Wasan Minister of Agriculture Sindh.



Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi Secretary General PCFR and Mr. Hunaid Lakhani (Late) Co-Chief Patron paid a courtesy call on Mr. Mishal Mohammad A.A. Al Ansari Consul General of Qatar and Dean of Consular Corps and Nasser Hamad Al-Khulaifi Deputy Consul General of Qatar.



Mr. Qasim Awan Patron PCFR and Executive Director TCS presenting memento to H.E. Mr. Hamid Abbas Lafta Ambassador of Iraq to Pakistan while Mr. Suliman Khalid Al-Dhayi Iraqi Deputy Head of Mission, Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi Secretary General PCFR, and Mr. Abdul Qadir Director Aviation TCs are also present on the occasion.



Mr. Qasim Awan Patron PCFR and Executive Director TCS presenting memento to H.E. DR. Mazen Obeid Minister Plenipotentiary Embassy of Syria while Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi Secretary General PCFR and Mr. Abdul Qadir Director Aviation TCs are also present on the occasion.



Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Secretary General PCFR & Diplomatic Advisor TCS presenting souvenir to Dr. Rüdiger lotz Consul General of German after a meeting along with Amb(R) Hasan Habib.

GLIMPSES OF PAST



PAST GLIMPSES



Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi Secretary General PCFR presenting memento to Mr. Shivshankar Menon former Indian National Security Advisor at the inaugural session of Conference on “Transforming South Asia: Imperative for Action” in New Delhi on 9 March 2012



Group photograph at the end of Interactive Session with former U.S. Ambassador H.E Ms. Nancy Powell on the subject of "Pak-American Relations" on November 13, 2003 in Karachi



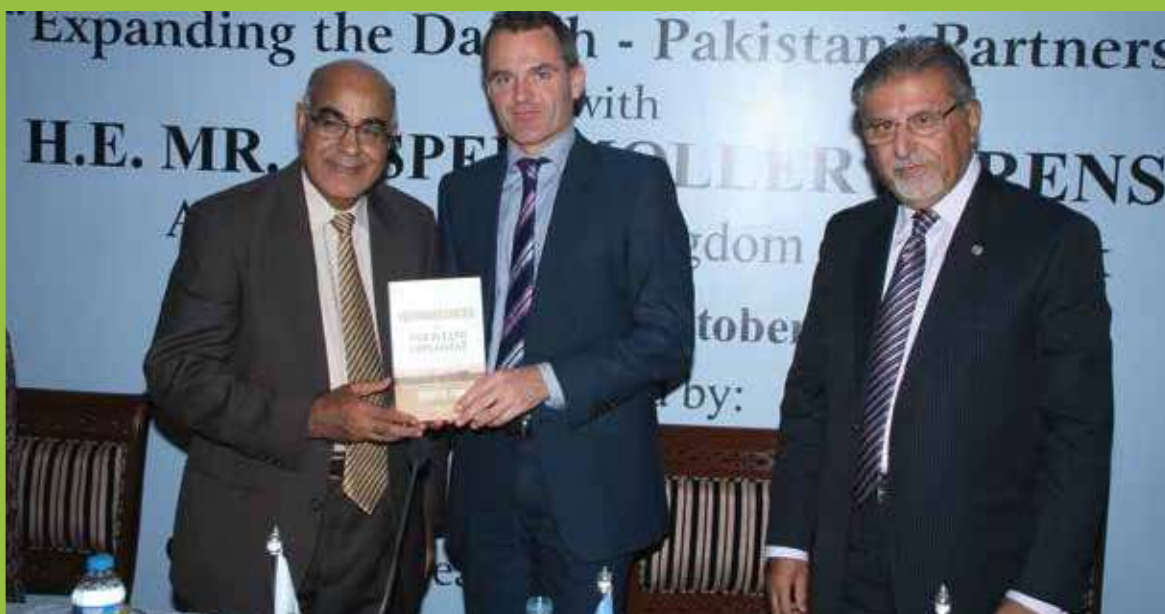
An interactive session on “Pakistan’s Economic Diplomacy and Germany” with H.E Abdul Basit, Pakistan’s Ambassador to Germany and Dr. Tilo Klinner Consul General of Germany in Karachi on June 19, 2013.



An interactive session on “Pakistan-German Relations and its European context” organized by the Council on November 12, 2013 in Karachi and addressed by renowned German scholar Prof. Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider.



Interactive session on "Italy - Pakistan Relations" with H.E. Mr. Adriano Chiodi Cianfarani, Ambassador of the Italian Republic and H.E. Mr. Peter Heyward High Commissioner of Australia organized by the Council on March 7, 2022.



Ambassador (R) Shahid M Amin Chairman PCFR presenting his book to H.E Jesper Moller Sorensen Ambassador of Denmark at the end of interactive session on "Expanding the Danish - Pakistani Partnership" organized by the Council in collaboration with the Institute of Business Management (IoBM) on October 10, 2013



(From left to right): British DHC in Islamabad Ms. Alison Blake, Mr. Liaquat Merchant , British HC Mr. Adam Thomson CMG, Mr. Ahsan M. Zubairi, and Mr. Kalim Farooqui at the end of session on "Passionate about Pakistan : the U.K. View of an Unbreakable Partnership" organized by the Council



Group photograph at the end of an interactive session on “The Elysée Treaty - 50 years of Franco-German friendship” with H.E Dr. Cyrill Jean Nunn, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany and H.E Philippe Thiebaud, Ambassador of the French Republic on 21st November 2013 in Karachi



Dinner meeting with the Board of Governors of the Council with Ambassador Ms. Robin Raphael Coordinator for U.S. Economic and Development Assistance to Pakistan on December 17, 2009.



Figure 1 From left to right: Ambassador (R) S.K. Dehlavi, Mr. Saquib Ali, former Deputy High Commissioner of Bangladesh, Lt. Gen. (R) Moinuddin Haider, H.E. Mrs. Yasmeen Murshed, former High Commissioner of Bangladesh and Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi at the Interactive Session on "Changing Security Dynamic: Challenges for South Asia" held on 14th May 2009 in Karachi.



Chairman Lt. Gen. (R) Moinuddin Haider along with Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi presenting memento to H.E. Mr. Robert Kvile , Ms. Lise Albrechtsen Second Secretary (Development) at the Royal Norwegian Embassy.



Group Photograph of the Heads of ASEAN Diplomatic Missions with Speaker Sindh Assembly Mr. Nisar Ahmed Khuhro and Deputy Speaker Sindh Assembly Ms. Shehla Raza at the Sindh Assembly building



Gen. Moinuddin Haider Former Governor and Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi presenting memento to H.E Ms. Martine Dorance Ambassador of France; Amb (R) Shahid M Amin is also seen in the picture.



Ambassador (R) Shahid M Amin Chairman presenting memento to Mr. Fu Mengzi Vice President China Institute of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR).



Amb of Egypt, and Dean of African Countries H.E. Mr. Said Mohamed El Said Hindam presenting memento to Mr. Ahsan MUKhtar ZUBairi Secretary General PCFR.



Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi Secretary General PCFR presenting memento to H.E. Adriano Chiodi Cianfarani Ambassador of Italy while Australian High Commissioner H.E. Mr. Peter Heyward, Ambassador (R) Shahid M Amin, and Mr. Kalim Farooqui are also present on the occasion.



A group photograph of presidents of the business councils of Pakistan-Australia, Pakistan-Germany, Pakistan-Japan, Pakistan-Korea, Pakistan-Russia, Pakistan-Sri Lanka with H.E. Gen Pervez Musharraf Former President of Pakistan



Seminar on "The Iran-Russia Entente: Marriage of Convenience of Strategic Partnership" address by Dr. Celment Therme, Research Fellow of School for Advance Studies in Social Sciences, France, organized by the Council.

PCFR Family Welcomes New Life Members

New Arrivals



Mr. Jawaid Ilyas
CEO
Brothers Trading Corporation



Mr. Syed Tanvir Ahmed
EX DG Customs &
Member FBR



Mr. Faizan Ali Siddiqi
MD & Founder,
Brandverse Pvt Ltd



Mr. Zain A Soomro
Litigation Partner
Essani Law Associates



Mr. Hussain Thebo
Anchorperson GTV News



Mr. Sunny Ghansham
Marketing Director
FISCHER Pharma



Ms. Shumaila Omar
Faculty Member
Institute of Business Administration (IBA)



Mr. Aamir Haider Butt



Mr. Faysal Aziz Khan
President & Chief News Officer
BOL

New Arrivals in Diplomatic Corps

Newly appointed envoys presented credentials to the President of Islamic Republic of Pakistan Dr. Arif Alvi at ceremonies held at Aiwan-e-Sadr, Islamabad.



★ **H.E. Mr Pengiran Abdul Samad bin Pengiran Haji Metasan**
The High Commissioner of Brunei Darussalam

★ **H.E. Mr Brahim Romani**
Ambassador of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

★ **Mr Konstantinos Moatsos**
Ambassador of Greece (Hellenic Republic)

★ **H.E. Mr Mohamed Vall Bah**
Ambassador the Republic of Mauritania

★ **H.E. Mr Kastriot Robo**
Ambassador the Republic of Albania



- ★ **H.E. Mr Michael Wehi Mailetonga Walsh**
The High Commissioner of New Zealand
- ★ **Mr Muhammad Tezikuba Kisambira**
The High Commissioner of Uganda
- ★ **H.E. Mr Guillermo Alejandro Puente Ordorica**
The Ambassador of the United Mexican States,
- ★ **Mr Eric Owusa-Boateng**
The Ambassador of the Republic of Ghana



★ **H.E. Mr. Donald Armin Blome**

Ambassador of the United States,

★ **H.E. Dr Mehmet Pacaci**

Ambassador of the Republic of Türkiye

★ **H.E. Mr. Neil Hawkins**

High Commissioner of Australia

★ **H.E. Ms. Riina Kionka**

Ambassador of the European Union,

★ **H.E. Mr. Salih Mohamed Ahmed Mohamed Siddig**

Ambassador of the Republic of Sudan,

★ **H.E. Mr. Rinchen Kuentsyl**

Non-resident Ambassador of Bhutan



★ **H.E. Mr. Alfred Grannas**

Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany

★ **H.E. Mr. Jose Antonia de Ory Peral**

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Memorandum of Understanding

MoUs Signed by Mr. Ahsan Mukhtar Zubairi, Secretary General, with Foreign Countries. The aim of MoUs is to develop cooperation and partnership in the fields of diplomacy, culture, economy and trade, education, international relations, social sciences, communication and the media.



Signed MoU with The Belarusian State University, Year 2018.



Signed MoU with Shanghai Institute for International Studies SIIS, Shanghai. Year 2014.



Signed MoU with The Institute of International Relations of Taras Shevchenko, National University of Kyiv, Year 2016.



Signed MoU with Observer Research Foundation Mumbai-India, Mumbai. Year 2015.



Signed MoU with The Tunisian Institute of Strategic Studies (ITES), Year 2016.



Signed MoU with China Institute of Contemporary International Relations, CICIR, Beijing. Year 2015



Signed MoU with The Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies, (TASAM) Istanbul, Year 2016.



Signed MoU with The East West Institute, Newyork. Year 2015.



Signed MoU with Institute for Political and International Studies (IPIS), Tehran. Year 2016.



South Korea: Signed MoU with The Sejong Institute, Seongnam. Year 2014.

**Russia**

Signed MoU with The Russian International Affairs Council, Moscow. Year 2014.

**Nepal**

Signed MoU with The Nepal Council of World Affairs, Year 2013. And Nepal Institute of Policy Studies, Year 2012, Kathmandu.

**China**

Signed MoU with The National Institute of Strategic Communication, Year 2016.

**Egypt**

Egypt: Signed MoU with The Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs, Cairo, Year 2012.

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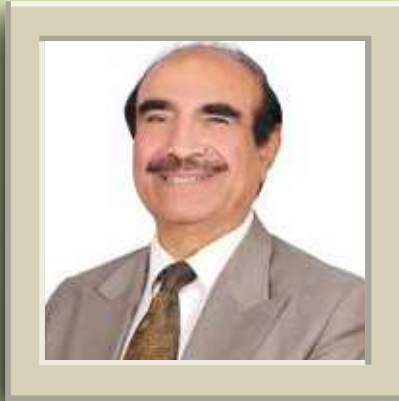


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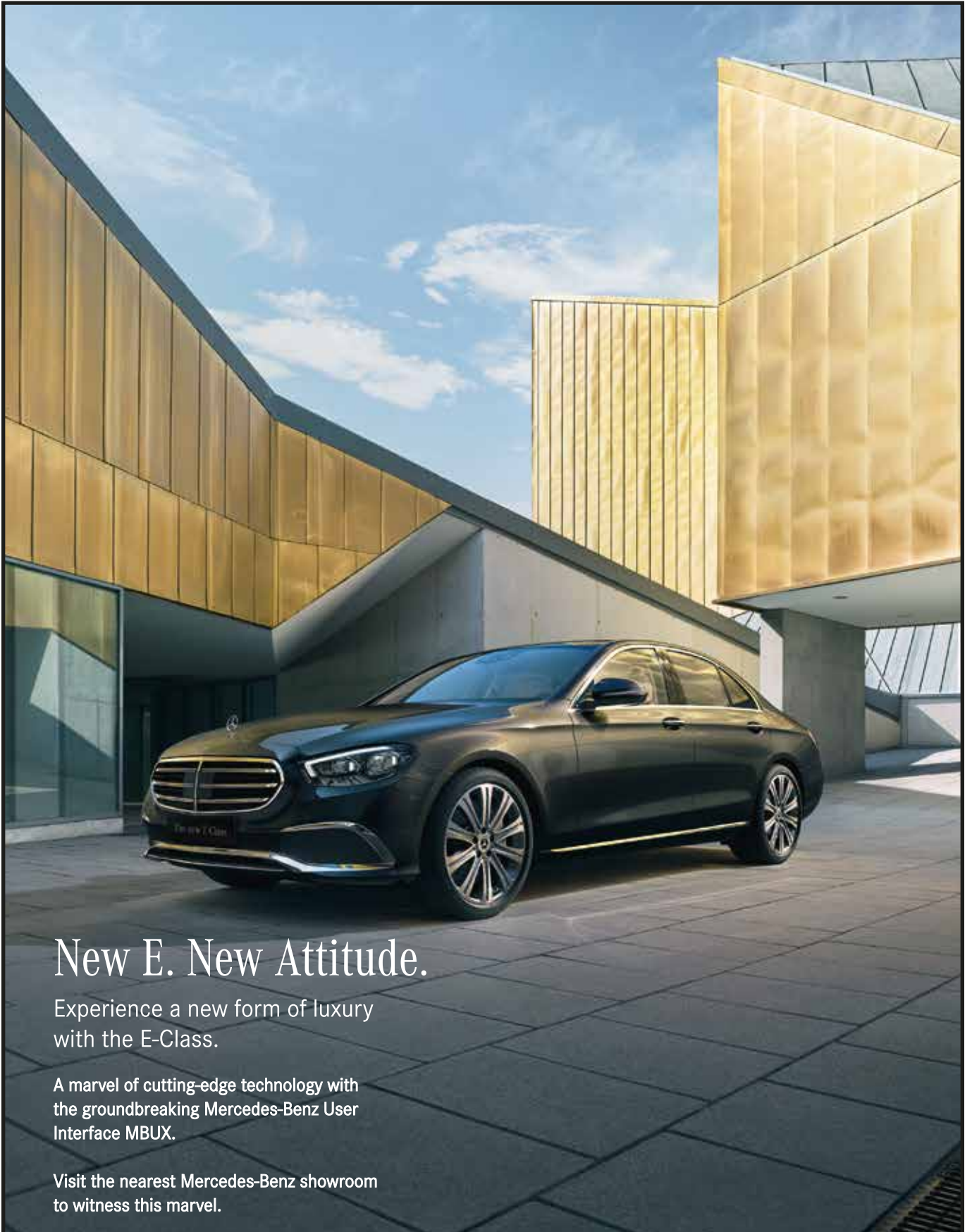
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2.	MR. S. NADEEM ALI KAZMI Chief Executive Officer Validus Engineering Pvt. Ltd	10.	MR. AHSAN MUKHTAR ZUBAIRI Diplomatic Advisor TCS Logistics Pvt Ltd
3.	MR. ROGER DAWOOD BAYAT	11.	MR. SYED MAZHAR ALI NASIR Director Operations SWAT Ceremics Co. Pvt Ltd
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5.	A.V. MARSHAL (R) NUDRAT KAZMI PAF Retired Private Business	13.	AMBASSADOR (R) S. HASSAN HABIB Former Ambassador & Senior Fellow Institute of Business Management, IoBM
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8.	MR. MASHKOOR A.G. KHAN Regional Manager Meezan Bank	16.	MR. AHSAN MEHANTI Managing Director/Chief Executive Officer Arif Habib Commodities

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20.	MR. SOLI R. PARAKH Executive Director Beach Luxury Hotel	28.	MR. ARSHAD ALI Chairman Jaffer Jeess Pvt Ltd
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