

SPECIAL FEATURE
Animal Rights Exclusive

October 2012

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SOUTHASIA

The Regional Political & Economic Review

INSIDE:

PAKISTAN

The Game of Religious Bigotry

AFGHANISTAN

An Anatomy of Green on Blue

INDIA

Waiting for Justice

BANGLADESH

Striving for Food Security

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Pakistan's Singular Malady

Pakistani schoolgirl Malala Yusufzai was on her way home from school in Mingora, a town in Pakistan's Swat Valley, when a Taliban gunman walked up to the school van, asked for her by name and shot her in the head and neck, besides injuring two others. Malala had come to public attention three years ago when, as Gul Makai, she penned a diary for the BBC Urdu Service about life under the Taliban, who controlled Swat from 2007 to 2009 before being dislodged by the Pakistan Army. Subsequently, Malala also appeared on TV shows and talked about the repression of the Taliban. She called for quality education for all Pakistanis and especially girls. It is deplorable that the teenager was punished in the same Pakistan which its founder, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, envisioned as a democratic and moderate Muslim state.

The Malala incident, in fact, symbolizes the peculiar malady that Pakistan has suffered from for almost a decade. Caught between the devil and the deep sea, hundreds of innocent people have been killed and maimed either in terrorist incidents or as 'collateral' damage in US-sponsored drone attacks. The manner in which extremism has engulfed this South Asian country in recent years is appalling but what is even worse is that too many people are condoning such acts or acquiescing to them. The leaders of certain well-known political parties are a case in point. To Pakistan's credit, it has shown noteworthy progress in educating girls in recent years. In 1990, Pakistani females between 15 and 24 were half as likely as males to be literate but during Musharraf's era, the ratio had improved to three-quarters. The problem, however, persists for schooling of girls in areas like Swat where the Taliban and other extremist groups maintain a presence.

The Pakistani Army had succeeded in pushing out the Taliban from Swat two years back but it seems there has been a resurgence of militant activity in the area over recent months. It is therefore imperative that both the Pakistan government as well as the Army devise a new and practicable strategy to counter this evil and stamp it out on a permanent basis. It would be useful to take out a page from Sri Lanka's book. The country combated terrorism at the hands of the LTTE for over a quarter of a century and when all else failed, including several attempts at drawing the LTTE into a dialogue process, recourse was made to decisive military action and stamping out of the LTTE militants for good.

The Pakistan Army needs to revisit its strategy and, building on the successes it has achieved earlier in driving out the Taliban from Swat Valley, it must launch a fresh offensive to deal with the insurgents. It must do this without further loss of time as any foot-dragging may encourage other powers to ingress into Pakistan's sovereign territory on the pretext of 'hot pursuit' of the militants and find an excuse to dig in their heels in the region on a permanent basis. World powers must also understand that drone attacks are no solution to countering militancy. As for advocates of dialogue with the militants who aspire to 'win their hearts and minds', they should know that the time for such 'peace' initiatives has passed. There is always room for dialogue between two willing contenders who are ready to accommodate each others' viewpoint. However, you simply cannot talk to wild animals in the garb of humans who draw on obscure and even non-existent religious precedents and kill innocent people, motivated by nothing but the basest levels of reactivity, retaliation and revenge.



Syed Jawaid Iqbal

South Asia: The New Investment Hub?

Your cover story on investment in South Asia was interesting to read as it adopted a dual approach: investigating investment within SAARC as well as investment making its way into the region. The region seems to be handicapped by its archaic business regulations, lack of transparency and the overarching, permeating corruption that essentially plagues the entire process. Major hurdles such as these do little to boost investor confidence. South Asia undoubtedly has much to



offer in terms of natural resources, labor, expertise and potential. However, much more needs to be done to enhance business practices and convince international executives to invest in sectors that yield high profits thus benefitting both parties. FDI is a major source of income for South Asian countries and while Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and India have taken advantage of this practice, Afghanistan and Pakistan lag behind, primarily due to their political instability that does not bode well for business practices. Intra-SAARC trade on the other hand has higher potential to succeed and can be executed fairly quickly. The proximity of the countries, the comparative advantage over certain

products and services and the common business practices are links of opportunities that must not be underestimated. Should South Asia establish itself as a flourishing, functioning and prosperous hub of investment, it will automatically attract greater FDI and begin its transformation in the next global, economic hub.

Mumtaz Ahmed
Dhaka, Bangladesh

Terrorist Attacks on Military Bases

The recent and growing terrorist attacks on Pakistan's Air Bases trigger serious concerns not only within the military but also amongst the general public. The recent attack on the Minhas Base was the fourth of its kind and it is interesting to note that most military attacks, target air bases. It is commendable that Pakistani forces were able to quell such an attack in the nick of time thus avoiding a major catastrophe, especially on a holy night. However, such an attack did take place and once again left a fragile and deeply divided nation in shock. It is perhaps high time we realize that brazen attacks on our military are the result of anti-state actors within Pakistan and not external entities. Strict action must be taken against such forces and the public must be prepared to suffer a backlash, which is inevitable. The military must make a cohesive strategy, regardless of political authority, and conduct nation-wide operations to avoid such occurrences in the eventual future. This is a matter of our children's security and we cannot afford to leave behind a Pakistan like this, for them.

Mustafa Chaudhry
Lahore, Pakistan

The Wild Card

Your profile on U.S Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, Paul Ryan was beautifully and articulately pre-



sented. As U.S debates go into motion, the Republican party has taken strong blows against its lack of foreign experience or exposure. While it is true that most in America do not view foreign policy as a priority, as opposed to Pakistan, the mere fact that the U.S continues to be embroiled in an eleven-year war in Afghanistan and is facing heated backlashes from Pakistan, should make foreign policy a priority for the next President. Up till a few weeks back, it was clear that the U.S elections this year, would focus largely on rebuilding the American economy, re-analyzing health care and bringing the country back on its feet. However, violent anti-American outbreaks in the Middle East and South Asia in response to a crude and disgusting 'anti-Islam' film have once again driven a grave fact home: America is not a monolithic entity and must give foreign policy more attention if it wishes to survive in a global community where its actions reverberate throughout the world. While the reactions from the Muslim world were not justified, America needs a President and Commander-in-Chief who cannot only speak to the United States with authority and commitment to their ideals and security but can also address the world community with compassion, understanding and a desire to engage based on past experience and expertise. It is highly uncertain how well the Romney-Ryan 2012 camp can pull off international diplomacy. If its short, past record is anything to go by, the Republicans might be in quite a mess.

Monica Talmadge
New York, USA

Iran's Diplomatic Strategy

The 16th NAM Summit hosted by Iran was much more than just a meeting of some 100 odd member states. The very fact that Iran will now be heading NAM, at least for the next three years, buys the sanction-ridden country much needed time and space. While NAM may not be an entirely influential consortium, it is nonetheless the second largest international organization after the UN. Iran's position as the host is widely respected and accepted within the bloc, even though it adopted a brazen anti-American and anti-West tone during the recent Summit. While Iran may have forced the international community to take note of its recent development and interact with it, NAM will hardly be a source for America to worry about. Playing an almost inconsequential role in global politics, NAM itself struggles to address the numerous problems of poverty, corruption, economic decline, religious violence and the energy crisis, amongst other things, that plague its member states. Further complicating this situation is that most of the member states today enjoy some form of diplomatic relations with Israel and Iran, no matter how hard it tries, will be unable to influence a reversal of such relationships. Its anti-Israel, anti-American rhetoric will only go so far because ironically, most member states either share close ties with the U.S or are heavily dependent on the

country's aid and development projects. Breaking such ties to show solidarity with Iran's marginalized political and diplomatic agenda would be detrimental to any member state.

Mahmoud Bashir
Los Angeles, USA

Taliban Poetry

It was very interesting to read your article on the recently released book, "Poetry of the Taliban." Though its publication has sparked off a series of debates and conspiracies, as an avid reader it is thrilling and eye-opening to read the words of Taliban fighters and get an insight into their way of thinking and perspectives, through the use of poetry. Poetry is deeply embedded in Afghan culture and dates back to the tradition of Persian and Pashtu literature.

Citizens around the world are constantly reminded of the ruthless nature and violent tactics of Taliban fighters through disturbing images, which reflect this group's mindset. At the same time however, this book doesn't attempt to provide a defense of Taliban actions but rather provokes the reader to abandon all pre-conceived notions and absorb the vividness and elegance of the poetry with an open mind.

I think most people would be able to enjoy this book, even though it is translated from Pashtu thus losing most of its finesse. While the Taliban worldview and ideology is blatantly expressive, it is nonetheless a wonderful initiative undertaken by the publishers to present to the world, a Taliban perspective through rich, elegant poetry.

Mehzur Baksh
Kabul, Afghanistan

Team Green?

It was highly disheartening to see Pakistan's performance at the recent London Olympics. Reading your article, I realize that most young people are unaware of the fact that Pakistan

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was once a strong team to reckon with. Over the past few years, the Pakistan Olympic team's performance has been continuously dismal thus rendering them ineffective and unimportant. The euphoria and support system that the Pakistani cricket team commands cannot compare to the reception accorded to the Olympic teams, despite the fact that they are facing a tougher, more important international challenge.

There is an urgent need to revitalize this sector and train our Olympic players to a level where they can compete as equals. Pakistan must support its athletes as much as it supports its cricket team and this can only be achieved when the Olympic Team has something to show for itself. The proper infrastructure, perhaps foreign training, modern facilities and a strong support system at home is desperately needed.

Pakistan commands unbounded talent and if athletes are properly trained through personnel and the system, perhaps Pakistan will be able to compete in events from which it is been absent for a very long time.

Mahruck
Iqbal,
Karachi,
Pakistan





"We understand why people take offence to this video because millions of our citizens are among them."

Barack Obama
President of the United States of America



"To those who say we have not done enough, I say in all humility: Please do not insult the memory of our dead, and the pain of our living...And please, stop this refrain to 'do more'."

Asif Ali Zardari
President of Islamic Republic of Pakistan



"Are we to believe that those who spend hundreds of millions of dollars on election campaigns have the interests of the people of the world at their hearts?"

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad
President of Iran



"Kashmir remains a symbol of failures, rather than strengths of the UN system. We feel that resolution of these issues can only be arrived in an environment of cooperation."

Pranab Mukherjee
President of India



"We are deeply committed to our brotherly relations with Pakistan, but are aware of the challenges that may strain our efforts at building trust and confidence."

Hamid Karzai
President of Afghanistan



"The General Assembly must be strengthened with power and authority for decision-making commensurate to its global representation."

Narayan Kaji Shrestha
Deputy Prime Minister of Nepal



"Commonwealth doesn't have a policy to release a statement to counter the claims of just one person. But we are truly concerned with the efforts to alter the truth."

Dunya Maumoon
Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Maldives



"My commitment to ensure an independent judiciary is uppermost. I cannot understand why there should be such unfounded accusations against me or my government."

Mahinda Rajapaksa
President of Sri Lanka





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PAKISTAN

Towards Nuclear Independence

A Heavy Mechanical Complex III in Taxila, operating under the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC), is ready to steer Pakistan into the future of nuclear technology. According to certain sources, the Pakistan Nuclear Regulatory Authority has given HMC the green signal to manufacture class I nuclear safety equipment. As per requirements, the Complex will manufacture equipment related to core nuclear islands, forming a direct link to control and maintain multiple activities in a nuclear reactor. Over the years, the manufacturing facility in Taxila has produced spare parts for nuclear plants and

other related equipment. Commenting on the advancement in technology, Engineer Anwar Habib, Chairman PNRA, said, "Pakistan has constantly been under international embargoes. Local production of parts would not only help them keep up the required maintenance of nuclear plants but it would also improve the existing plants. It is indeed a happy moment for Pakistan. We will ensure that quality is not compromised in haste or achieving any production target." HMC-III already acquired certifications, nearly six years ago, to manufacture class II and III



nuclear safety equipment. Class I equipment deals with manufacturing parts for tanks, vessels, and steam generators.

Given its geo-strategic location and the desire to develop secure nuclear technology, the country cannot tolerate any compromise over quality which is the reason why Pakistan received the certification after due consideration. **S**

AFGHANISTAN

Reason to Worry

A report recently released by the International Crisis Group (ICG) titled, "Afghanistan: The Long, Hard Road to the 2014 Transition" puts forth a bleak prospect for the war-torn coun-

try. Blatantly criticizing the now 11 year war in Afghanistan, the report comes at a time when NATO is already struggling to reduce Green-on-Blue attacks and strategize a responsible and stable withdrawal in 2014.

Detrimental to the interests and resolve of the international community, the report states that the country is likely to fall into a trap of chaos and uncertainty, should it enter another round of fraudulent elections. The Afghan government is already struggling to take control of the country after 130,000 troops withdraw in the next two years and results such as this, dash any hope, no matter how little. The report is also increasingly crit-

ical of President Karzai stating that the President is solely interested in retaining his power through any means necessary and is uninterested in establishing the credibility of the system. With elections around the corner, Karzai has taken minimal steps to ensure a free and fair election; one that would be imperative for a stable and prosperous Afghanistan. According to the constitution, Karzai will not be allowed to run for another term in the up-coming elections but observers suspect that he will try his utmost to elect a puppet ally, who will ensure Karzai's inherent involvement in the running of the state. "The danger is President Karzai's top priority is maintaining control, either directly or via a trusted proxy," the report states. **S**



INDIA

Oil Business Up

In a recently signed, joint deal, Oil India Ltd and Indian Oil Corporation bought a 30 percent stake in Niobrara, a shale asset of Carrizo Oil and Gas. The \$82.5 million deal marks the first investment by the two Indian companies in the United States. The increase in shale gas output in the US has reduced prices, prompting the US to consider exporting to Asian countries. As per the contract, Oil India and Indian Oil Corporation will have a 20 percent and 10 percent share respectively.

S.K. Srivastava, Chairman, Oil India is optimistic about the investment in

the Houston-based Carrizo Oil and Gas, saying, "We have earmarked part of our reserves for acquisitions and new opportunities to bolster our overseas portfolio and we are keen on joint ventures in countries with geopolitical stability." India continues to be crippled by an energy crisis and is the fourth-largest oil importer in the world. The country had initially had a stake in the Iran-Pakistan-India pipeline but after U.S pressure, pulled out of the lucrative project. India has long been searching for oil and gas assets abroad to satisfy its rising oil demands. The total investment



by the two companies is \$82.5 million, including an advance cash payment of \$41.25 million. The remaining amount is associated with Carrizo's infrastructure and development cost. According to the finance director of Oil India, the company will raise \$100 million in foreign loans by the end of this year to finance the deal. The deal also gives both Indian companies a 30-percent interest in the production of oil by Carrizo. **S**

SRI LANKA

Foreign Investment in Sri Lanka

Homestead, a UK-based Indian real estate enterprise, has recently decided to invest in Sri Lanka through a development plan that includes a township project in Colombo. An investment such as this will be the first move from a UK based company in the island country situated in the Indian Ocean. The UK financial company, also the main sponsors of the Sri Lankan T20 cricket team, are currently searching for land. Manoj Shrivastava, Chief Operating Officer, Homestead says that the company has already forwarded a proposal to the Urban Development Authority and have received a positive response. Once completed, the project will be Sri Lanka's largest housing project owned by a private company.

With anticipated construction in 2013, the residential scheme will include community halls, shopping centres, a transportation hub, and other facilities. An investment such as this comes at a time when Sri Lanka continues to face internal conflicts and the shadows of the ending Tamil war still loom large over the government. A high-profile construction project re-

quires heavy investment and the assurance of a sound political environment. According to Shrivastava, the project aims to target the emigrants and foreigners who will be the prime residents. Because of its large funding and expected development, it will also cater to the corporate sector.

Sri Lanka desperately needs a facelift and this construction project could be its chance. If successful, Sri Lanka will re-join with Homestead to embark on a second project, envisioning luxury apartments and two 30-floor towers. **S**



MALDIVES

Crossing the Line

The political situation in the Maldives has once again erupted with the on-going case against former President Mohamed Nasheed making its way into the spotlight. Nasheed has accused the current Maldivian government of conducting a coup and forcefully removing him from his presidency. The former President believes that the coup was jointly planned and executed by his rival, Maumoon Abdul Gayoom and Islamist parties that are quickly rising to power in the already unstable nation. However, a recent report released by the National Commission overseen by

foreign experts allays such claims and confirms the legitimacy of the current government.

Subsequently, Nasheed has been “summoned” by the Lower Courts to appear to face charges against abducting and dismissing a judge during the last few days of his presidency. Nasheed and his Maldivian Democratic Party have ignored the summon stating that “We do not accept these courts and president Nasheed will abide by the MDP decision not to accept any orders or decisions of these courts.” The summon also put a travel ban on the former President who was



seen violating the ban last week and left the capital island to meet with supporters and members of the MDP in the southern islands.

His blatant challenging of the summon and lack of regard for the law has heated the animosity between the government and the MDP. The police have been asked to bring Nasheed to the court and should he continue to resist, the court has issued orders of arrest. **S**

BHUTAN

Healthy Harvest

After years of struggling the Kingdom of Bhutan is finally on its way to becoming the first country in the world to grow 100 percent organic food. With much potential, the Buddhist minority state, landlocked between China and India seems to have an eye for unconventional methodologies. Bhutan is internationally known for focusing on safeguarding the environment and evaluating its country's progress through the happiness of its citizens. A development model called “Gross National Happiness” has gained much attention throughout the world, having been discussed at the United Nations as well.

The decision to produce organic food isn't the first time Bhutan has

resolved to follow an unconventional approach. Television was banned in the country until 1999 and Bhutan has adamantly protected its cultural heritage from foreign elements by refusing to promote its tourism industry. Cautiously taking steps to open up to the global community and forming its first diplomatic relations with key global players, Bhutan has seen an instant surge in foreign goods and services such as fancy cars, watches and cinema halls playing American movies. The country's decision to welcome new ideas is evident through its policy to trim down artificial chemicals in farming. The plan foresees the country producing staple food and fruits through a 100 percent organic process in the next

10 years. Commenting on the initiative, Pema Gyamtsho, Agriculture Minister of Bhutan, said, “Bhutan has decided to opt for a green economy in light of the tremendous pressure we are exerting on the planet. If you go for very intensive agriculture it would imply the use of so many chemicals, which is not in keeping with our belief in Buddhism, which calls for us to live in harmony with nature.” **S**



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No Strings Attached?



The World Bank may have invested in a number of projects in Pakistan but lending policies often come with strings attached.

By Mohiuddin Aazim

In the 1990s, the World Bank played a key role in assisting the establishment of the Hub Power project in Pakistan. The Hub Power Company or HUBCO emerged as a catalyst for energy development and continues to play that role even today. Pakistan's economic growth in the second half of the 90s and in the first half of 2000s can be at-

tributed to the development and stability of its energy sector. HUBCO's stellar performance and consistent and adequate power supply encouraged others to invest in the energy sector, leading to subsequent private power plants and captive power plants.

The World Bank also initiated banking sector reforms in the mid-90s, ren-

dering thousands of bank employees jobless. But the reforms gave birth to a sound banking system that helped in modest-to-high economic growth till 2007. Had those reforms not taken place, Pakistan's banking system would have been painfully susceptible to the global financial crisis of 2007-2008.

Apart from these two major projects,

the Bank is actively engaged, mostly as a co-financier, in a number of projects throughout Pakistan. A senior official of the Ministry of Finance claims that some 30 plus projects have been approved by WB during the present PPP-led coalition government. These projects are diverse in nature; some are aimed at enhancing power projection capacity and strengthening the financial and infrastructure sectors, while others target uplifting socially disadvantaged sections of the population and promising better delivery of health and education services. The Bank has played a critical role in introducing the concept of micro-financing in Pakistan as well. Most importantly, all projects are geographically spread over a large part of Pakistan covering all four provinces.

Pakistan became a member of the World Bank in 1950 and began borrowing from it in 1952. The country also started borrowing from IDA since its inception in 1962. Therefore, the Pakistan-World Bank relationship spans over half a century and has survived both dictatorial and democratic regimes in Islamabad.

Pakistan has also remained in the list of the top ten recipients of WB financing and its economy has benefited in more ways than meets the eye. Whenever there is a qualitative change in the nature of Pakistan's relationship with the US (the largest sponsor of the WB), the perception about the utility and real motives of WB programs comes into question. It is imperative that borrowing member countries focus on how they can strike an acceptable balance between the nature of their borrowing needs and the WB program. Pakistan is no exception.

Pakistan's relationship with the World Bank spanning over five decades offers important lessons. Whether it is a change of regime in Islamabad or a change of heart in Pakistan's relationship with America, the country has often amended the original features of its borrowing programs from WB and other

Period	Financing by IBRD/IDA	Areas of development activity
FY09	\$940m	Trade, transport, education, health social safety and poverty reduction
FY10	\$784m	Higher education and social safety
FY11	\$807m	Irrigation, ports and highways infrastructure, health, education, tertiary education and skill development
FY12	\$658m	Electricity and gas, irrigation, health, education and social safety

Source: World Bank. (Figures rounded off)

multilateral lending agencies and casually approved them after some readjustments. The lack of consistency leads to one WB project continuing peacefully while the next may find itself in a shambles. Pakistan's inability to secure enough financial support from the WB for its energy sector after the turn of the century is an obvious example.

But this is only one side of the coin. The other side, equally important, is whether the World Bank and other IFIs have remained faithful in financing development projects in Pakistan. Most international development projects come with strings attached and often try to influence a country's economic decision-making to the point that its economic managers grow frustrated and want to abandon the project. The World Bank, unfortunately, has a healthy history of engaging in such practices.

Despite this, it is heartening to see that the WB has itself introduced an independent evaluation of its lending programs and the evaluators, drawn from both public and private sectors of the borrowing country and senior officials of the WB, plainly point out weaknesses in the philosophy, management and operational details of WB activities. One such report compiled in mid-2000s makes a candid observation "Beyond problems in the overall strategic thrust of the Bank's program, the Bank failed to design a program that was realistic. The SAP (structural adjustment program) projects were the most extreme exam-

ples of this failure, but the problems can be seen in other projects (as well)."

Three basic things that can define the scope of a future relationship between Pakistan and the Bank are Pakistan's internal politics, the World Bank's new strategy toward Asian economies and the overall global economic scenario.

Pakistan's internal politics will determine, in large part, the country's collective will to tap its own resources for expanding its economy. The World Bank's strategy for development lending in Asia will certainly ascertain future volumes of lending to Pakistan and the overall global economic scenario can cause the direction-setting process both for borrowing countries and for the World Bank.

If judged by the current wave of nationalist and forward-looking politics of Pakistan, it can be assumed that the country will undertake serious measures to tap its domestic resources for growth. Any twist in its ongoing war on terror may change the quality of the efforts that would be made to achieve this goal, but the goal itself would remain unchanged in the foreseeable future. In return, the World Bank will have to provide increased volumes of lending to the Asian region and make it politically less painful for them to borrow. **S**

Mohiuddin Aazim is a Karachi-based political and economic analyst who writes for national and regional publications.

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For the Sake of Economic Glory

Despite the global economic downturn, the World Bank remains optimistic about its programs and efforts in India.

By Huzaima Bukhari & Dr. Ikramul Haq

With a population of more than 1.2 billion, India is the world's largest democracy. Over the past decade, the country's integration into the global economy has been accompanied by its impressive economic growth. According to the World Bank's India Economic Update of March 2012, India has emerged as a global player and the world's fourth largest economy in terms of purchasing power parity.

India presently receives roughly half of its World Bank ('the Bank') loans free from interest. These are provided by the Bank's International Development Association (IDA). Recently, the Bank informally told India that its rapidly growing economy may soon make the country ineligible for soft loans, prompting the government to lobby for concessional lending for a few more years. If it fails to do so, it may lose over \$2 billion in low-interest funds for many of its welfare schemes besides missing out on social initiatives spearheaded by the Bank over the previous decade. IDA recently announced that "we expect India to move into the middle income category of countries in the next two years. This means that the funding India got from IDA last year was the last of such funding for the country."

The World Bank lends to developing countries under two arms — IDA and International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). IDA funds are highly concessional or in the form of interest-free loans and grants, aimed at improving living conditions of the poorest. India is presently a "blend" country (one in transition from lower middle income to middle income). IBRD funds infrastructure projects in middle income and credit worthy low income countries at interest rates higher than those provided by IDA but lower than those offered by other commercial lending agencies. India being a blend country is entitled to lending from both IDA and IBRD.

In 2010, India's per capita national income stood at \$1,330, which was higher than the operational eligibility cutoff of \$1,175 per capita income. But the Indian Ministry of Finance argued that "though per capita income has risen, India has the highest number of poor and should, therefore, continue to get IDA support." According to official estimates, India has more than 350 million people below the poverty line. Last year, the Bank's Board approved \$1 billion for the National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM) - an ambitious livelihood guarantee scheme launched in 2011 under the rural development ministry. The

Bank is helping 13 poorest Indian states in building institutional systems before the scheme is scaled up at a national level in the next three to five years.

India has been the beneficiary of more than ten thousand initiatives and projects of the Bank since 1947. The Bank recently held consultations with civic society organizations to seek input on its 'Proposed Country Program Strategy' (CPS) for India for 2013-2016. The CPS is the Bank's roadmap for engagement in the country over the next four years. Oriented towards results, the CPS aims to support India's development agenda of faster, sustainable and more inclusive growth as outlined in the government's upcoming 12th Five Year Plan. The CPS identifies key areas where the Bank's assistance can have the greatest impact on poverty reduction. This, in turn, will determine the level and composition of the World Bank Group's financial, advisory and technical support to the country over a four year period.

CPS is being developed in consultation with the country's authorities, civil society organizations, development partners, media, the private sector and other stakeholders. According to the World Bank Group, consultations provide "a platform to tap into the experience and knowledge of a broad range



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of stakeholders and listen to their ideas about how the Bank can work with them to help meet the country's development challenges." Discussions cover the country's long-standing development agenda and the new challenges consequential to unprecedented economic growth, and the recent slowdown.

Accordingly, to determine its CPS for 2013-2016, the World Bank Group is holding a series of consultation workshops in a number of cities across India -- Delhi and four state capitals - Bangalore, Raipur, Guwahati and Lucknow. Each capital has been spe-

earlier projects over the last decade. There was an impressive annual growth rate of over 7% to 9% led by strong advances in the services sector—the most notable being the dynamism of India's world-renowned IT industry. External reserves were more than four times the short-term external debt, an exceptionally safe level. Poverty declined substantially—from over one-half of the Indian people living below the official poverty line, back in 1974, to about a third in the early 1990s, further down to about a quarter today. Social conditions of the people have also improved.

1991. Of late, however, the momentum is decelerating and growth has slowed down. According to many experts, "policy slippages and weaker growth have nearly wiped out all the hard-earned gains in the nation's fiscal position." Credit rating agencies even downgraded India's medium-term prospects. Despite impressive inroads, about 350 million Indians are still trapped below the official poverty line. Some 520 million people live on less than \$2 per day.

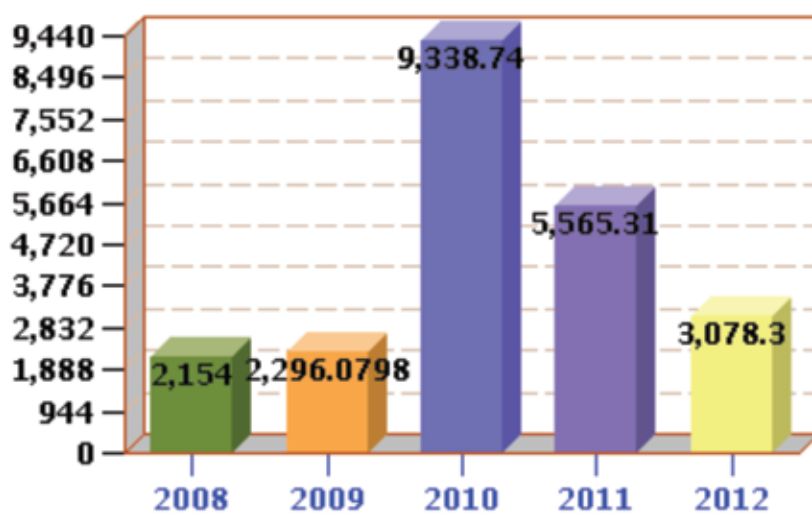
India's economic growth rate in 2011-12 slipped to a nine year low of 6.5%. The economy had expanded by 8.4% in the preceding two years. According to the Bank, the Indian economy will grow by 6.9% in financial year (2012-13), notwithstanding problems like policy uncertainties, fiscal deficit and inflation. "India will see growth (measured at factor cost) increasing to 6.9, 7.2 and 7.4 per cent in fiscal years 2012-13, 2013-14 and 2014-15, respectively," the World Bank announced in a recent report titled 'Global Economic Prospects.'

According to Morgan Stanley's Ridham Desai, "India's macro outlook is fragile and the country is trapped between inadequate policy actions and a weak global economy -- the economy is caught in a vicious cycle." Declining growth is hurting government revenues and the government is inflexible on expenditure; interest and subsidies account for 90% of the federal deficit, yet the government is not doing much to slash its subsidy burden and increase savings. Higher fiscal deficits, the waning global risk appetite, declining foreign exchange reserves, tight domestic liquidity and high interest rates are being exacerbated by the slowdown. Despite such trends, the World Bank is optimistic about the positive outcome of its projects and plans in India for 2013-2016. **S**

Dr. Ikramul Haq and Huzaima Bukhari, partners in the law firm Huzaima & Ikram (member Taxand), are Adjunct Professors at the Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS).

World Bank lending by volume (US\$ in millions) from 2008-2012

Source: <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/india>



cifically chosen to represent the broad range of development challenges facing the different regions in the country today. Feedback, ideas and comments received as part of these consultations will be integrated into the Bank's final CPS. They will also find echoes in the Bank's subsequent projects, policies and documents.

The future projects and plans, as hoped by the Bank, will bring more benefits for the people as compared to

Indian citizens can expect to live longer today—with life expectancy of 63 years, up from 55 years two decades back, and infant mortality rates down from 108 to 70 per thousand live births. Nearly one-half of women and more than two-thirds of men can now read and write whereas not long ago, only 29% of women and 45% of men could do so.

The driving force behind India's socio-economic achievements was the ambitious reform program that began in

Of Development and Corruption

The World Bank has led numerous educational and development projects in Bangladesh. However, corruption has once again paralyzed another international monetary organization.

By S.G. Jilane

The World Bank has played an important role in transforming the life and landscape of Bangladesh. By March 2012, the Bank had disbursed more than US\$12bn out of a total of US\$18bn. Only a little over US\$4bn remains undisbursed.

The Bank has played an integral role in the country's education and development sector. One of its projects titled, "Reaching Out of School Children (ROSC)" seeks to provide "second chance" primary education to dropouts. Between 2004 and 2011, more than 750,000 out-of-school children had benefited through the 22,500 learning centers running under the project. ROSC's funding consists of IDA's original grant of US\$51 million in 2004 with an additional US\$35 million approved for this project in 2010 to broaden its impact.

These students came from 90 of the poorest sub-districts (*upazilas*) of the country and more than half of them are girls. The project "blends formal education with non-formal means of delivery to the young learners, providing them with an opportunity to complete grade five and transition to secondary education."

According to available data in 2004, nearly 1.5 million primary school-aged children were out of school in Bangladesh. The govern-

ment's Primary Education Development Program, because it focused mainly on the formal primary sector, could not bring those children back to school who had missed out on schooling at the right age or had been forced to drop out due to poverty. The ROSC project was therefore launched, with IDA support, to solve this problem and achieve the country's "Education For All" goal.

The ROSC project provides stipends to students and grants to learning centers. With community management as the fulcrum, buttressed by a partnership between the government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the approach focuses on the establishment of learning centers. ROSC students tend to be older than regular primary school students thus operational program delivery differs from the norms in primary schools in order to cater to specific needs of the students. Students from multi-grade backgrounds are taught by a single class teacher and both follow a flexible school timing to suit their mutual needs.

The results have been quite encouraging. Reports show that "Between 2005 and 2011, the average student attendance rate exceeded 90 percent, while the teacher absence rate was kept below 10 percent." Furthermore, more than 80% of ROSC

teachers were women and "close to 90 percent of all school management committee heads were females."

The Bangladesh Rural Transport Improvement Project is another IDA project which, since its inception in 2003, "has maintained and improved more than 2,500 km of rural roads and built or improved over 120 market centers and more than 30 jetties." The project has also created over 47,000 jobs and "reduced travel times for motorized vehicles by 58 percent during the dry season and 65 percent during monsoon season, while non-motorized vehicles had their travel times cut by 53 percent and 61 percent respectively." The Project started with an original IDA credit of US\$190 million. Another US\$20 million was provided as additional financing in 2008 for flood rehabilitation work.

In addition to this, the World Bank has also generously funded Bangladesh's Environmental Protection Projects. These include the Arsenic Mitigation and Water Supply and Dhaka Urban Transport and Air Quality Management Projects.

The Arsenic Mitigation and Water Supply Project is a US\$44.4 million project, jointly financed by the World Bank, Swiss Development and Cooperation Agency and the UK. The objective is to alleviate arsenic water



The World Bank

contamination as a factor in the reduction of arsenic-induced mortality and morbidity. As per description, the program will include the installation of tubewells in urban and rural areas, hardware for rainwater harvesting or sanitation plants as well as ponds with filter systems.

The Dhaka Urban Transport Project is a US\$177 million World Bank funded project. Its two major objectives include, improving urban transport services in an economically and environmentally sustainable manner and strengthening the institutional and policy framework to address long-term transport planning issues in the Greater Dhaka Metropolitan Area.

In addition to two such large scale projects, the Bank has also given the Bangladeshi government a US\$5 million loan to work on the Air Quality Management Project. This project aims to address the rapidly “worsening air pollution problems in Dhaka and selected cities,” including (a) air pollution control strategies for the transport sector, particularly cleaner fuels and lubricants for two-stroke engine vehicles; (b) air pollution monitoring equipment and training; and (c) air pollution inventory and source assessment analysis.

With IDA assistance substan-

tial progress has been made towards achieving food-grain self sufficiency. “Easier farmer access to minor irrigation equipment, power tillers and fertilizer has brought about a fundamental change in smallholders’ productivity and incomes. IDA has also made a valuable contribution in expanding mangrove forestry which in turn has addressed environmental issues and protection of vulnerable shorelines.”

But as the saying goes; where there is money there is corruption. So it happened that the Bank canceled its \$1.2 billion financial assistance to the Padma Bridge project in June this year.

Padma Bridge is a multipurpose road-rail bridge across the Padma River. “The two-level steel truss bridge will carry a four-lane highway on the upper level and a single track railway on a lower level. The project will include a 6.15km long and 21.10 m wide bridge, 15.1km of approach roads, toll plazas and service areas and will connect three districts -Munshiganj, Shariatpur and Madaripur, linking the south-west of the country to northern and eastern regions.”

Giving reasons for canceling the loan, the World Bank in a statement said it “has credible evidence which points to a high level corruption conspiracy among Bangladesh govern-

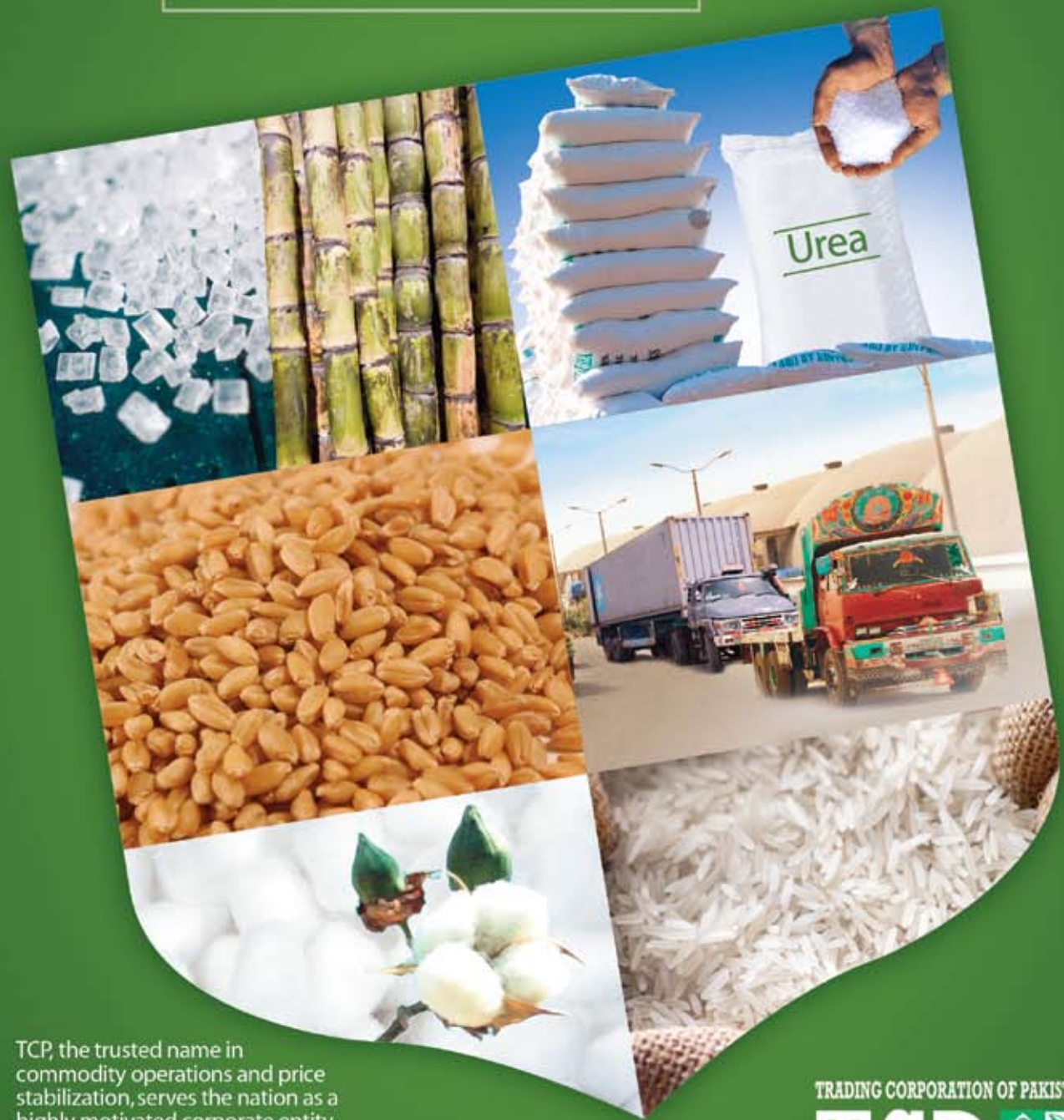
ment officials” and other agencies in connection with the Project. The statement further said that the “WB provided evidence from two investigations to the prime minister, the finance minister and the anti-corruption commission chairman and urged the Bangladesh authorities to investigate this matter fully and, where justified, prosecute those responsible for corruption.” Though the Bangladeshi authorities voiced serious discontent with the Bank’s issue and vowed to investigate the matter further, the government’s response was deemed unsatisfactory.

In consequence, the World Bank canceled its US\$1.2 billion credit for the Padma Bridge project.

Though the World Bank has remained an important financial player in Bangladesh, permeating corruption has proved to be a serious hurdle for any development in the country. Despite utilizing transparent methods and working diligently with local communities, the Bank has unfortunately fallen prey to the menace of corruption thus severely hurting Bangladesh’s national development and tarnishing its international reputation. **S**

S. G. Jilane is a senior political analyst and former editor of SouthAsia Magazine.

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Success Stories

The World Bank has a heavy footprint in Sri Lanka with a number of programs successfully underway.

By Dr. Omar Farooq Khan

Sri Lanka (known as Ceylon until 1972) is an island country off the southern coast of the Indian subcontinent in South Asia. Sri Lanka's history dates back over approximately 125,000 years. The Sinhalese people, who constitute the majority of the nation's population, are followed by the Tamils, the largest ethnic minority, concentrated in the north and east of the island.

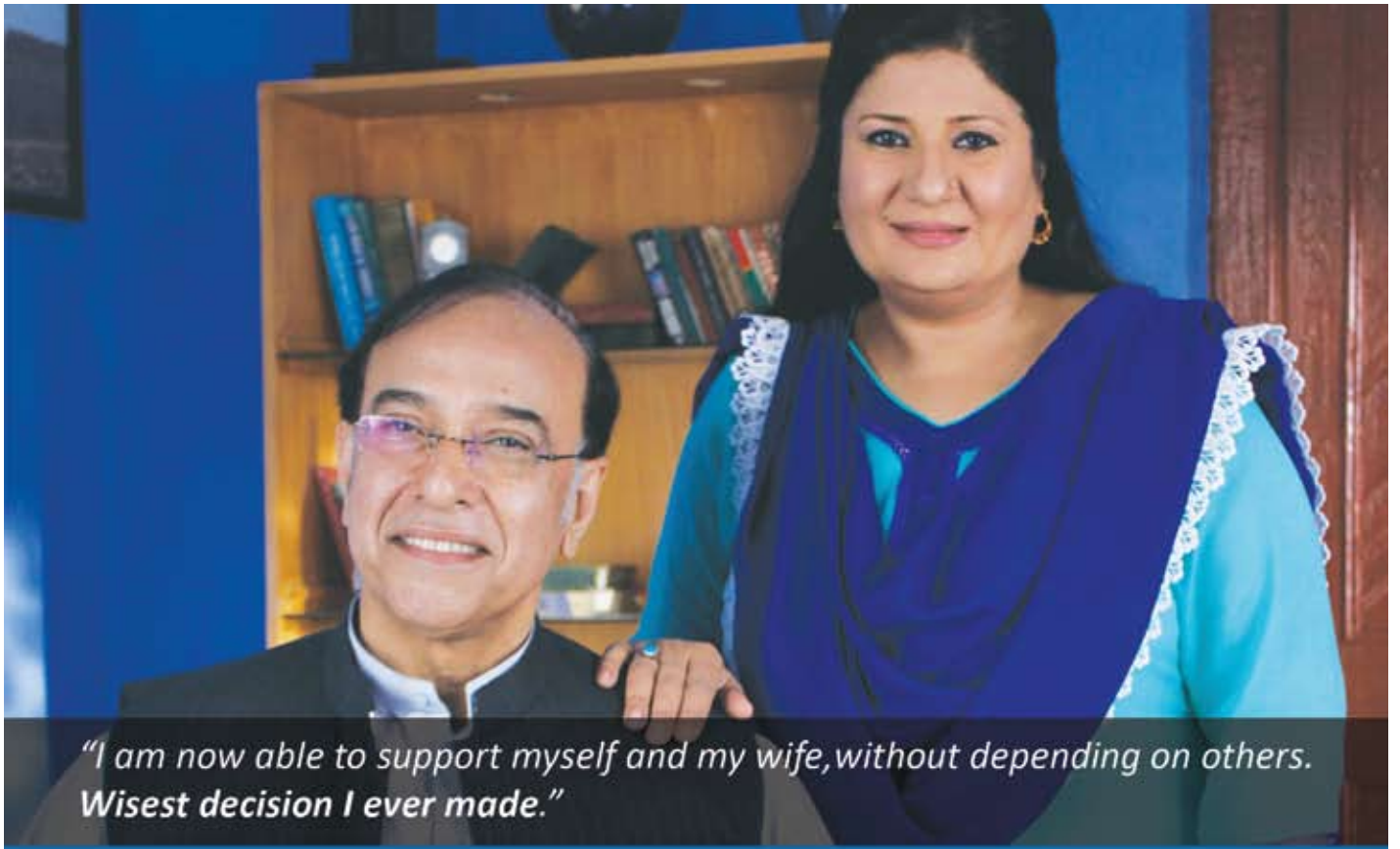
Sri Lanka has been called The Pearl of the Indian Ocean, peppered with tropical forests and diverse landscapes with high biodiversity. The country boasts a long and varying history of over three thousand

years, having one of the longest documented histories in the world. Sri Lanka also claims to be one of the oldest democracies in the region.

A brief look into Sri Lanka's history shows an interesting range of events. These range from its Prehistoric and Medieval civilizations (of Buddhist origins) and colonial eras (with Portuguese, Dutch and British influences) to the events and incidents that shaped its modern foundation. The country has had a turbulent history of three major insurgencies, two by Marxist militants and a 30 year long conflict with the LTTE (brought to a decisive end in May 2009).

Despite having an eventful history, Sri Lanka is unique amongst its South Asian counterparts in that it has undertaken concerted efforts to not only overcome its difficulties but also implement strong plans to develop its economy. Boasting a 92% literacy rate, Sri Lanka has made strong developments in its agricultural sector (exporting cinnamon, tea and rubber) along with serious investments in tourism, IT, textiles and telecommunications.

With Sri Lanka's economy growing at a phenomenal rate, the World Bank has invested heavily in various sectors across the board. These include:



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Metro Colombo Urban Development Project:

Focused on multiple levels, this project aims to reducing flooding in Colombo's catchment areas by strengthening local authorities to provide better infrastructure and training personnel to maintain and upgrade infrastructure and spearhead rehabilitation services. The project concentrates on flood and drainage systems and plans to implement an Integrated Flood Management System (IFMS) while simultaneously improving the environment and public facilities along the water bodies.

Transforming the School Educational System (TSEP) into a Knowledge Hub:

This project's focus is to enhance the quality of primary and secondary education being provided; so that the knowledge based developments should occur in the economic and social realms of the country.

The project has three aspects. The first is promoting access to primary and secondary education, targeting children between 6-10 years of age and 11-16 years for primary and secondary education respectively. The second aspect concentrates on improving the education quality and includes a system of frequent and continuous evaluation of cognitive skills. National level assessments such as these will serve as a feedback for policy development. The third component deals with a Program for School Improvement (PSI) that establishes a control system of school management mechanisms.

Warehouse Receipts Financing Project:

The proposed Project Development

Objective (PDO) of the pilot Warehouse Receipts (WHR) Project is to facilitate access to finance and quality storage by farmers during the whole cycle of production.

Warehouse Receipts financing facilitates the dual purpose of providing a value chain service to producers through warehousing, and access to credit simultaneously against stored produce. It aims to increase agricultural productivity in constrained areas of Sri Lanka by impacting agricultural production and training and capacity building of farmers and other key agricultural stakeholders.

Despite having an eventful history, Sri Lanka is unique amongst its South Asian counterparts in that it has undertaken concerted efforts to not only overcome its difficulties but also implement strong plans to develop its economy.

The first component will support the PDO by providing farmers with access to storage facilities for critical crops over a short period of three months in select project areas as well as other areas of the country with surplus grains or pulses. This empowers the farmers to be able to sell their products at a better market price by holding until off peak, while having funds to meet their immediate debts and even to buy necessary equipment for the next season.

The second component will develop insurance products to back the Agricultural Commodity Warehouse Receipts System (ACWRS) and to mitigate weather risks for high value agricultural products and livestock for farmers. For warehouse receipts to be accepted by buyers, sellers, and banks, there is also an insurance arrangement that provides compensation if stored goods do not match what is specified by the receipt, either due to negli-

gence or fraud by the warehouse.

The third component is the Capacity Building, Technical Assistance (T.A) and Awareness Creation. This complements the PDO by supporting training and knowledge dissemination of the warehouse receipts mechanism amongst stakeholders. This funding will support training, capacity enhancement and TA to village organizations and commercial operators, including banks and the commodity marketing players, input suppliers, etc. to develop beneficial partnerships to both parties.

The fourth component will support the establishment of annual field based moni-

toring mechanisms and carry out impact assessments.

The fifth and final component will support the realization of the PDO by coordinating project planning, implementation and monitoring and evaluation, in line with the relevant fiduciary and safeguards standards. This ensures that interventions are appropriately planned, coordinated and aligned with the project's design and development objectives. This component will also finance additional staff to support the operation of the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) in Colombo; provide specialized support services relating to key activities such as independent external M&E, external audit, financial accounting and procurement; and fund the training of staff involved in project implementation. **S**

Dr. Omar Farooq Khan is a free-lance writer with special interest in social issues, national heritage and sports.



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Waiting for Justice

Till India and Pakistan do not reach agreement over the fate of Ajmal Kasab, the lone surviving assailant of the 2008 Mumbai attacks, justice will be a moot point, further expanding the trust deficit.

By Sundararajan Murari

A recent cartoon in the Indian newspaper, *Deccan Chronicle*, shows a jail staff telling the jailor, "Sir, his last wish is that he should be allowed to live until the Pakistan trial of 26/11 accused is over." Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh however, put it across more diplomatically to Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari, when the two met in Tehran on the sidelines of the NAM summit. A speedy conclusion of the trial of the masterminds of the attack on Mumbai by Pakistan will "reduce the trust deficit."

Pakistan continues to be in denial even after the Indian Supreme

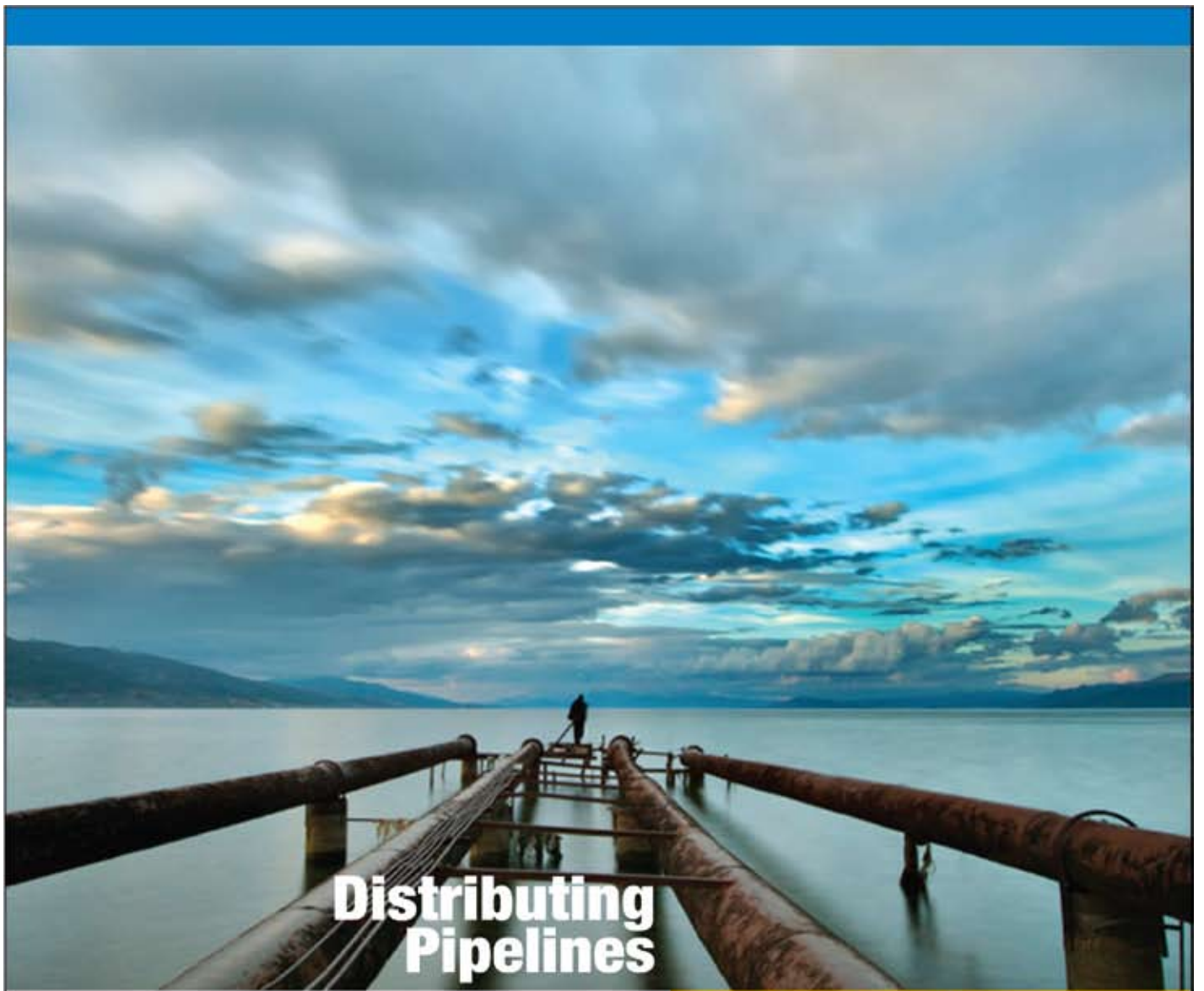
Court confirmed the death sentence awarded to Mohamed Ajmal Kasab, the lone gunman captured after the murderous attack on Mumbai, and held that he was part of a conspiracy "hatched across the border" to wage a war against India. Naturally, Pakistan's credibility has hit a new low, as reflected in the cartoon.

Pakistan has rejected Kasab's official confession statement. Kasab is accused of executing the attack on Mumbai on Nov 26, 2008 along with nine other heavily armed terrorists, leaving 166 dead, including Americans and Israelis.

The Rawalpindi anti-terrorism

court has refused to accept the report of a judicial commission that visited Mumbai last March and examined the testimony of four witnesses, including the special judge who recorded the confession of Kasab. Among the witnesses were two doctors who did the autopsy on the nine terrorists killed in the attack.

The Rawalpindi court has said the evidence gathered by the judicial commission cannot be used against LeT commander Zaki-ur-Rehman Lakhvi, LeT co-chairman Abdul Rehman Makki and five others considered as masterminds, as they have been arrested on the Pakistan soil and are



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currently facing trial. Moreover, the commission was not allowed to cross-examine the prosecution witnesses.

However, during the meeting in Tehran, Prime Minister Singh acceded to President Zardari's request that the judicial commission be allowed to make another visit as directed by the Rawalpindi court. By agreeing to a second visit, India has shown its willingness to walk the extra mile to meet Pakistan's legal requirements.

But Pakistan has been in denial from the very outset. It initially tried to disown Kasab and his fellow terrorists despite India sharing dossiers on them, not only with Pakistan but also with America and other western countries whose citizens were killed in the attack. Pakistan reluctantly admitted only after Kasab's parents acknowledged his citizenship.

Despite Kasab's violent shooting spree in Mumbai, he was given a lawyer to defend him at every stage, from trial court, to the high court to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court itself has termed Kasab and his fellow terrorists actions, as a war on India. "In short, this is a terrorist attack from across the border. It has a magnitude of unprecedented enormity. The conspiracy was as deep and large as it was vicious. The preparation and training were as thorough as the execution was ruthless. A channel of communication between the attacking terrorists and their handlers and collaborators from across the border, based on advanced computer technology, was arranged and put in place before the attack."

The court dismissed the contention that Kasab was a mere tool in the hands of the Lashkar-e-Taiba. Though he joined the terrorist organization around December 2007, even after his arrest, he regarded himself as a *watan parast*: a patriotic Pakistani at war with India.

The court has also rejected the charge that Kasab's confession was not voluntary. There was nothing unusual about his knowing the names of his

handlers and their positions as he was not a mercenary but a highly committed, devoted member of the LeT. The handlers who went into the minutest details did not foresee him being caught alive, the court has noted.

The deportation of 30-year-old Sayeed Zabiuddin Ansari, alias Abu Jundal, a key operator in the 26/11 attack case, from Saudi Arabia to India in June last, will help Indian investigators put the missing pieces together. "[Jundal] was the key person and had an important role in the control room. We think such a control room could not have been established without some kind of state support."

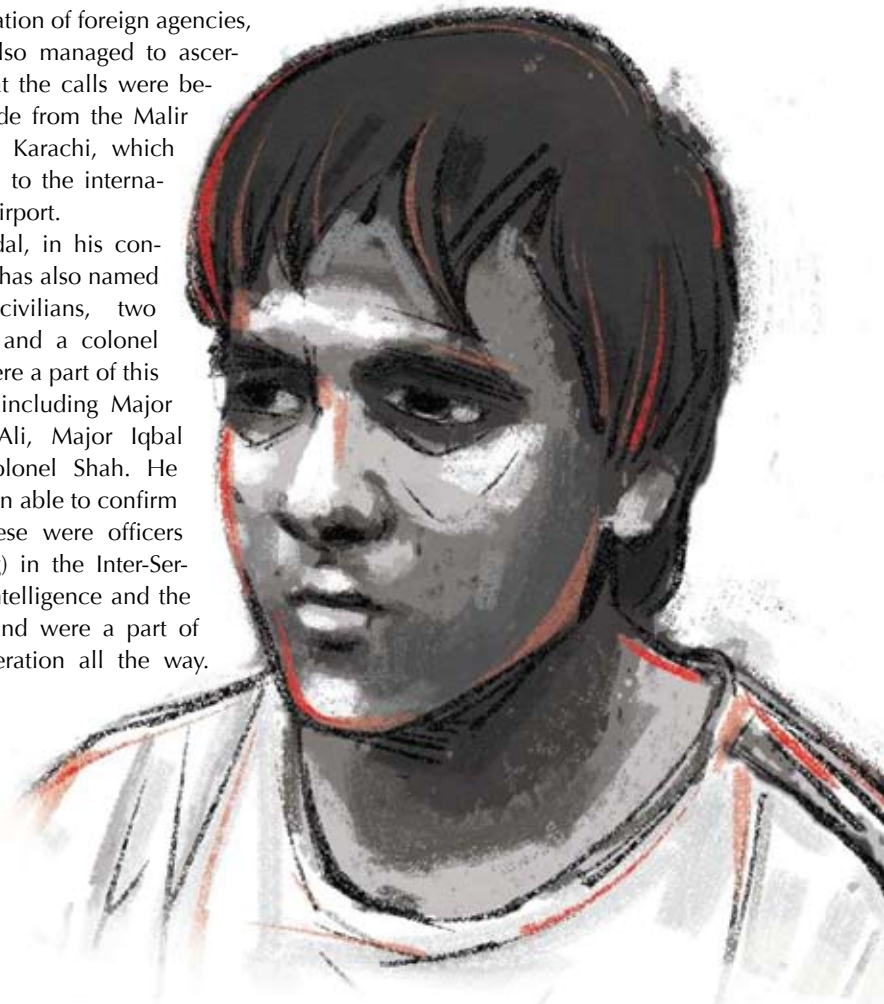
When Jundal was apprehended, the first thing India did was try to match up the voice samples of the 26/11 handlers. Today it has been ascertained beyond doubt that one of the voice that guided the 26/11 attackers was that of Jundal's. With the cooperation of foreign agencies, India also managed to ascertain that the calls were being made from the Malir area in Karachi, which is close to the international airport.

Jundal, in his confession has also named three civilians, two majors and a colonel who were a part of this attack, including Major Samir Ali, Major Iqbal and Colonel Shah. He has been able to confirm that these were officers (serving) in the Inter-Services Intelligence and the army, and were a part of the operation all the way.

Jundal confessed that it was Major Iqbal who provided Rs 20 lakh for the boat that was purchased for the 2008 attacks. These officers were also present in the control room and had asked for the control room to be destroyed once the operation was over.

In the face of such mounting evidence, Pakistan can no longer be in denial. Voices of reason are asserting itself in Pakistan. It is not for nothing that 26/11 is called India's 9/11. There can be no true closure until the masterminds in Pakistan are brought to justice. **S**

S. Murari is a senior Indian journalist who has been covering Sri Lanka for the past 25 years. He was associated with the Bangalore-based English daily, Deccan Herald and retired as an associate editor of the newspaper.



The Game of Religious Bigotry

Intended to prevent desecration of the Quran and derogatory remarks against the Prophet (PBUH), the Blasphemy Law has become a tool in the hands of the unscrupulous to persecute people.

By S.G. Jilane



Rimsha Masih's is the latest incident that is making headlines for Pakistan internationally. A resident of Mehrabad in Islamabad's G12 sector, the teenage Christian girl was arrested on August 17 on the charge of burning some pages of the Quran. Rimsha Masih suffers from Down Syndrome. Reports vary about her age as between 11 and 16. However, a medical report puts her mental age much below her true age, which means that even at 16, her mental age is like that of an 11 year old.

What Rimsha is alleged to have done was burn some pages of the "Noorani Qaeda," she found in the garbage. The Qaeda is a primer used to familiarize children with the Arabic alphabet and words used in the Quran. But it is not Quran. As the event unfolds, a man reported the incident to the Imam of the nearest mosque who eagerly took charge of the case. As was expected, a hue and cry arose and the police was informed. Without further ado, a blasphemy case was registered. Rimsha was arrested and approximately 2000-3000 Christians reportedly fled from the area due to threats from zealots to burn down their homes.

The incident triggered worldwide reproach. Prominent western newspapers reported every turn of events in the case, such as Rimsha's attorney being initially refused permission to meet her. When the heat increased, the interior minister ordered an investigation into the affair. However, given the attention her case attracted, the girl's life is at such stake from prowling wolves in human form that she had to be transported by helicopter from the Adiala prison to an undeclared secret destination under heavy police guard after being freed on bail.

Meanwhile, the case took an unexpectedly positive turn when an eyewitness, Hafiz Zubair testified that the imam of the mosque, Khalid Jadoon had added pages of the Quran to the pile of burnt pages of the Noorani Qaeda and planted them into Rimsha Masih's bag to clinch the case of blas-

phemy against the girl.

At the same time Allama Tahir Ashrafi, Chairman of the All Pakistan Ulema Council, said if Rimsha were found to be innocent of the charge of burning papers containing verses from the Quran, then those who have accused her should face justice. He also denounced the protesters who demonstrated to demand punishment for Rimsha saying, "It is just like the law of the jungle that 500 people approached a police station and got a report forcibly lodged with the police."

But there has not been a squeak from religious or political leaders; Altaf Hussain of the MQM being the only exception. The silence of Jamaat-e-Islami and JUI may be understandable. But there can be no defense for the PPP, ANP and the many Muslim League factions for failing to speak out, except that having sown the seeds of bigotry and fanaticism, they dare not raise their voice against it now to stem the tide.

Section 295-B of the Penal Code which deals with the crime of "defiling, etc. of copy of Holy Quran" lays down that "Whoever willfully defiles, damages or desecrates a copy of the Holy Quran or of an extract therefrom or uses it in any derogatory manner or for any unlawful purpose shall be punishable for imprisonment for life." But there is no proof that it was a "copy of the Holy Quran" that Rimsha had "willfully" defiled

However, Rimsha's is not the first case. There have been many of her kind before. Only last year Aasiya Bibi, a mother of five, was charged for reviling the Prophet and sentenced to death. She is now awaiting answer to her mercy petition from the President. Fanaticism is at such a high pitch that last year, Governor Salman Taseer was gunned down by his guard because he had met with Aasiya in jail. Adding to this, some lawyers, supposedly very educated and enlightened people, showered his assassin with rose petals.

Ironically, the blasphemy law has not only been used to harass and evict Christians from their homes and their

lands. This lethal weapon has been used against Muslims, too. Akhtar Hameed Khan, a reputed social worker was also its victim once, when someone out of sheer enmity, accused him of blasphemy. Though ultimately cleared he had to suffer a great deal, being dragged to court in his old age.

Rimsha's case has kicked off an unprecedented reaction particularly due to her illness and her young age. In Aasiya's case there was an alleged altercation between her and some Muslims when she was alleged to have made some derogatory remark against the Prophet in anger. But this poor girl had no earthly reason to defile the Quran "willfully." She had no quarrel with any Muslim. She did not even know what Noorani Qaeda was. And even her accuser did not say he saw her burning the pages.

The many examples of the misuse of this law and the worldwide opposition it has earned for Pakistan demand a serious reflection from all sections of the society. There are blasphemy laws even in some Western countries. But they do not make as narrow an interpretation of it as in Pakistan.

Besides, Pakistan is already on international radar as the fountainhead of terrorism. It has earned the sobriquet of the most dangerous place on earth even without the contribution of the fanatics who massacre Shias, kill Ahmadis and defile their place of worship, and force Hindu girls to embrace Islam. In the circumstances, Christian-baiting through the blasphemy law is the last straw on the rickety camel's back.

Need is, therefore, to redraft the law so as to prevent its misuse and at the same time bring it in line with the spirit of Islam, which preaches forgiveness. An effective deterrent could be to prescribe the same penalty for the accuser if the allegation is proven false as for the accused if the charge is proved. **S**

S. G. Jilane is a senior political analyst and former editor of SouthAsia Magazine.

The law enforcement apparatus in Afghanistan, built to embrace the security transition, seems to be heating up with the expanding Green on Blue scenario. Insurgent attacks on multinational troops have significantly increased from less than one percent in 2008 to the current 15 percent, across eighteen affected provinces in Afghanistan.

The euphemistically called 'Green on Blue' attacks have not only jeopardized the hopes of a stable and re-

withdraw from Afghanistan in 2014, a choice between the local green berets and the blue-helmet United Nations peacekeepers could be a likely phenomenon.

The Long War Journal reveals that the ratio of Green on Blue attacks had doubled to 33 attacks by September 29, 2012 as opposed to 15 in 2011. The total coalition troops killed during January 1, 2008 to September 29, 2012 are 116 from 60 attacks. A total of 94 troops have been wounded in

flee the scene, according to The Long War Journal.

The Afghan government's response to the audacious attacks generates the confidence of General Martin Dempsey, Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff. The government's response includes, expelling hundreds of suspicious Afghan soldiers from the cadre, injecting 300 intelligence specialists to weed out Taliban infiltrators, and enrolling the Afghan troops into a biometrics database. Despite such exten-

An Anatomy of Green on Blue

With ISAF troops preparing for departure, increasing 'Green on Blue' attacks have a serious impact on the already fragile US-Afghanistan relationship.

By Syed Moazzam Hashmi

sponsible transition from ISAF to the developing Afghan security infrastructure, which remains in its infancy, but have also raised several questions. For instance, would the 350,000 Afghan troops be able to fill the vacuum of responsibility, ranging from protecting the borders to maintaining law and order in the landlocked war-torn country, left behind by the multinational troops? Afghans already feel that ISAF has overstayed its welcome and discontent and animosity is fast growing.

Secondly, would the Green on Blue incidents lead to a choice between the green or blue? That essentially means that once ISAF troops

these attacks, with 52 wounded this year compared to 27 hurt last year.

Helmand, where the majority of the US Marines and special operations troops are concentrated, tops the list with 30 casualties, followed by Kandahar (13), Kabul (11), and Nangarhar (8), while the rest of the 18 affected provinces reported one death each in Green on Blue attacks. Consequently, Kandahar recorded the highest number of wounded soldiers (26) in such attacks, followed by Helmand (15) and Kapisa (15).

Reportedly, 31 attackers of the 59 attacks were killed, 18 captured and four wounded while 23 managed to

sive efforts, it still might not be possible to significantly screen thousands of recruits.

Coalition forces, on the other hand, responded by twisting Pakistan's arm further in declaring the Haqqani network a terrorist organization, once used as the vehicle for rapprochement with the Taliban. As a part of psychological warfare, the Taliban strategy is more crafty in successfully capitalizing on all Green on Blue attacks, by claiming the responsibility for it, whether they were involved or not. Killing Americans in vendetta has a strong impact on diminishing fraternization and camaraderie between



the US and Afghan soldiers.

Among the list of motives behind the visceral hatred, revenge is the prime factor for Taliban or the common Afghans to infiltrate the Afghan security apparatus that includes, the Afghan National Army, Afghan Air Force, Afghan Local Police, Afghan Border Police, Afghan Uniformed Police and others.

A sudden upsurge in Green on Blue attacks, over the past couple of years can be accorded to the increased frequency of coalition troops working with their local counterparts. While this would otherwise have been welcomed, the foreigners' arrogance and racist tendencies have not only brought insult to the disgruntled local soldiers but also resulted in the pro-

duction of the "Instant Taliban." This new breed of Taliban is often a conservative Pashtun, over sensitive about his religion and at times, harboring personal animosity thus further fueling such attacks.

All these factors combine to create utter discontent and disapproval for foreign boots on ground. This sentiment is coupled with overwhelmingly bitter memories of a ruthless colonial past that forces many to still perceive imperialist *farangi* as trying to take over their territory. This inherited perception combined with ethnic pride, heavily contributes towards zero-tolerance for foreign troops.

The looming challenge is not only to effectively train the 350,000 projected local troops that will take

charge by 2013, but to introduce Afghan cultural tutorials for the multinational troops who will continue working in the country -- a nearly impossible task at the moment. If the motive of the Taliban is to narrow the silver lining in the coalition-Afghan government/army relationship in order to consolidate their own strength, then it has already jeopardized the withdrawal of coalition troops as scheduled in 2014. It seems then that more fireworks are yet to come in the developing scenario. **S**

Syed Moazzam Hashmi is a political and security analyst, a senior journalist and former Political Affairs Advisor to the US Consulate General in Karachi, Pakistan.

In Deep Water

The fishing row between India and Sri Lanka is affecting bilateral relations and taking its toll on the poor who have no alternate means of livelihood.

By Tahera Sajid

Fishing is a popular means of livelihood in parts of India and Sri Lanka due to rampant poverty and lack of other available skills. Many fishermen have inherited the profession from their forefathers and

proudly claim it as an essential part of their identity. Hence, anything that is perceived as a threat to either their survival or to their sense of self is naturally deemed personal.

A highly charged fishing dispute

between India and Sri Lanka has existed for the past many years due to a number of factors. The main reason revolves around the ownership status of the small island in the Palk Bay area, called Katchatheevu. According



to some reports, the 1974 agreement saw India and Sri Lanka agree on a maritime boundary whereby India ceded the Island's rights to Sri Lanka and negotiated away fishing rights for its own fishermen. However, the Indian side argues that the wording of the agreement has been manipulated by the Sri Lankan authorities and that Indian fishermen are being denied even their legitimate rights of fishing in the area.

Historically, Indian Tamil fishermen had faced no issues fishing near the island, and many times would go into the Sri Lankan waters. Though the Sri Lankan side wasn't supportive of the move, no serious repercussions followed except an issuance of warnings. However, when the civil war broke in 1983, it complicated things for the Sri Lankan Navy that was already trying to keep up with the fight against the insurgents, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Any connection between the Indian Tamils and the LTTE was vehemently denied by the Indian side. However, the fact that the Tamils of India's southern state of Tamil Nadu have close ethnic and cultural ties to Tamils in Sri Lanka, led the Army to suspect that they had a hand in providing material support and fuelling the insurgency.

It became increasingly hard for the Sri Lankan Navy to distinguish between regular fishing boats and boats that were being used for smuggling weapons and other goods for Sri Lankan Tamil militants. Most times, the Navy ended up putting complete fishing restrictions on their own fishermen. The Indian boats however continued to fish in the area and were often caught in the cross fire resulting in serious rifts and tension between the two countries. Despite the humanitarian crisis rising from this situation,

Indian boats were blamed for bringing it upon themselves by illegally crossing the international boundary. A New York Times article quoted Sugeeswara Senadhira, Consul General at the Sri Lankan Embassy in New Delhi, asserting that it was inevitable because "They cannot fish around the island."

According to some media reports, over a period of 25 to 30 years, some 100 Indian fishermen have died, many have been beaten and their boats and catch confiscated. However, according to the version given by the Sri Lankan side, when the numbers of those hurt are placed against those that continue to venture out to the Sri Lankan waters, the percentage remains small as Indian trawlers have used the waters exclusively for years. The anger though has built among the Indian Tamils who have attacked Sri Lankan pilgrims in retaliation.

When Sri Lankan fishermen finally resumed their fishing activities during the ceasefire from 2002-2004, they resented the threat to their livelihood from the over fishing of Indian trawlers which had caused a reduction in fish supply. For years, the Indian side had exploited the lack of competition and opportunity to cross over and fish deep into the Lankan waters with an expanded fleet. After the end of the civil war in 2009, when the small Sri Lankan fishermen returned in large numbers they found Indian trawlers to be a hindrance to their survival.

On the other hand, a similar dilemma and humanitarian crisis unfolded on the Indian side. Sri Lankan fishing boats had been fishing deep in the Indian waters and causing a similar danger to the fish population, while smaller Indian fishermen suffered. Fishing is the only livelihood available to the locals and fishermen in Vellapallam, India who complain

of harassment by the Sri Lankan Navy and struggle with finding alternate means of livelihood. Nearly all of the village fishermen use small boats and not big trawlers.

The previous unofficial arrangement of letting small boats go unharmed seems to have changed now. If caught, small boat fishermen from both sides receive harsh treatment with their equipment and catch confiscated by the Indian or Sri Lankan Forces. Reports suggest that sometimes fishermen are even kidnapped. A bilateral agreement between the two countries prohibits such treatment, but as things tense up, the small boats are not spared and face grim fates.

It is clear that grievances exist on both sides. Finding a long-term solution that benefits all concerned parties has to be based on recognizing the humanitarian aspect of the situation than simply settling scores. Now that the LTTE insurgency is over and the security issue is no more, small boats managed by poor fishermen who fish solely to fulfill the needs of their families must be given their livelihood back. What needs to be seriously looked into is the issue of trawlers and multi-day fishing boats that are depleting fish populations in the area.

Both countries must undertake a genuine dialogue that could lead to a workable joint arrangement with mutual consultation for small fishermen based on managing fishing populations. A process aimed at finding a solution and not merely a political victory for either country can go a long way towards peace in the region. **S**

Tahera Sajid is a freelance journalist who lives in Massachusetts, USA. She is a community builder and an active advocate for interfaith relations.

Striving for Food Security

Amongst all South Asian nations, Bangladesh faces the most severe food crisis and must adopt an urgent, multi-pronged strategy to address the issue.

By Fatima Siraj

Interestingly, the first and foremost target of The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) developed by the United Nations, is the reduction of global poverty and hunger by half. While the Asia-Pacific region has seen much success in this regard, South Asia continues to face a grave scenario of food insecurity. According to the World Food Summit of 1996, "Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life."

From this definition, it can be deduced that food security depends on three major factors: physical access to food, economic access to food and the food in question being sufficient, safe and nutritious. South Asia, and in particular Bangladesh, currently suffers from a severe food crisis because of problems related to all three aspects.

Physical access to food is directly linked to climate change, since agricultural productivity is primarily dependent upon climate. Given South Asia's geographical location, the region suffers extremely from climate change. Global warming has not only affected cropping

seasons but has also resulted in the rapid melting of the Himalayan glaciers. These worrying changes have surged up flooding and raised sea levels, gravely impacting rural livelihoods in the region.

Furthermore, poverty is deep and widespread throughout the region. Approximately 600 million South Asians live on less than US\$1.25 a day. During climatic crises, millions of poor people are disproportionately affected, mainly because of their heavy reliance on natural vegetation for sustenance. Climate change in Bangladesh continues to adversely affect agricultural production. Since millions of Bangladeshis rely heavily on natural resources from coastal areas for sustenance, rising sea levels have seriously threatened their livelihoods.

Apart from physical access, economic access to food is also an important factor that contributes to food security. According to The Economist Intelligence Unit's (EIU) Global Food Security Index 2012, Bangladesh is the least food secure country in South Asia. The index assesses people's ability to afford food along with availability and quality of food in 105 countries around the globe. Bangladesh is not only the world's third poorest population af-

ter China and India but its hungry population of over 60 million people is larger than most other nations. Nearly half of Bangladesh's children are underweight, making it one of the most severe cases of malnutrition in the world. While Bangladesh may certainly have more food than it had thirty years back, almost half of Bangladesh is still far from being food secure.

Rising food prices contribute greatly to rising food insecurity by impacting economic access to food. As EIU's report says, "Global food prices rose three times as fast as inflation in the last decade, improving millions at a time when poverty relief captured the world's attention. Huge price swings for wheat, maize, soybeans and rice staples crops for much of the world, made matters worse, disrupting markets and harming both producers and consumers." Since Bangladesh faces a production deficit in fruits, vegetables, pulses as well as milk and meat, it is forced to import a number of these highly priced agricultural products, despite being an agrarian economy itself. Furthermore, it also faces a decline in the production of fish, which will need to rise by three percent if the national requirement is to be met by 2015. This inefficient-

cy in production is why Bangladesh faces the most serious threat to food security in terms of availability.

Some of the persisting problems of increasing crop production involve decreasing soil productivity, inefficient water and fertilizer use, inadequate supply of quality seeds, low labor productivity, and higher input price. Furthermore, the institutional capacity of research, extension and seed production systems in

and Mapping) indicates that poverty is not necessarily the cause of malnutrition. Additional and often stronger determinants of this are lack of awareness and inappropriate cultural practices. Poor access to water, sanitation and increasing arsenic contamination (which is linked to the over-exploitation of water tables) further aggravates this.

Faced with the challenges of an increasing population, decreasing

achieved through improving knowledge on food-based nutrition (right methods of cooking, balanced diet, from locally and cheaply available foodstuffs). Promotion of fortification of foodstuff can also be done as it provides a proven and cost-effective strategy of dealing with micronutrient deficiencies. Lastly, access to food can be improved through government strategies such as providing supplementary nutrition to children



terms of facilities and human and financial resources have weakened and are not geared to address the emerging problems. Weaknesses also persist in planning, coordination, monitoring, resource management and partnership with the private sector and NGOs. These problems are more prominent in the livestock sub-sector compared to crops.

In terms of the third aspect of food security that depends on nutrition, Bangladesh again falls short. WFP's VAM (Vulnerability Analysis

availability of agricultural land and increasing food prices, Bangladesh needs to adopt a multi-pronged strategy to deal with the situation. It can start by taking measures towards increasing productivity; learning from recent experiments in rice production and cutting down on huge yields losses by reducing wastage. Furthermore, it can diversify its food basket to attain self-sufficiency in the non-cereal food grains. It can also improve utilization by educating the population on nutrition. Huge improvements in food security can be

(such as mid-day meals in schools) and pregnant women, the provision of unemployment and pension benefits and development of food banks and food distribution systems for the indigent people (Safety Nets). By implementing these policies, Bangladesh can hope to effectively deal with its alarming food crisis. **S**

Fatima Siraj is currently pursuing a BBA degree at the Institute of Business Administration. She frequently writes on marketing and social issues.

On January 16, 2012, MDP founder Mohamed Nasheed, also the former president of the Maldives, instructed military forces to arrest the criminal court's Chief Justice, claiming he was blocking corruption and human rights cases filed against former President, Abdul Gayoom. Soon after, weeks of rioting and unrest in the Maldivian archipelago, forced the police and civilian masses on the streets, some to quell the chaos and others to instigate it. In the face of this situation, President Nasheed publically stepped down from office on February 7, 2012 claiming, "It would be better for the country in the current situation if I resign. I don't want to run the country with an iron fist." On the same day,

ian Democratic Party as well as his supporters, who made their growing dissent known by seizing control of various police stations across the archipelago, along with various other forms of violent demonstrations.

The current President responded by denying that the military took any such action to oust his former counterpart from power. He maintained that there "was no plan", and that he assumed office after the voluntary resignation of his predecessor, and after Nasheed's failure to uphold the constitution and keep the coalition unified.

Months afterwards, both political figures remain steadfast to their statements. Both Waheed and Nasheed welcomed an investigation into the events of February - the former even

of the president."

Just like the validity of the presidential succession, the validity of the report itself became subject of controversy.

Initially, the CNI Report was to be determined by a three-member panel consisting of Dr Ibrahim Yasir, Dr Ali Fawaz Shareef and Chairman Ismail Sheefu. The catch was that the panel was selected entirely by President Waheed himself. The MDP immediately challenged the objectivity of the CNI panel and it was thus reformed. The reformed second panel consisted of retired Singaporean judge, G.P. Selvamand Ahmed 'Gahaa' Saeed (personally handpicked by Nasheed) as well as the original members.

Representing the Commonwealth

Fighting for

Despite facing major political upheavals, political parties in the Maldives continue to fight over the validity of the recently released CNI report

By Mashal Usman

his Vice President, Mohamed Waheed Hassan, sworn in as the head of state, duly promised that he would run the country, "by rule of law."

In a short span, the Maldives underwent numerous developments, promoting Nasheed to discredit his nationwide resignation address, claiming that he resigned under military duress. He insisted that the current government came into force by a coup d'état initiated by Waheed and vowed to fight for his reinstatement. Mr. Nasheed's statement was backed by the Maldiv-

pressed that he would quit if his role in the coup was proven.

In this vein, the Council of National Inquiry published its findings on August 29, 2012 echoing largely the statements of President Waheed. It stated, in summary, that the change of presidents on February 7 was legal and constitutional; that the resignation of former President Nasheed was not due to illicit coercion or intimidation by armed forces; and furthermore, that the events of February 6 and 7 were mainly "reactions to the actions

was Sir Bruce Robertson, Retired Court of Appeal Judge from New Zealand. Meanwhile the UN was represented by Professor John Packer. Together both of these officials were appointed as international advisers to the Committee.

The MDP's enthusiasm at the investigation turned into disappointment on September 29 when the report was released. Ahmed Saeed resigned from the Committee, alleging that it failed to take into account the statements of key witnesses, as well as crucial pho-



to, video and audio evidence in the drafting of the report.

Amidst accusations by the MDP regarding the credibility of the CNI Report in bringing to terms the controversial transition of power, the Council detailed the legitimacy of the new government, "In terms of the democratic intent and legitimacy of the authority of the Presidency as foreseen in the constitution, President Waheed properly succeeded President Nasheed". The report elaborated that the Constitution was not changed in any form but "precisely followed as prescribed."


Regarding the claim that Nasheed's resignation was forced, the report stated, "Because of the seriousness of the charge [the] person who alleges illegal duress or intimidation carries the legal burden as well as evidentiary

burden of proof." It noted that the only firearms surrounding the President on the day he resigned were carried by his guards, and even those were not proven to be a threat to him.

It is perhaps this very criticism that prompted the MDP to further criticize the CNI Report's findings, stressing that were 'significant gaps' in the evidence investigated. The party has maintained that these gaps amount to noncompliance of the Commonwealth regulations.

Meanwhile, in April 2012 Mr. Waheed announced that the next Maldivian Presidential Elections would take place in July 2013, stating that earlier elections would be impossible under the Constitution. Mr. Waheed maintains that elections will be held as soon as legal issues facing the country are sorted out. Until then, the coun-

try would follow its constitution. The MDP, rejecting the validity of the government has been quite vocal of its demands to hold elections as soon as possible and let democracy decide who would govern the country. As the CNI has rejected the claims of MDP's founder Nasheed, it is advisable for Nasheed's party to organize themselves to gain a good following and win the upcoming elections.

For the MDP, this would be the most democratically sound attempt at gaining back the government, as opposed to constant rioting and the use of violence all over the Indian Ocean archipelago. 

Mashal Usman is a researcher at the Economics and Political Science Department at Lahore University of Management Sciences.

Not So

"The Innocence of Muslims," an amateur anti-Islam film, generated mass protests across the Middle East and South Asia, jeopardizing U.S. assets abroad. But did Muslims respond to a self-fulfilling prophecy?

By Arsla Jawaid

All it takes is a cartoon, an amateur film or a piece of literature to rile up Muslims around the world and provoke them to congregate in the form of violent street protests. From Libya to Sri Lanka and many Muslim nations in between, violent uprisings against a small budget, amateur film titled, "The Innocence of Muslim" that made a mockery of the

Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), erupted simultaneously.

The film made by one Nakoula Basseley, who produced the film under his alias Sam Bacille, remains a dubious character. Initially believed to be an Israeli, Jewish citizen, Israeli authorities vehemently rejected all reports claiming that they could not find any records of this 55 year old man's citizenship. Though "Bacille" went into hiding following the mass protests in the Middle East, U.S. authorities were able to track him down and uncover numerous other aliases linking him to a 2010 federal bank fraud.

But whatever the identity of the producer, the very fact that a crude, disgusting film was able to produce a violent reaction throughout the Muslim world says little for Islam. Protests erupted in Egypt triggering a domino effect with Libya seeing the worst of them all. Young protestors, mostly men, stormed the U.S. embassy with the episode ending with the tragic killing of U.S. Ambassador to Libya, Christopher Stevens and three other Embassy staff. As U.S. flags were burnt, anti-Americanism reached its peak.

Innocent

South Asia, the hub of volatile and sensitive activity, of course gave the Middle East a run for its money. Afghanistan and Sri Lanka both saw street protests that subsequently dispersed after a few hours. Bangladesh illustrated a slightly more violent reaction but that too was quelled by police forces. In Pakistan as always, the game was different. While street protests were launched, the government went one step further and declared a national holiday to mark a "Love the Prophet Day" in hopes that protestors would practice tolerance and peace; perhaps too much to expect from a largely illiterate country with strong right-wing, conservative elements at play. Urban centers around the country burned as protestors set cars and police stations on fire, burnt American flags and effigies of President Obama and President Zardari. But that was not all. ATMs were robbed and shops were looted. Cinema halls were burnt down but not before protestors managed to clean the vending machines of all soft drinks. As the mob grew, young men in beards united with those in t-shirts yet hardly anyone could really define why they were plundering their own country. Few had heard of the film while even fewer had seen a preview. In the name of Islam, agitated and violent protestors defended their Prophet's honor in a way that the Prophet himself would have condemned it. Loving and respecting the Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) does not require a day of street protests but rather a lifetime of emulating his justice, patience, resolve, courage and inter-faith harmony. In the realm of mindless violence, it seemed then that sanity was lost along with a true understanding of Islam.

While the U.S government desper-

ately issued adverts and bought air-time on Pakistani channels to express their non-involvement from the movie, their efforts fell on deaf ears. An anti-Islam film produced by a U.S citizen and filmed in America is automatically assumed to appear with the tacit blessings of the United States since few understand that we today live in a world where information cannot be controlled or monitored. The film was produced by a single American and as the case develops, even its actors were duped into believing that they were shooting a regular documentary, having absolutely no clue that it would be dubbed, re-edited and tampered to serve as an anti-Islamic film.

While anger and frustration with such hate speech is justified, the acts of violence are not. Religious sensitivi-

ty is tightly tied to nationalism in many parts of the world; a concept that U.S citizens must understand and respect. However, plundering one's own country will not hurt anyone but its own citizens. No one is asking for Muslims to ignore such a blatant assault on the Prophet but it would perhaps be worth our time to channel that anger into a more constructive direction and practice restraint and tolerance: incidentally two traits that a peace-loving religion like Islam impresses upon its followers. **S**

Arsla Jawaid is Assistant Editor at SouthAsia. A Boston University graduate, she holds a Bachelors degree in International Relations, with a focus on foreign policy and security studies.



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Animal Rights Exclusive

A Commentary by Syed Rizvi

In keeping up with its tradition, SouthAsia magazine has once again dedicated its October 2012 issue to an Animal Rights Exclusive. October has special relevance to the subject of Animal Rights because of a number of events and anniversaries that take place this month. On October 4, people around the world celebrate the feast day of Saint Francis of Assisi, whose love for animals earned him the title, 'Patron Saint of Animals.' In the remembrance of St. Francis, every year, animals are led to churches for a special ceremony called the "Blessing of the Animals." October also is the month in which Mahatma Gandhi was born. Gandhi's commitment to the betterment for animals is well-recognized and needs no introduction. Other events like World Animal Day, Farm Animal Day, and World Vegetarian Day also fall during the month of October.

The current issue of the magazine bears three articles on the subject. In an article on Animal Welfare in Islam, Aiman Reyaz, a regular columnist to NewAgelam.com, by citing the scriptures, affirms that God's love for animals is no less than it is for humans. A predicament that compels us to revisit our mistreatment of animals that we have been justifying under the false pretense of God's will.

In an another article on growing animal rights awareness in Pakistan Anees Jillani, a lawyer at the Pakistan Supreme Court, makes a candid assessment of the state of Animal-Rights movements in Pakistan in comparison to its neighbors. Jillani maintains that while the situation in other countries is no better than in Pakistan, India has certainly outpaced Pakistan at least by rewriting and improv-



Friends and Staff of SouthAsia Magazine (Pakistan) and Pritish Nandy, Co-founder of People for Animals (India) under one roof with Wayne Pacelle, CEO of HSUS -- working for a common cause.

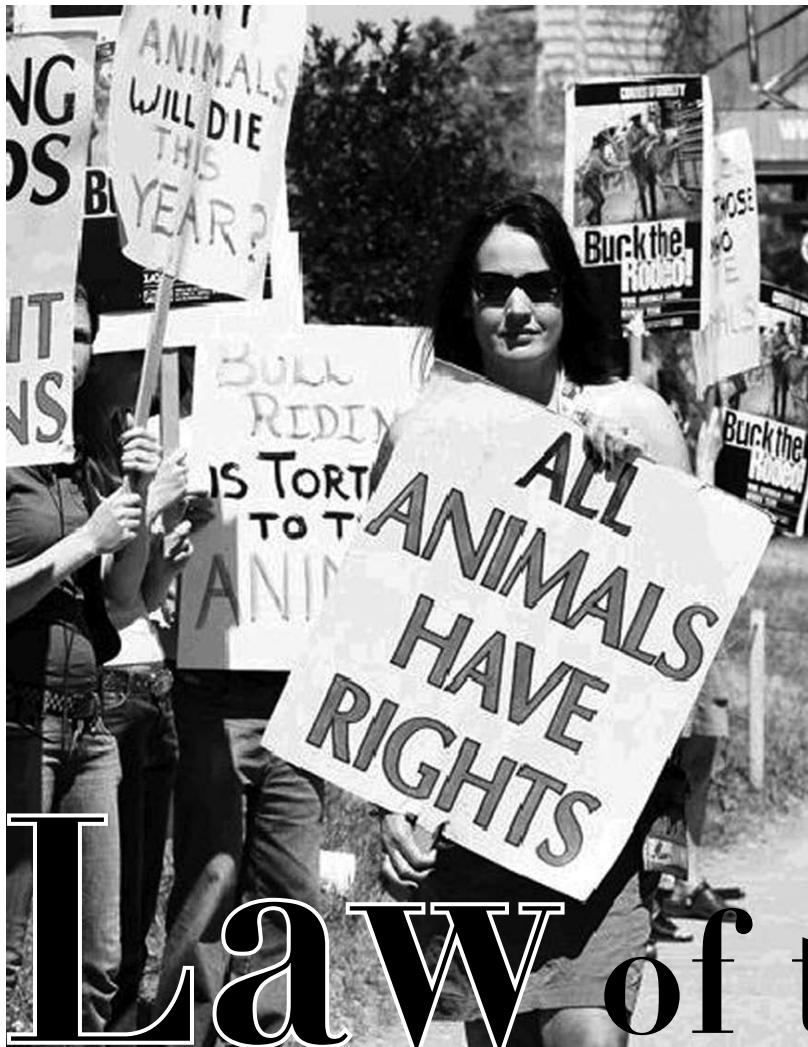
ing the 1890 animal protection law that both countries inherited from their British rulers. Although such a step taken in Pakistan would be welcomed, Jillani asserts that raising animal awareness among the young people would be necessary in advancing the animal cause, since no animal protection law on the book will have any teeth if it does not give its people a higher moral and ethical ground to stand on. Today it is encouraging to see the emergence of grass-roots organizations like Pakistan Animal Welfare Society (Karachi), Animal Rights in Pakistan (Lahore), Animal Save Movement Pakistan (Multan) and Animal Care Association Pakistan (Islamabad) who through the power of the social media, find themselves connected with global animal-rights movements reaching out to their community, raising its animal-right awareness.

In her article, Joyce Tischler founder of Animal Legal Defense Fund makes a compelling argument for the establishment of animal law in any enlightened society.

While two of the above three writers happen to be lawyers, it is to be noted that this year, the Chief Justice of Pakistan

I.H. Chaudhry was a recipient of the "Hero to Animals Award," accorded by an India based animal advocacy group, PETA-India. The award was conferred upon the Chief Justice for banning the *manja* practice in the Punjab province that saved countless birds from injuries and death, to which the Chief Justice acknowledged by saying that this award to him will inspire many others to come forward. In the past, India and Pakistan have bonded by participating in cultural events and sports. Sharing their concerns for animals adds a new dimension to this binding. A recent recognition to People for Animals (India) and commendation to SouthAsia magazine (Pakistan) at the Genesis Awards also brought the two countries under one roof for their work for animals who know of no boundaries between nations. **S**

Syed Rizvi is a physicist by profession, and through his group, Engineers and Scientists for Animal Rights, he reaches out to the scientific and technical communities, promoting the animal rights philosophy. Syed lives in Silicon Valley, California.



Law of the Land

We are constantly reminded by our Indian friends that we are similar and alike in more than one way. Racially we may belong to the same stock but 65 years of separate nationhood have made us different. Or maybe these differences persisted even prior to the partition of India in 1947.

One such difference is the way animals are treated in the two countries. India constitutes a large mass, with a large segment of its population living under abject poverty. However, one often comes across stray dogs sitting comfortably on footpaths without

anybody bothering them. Stray cattle, particularly cows roam freely on the

streets and even the highways, with the drivers patiently waiting for them to cross. Nowadays, it is hard to find snake-charmers and folks showing monkeys and bears doing odd tricks on the streets.

Pakistan and perhaps Bangladesh have a long way to go in this respect. Cattle are considered only as a source of meat and thus devoid of any rights; dogs are considered 'unclean' and thus 'unfit' to be touched and constantly beaten around, with stray dogs not knowing where to go for food and security. But the plight of other animals is no better. Zoo animals live in miserable conditions with on-lookers poking them with sticks and throwing objects at them to get their attention. Many throw empty bags instead of giving these animals any food, which sometimes caged animals are forced to eat due to their health's detriment.

There are hardly any animal rights activists and almost no major orga-

Though animal rights are included in the various law systems practiced across South Asia, few, if any, of these laws are actually enacted.

By Anees Jillani

nization is working to promote their rights. Even the international WWF

(World Wildlife Fund) concentrates more on environmental issues than on aspects relating to improving the state of animal rights. The four provinces have their own Wildlife Departments but the attention is again drawn to major environmental initiatives rather than improving the plight of animals. In any event, foreign donors heavily drive such departmental initiatives. There is seldom any action undertaken on the local initiative officially explained due to paucity of funds but actually more due to lack of any vision and interest in the subject.

The colonial British often indulged in massive hunting sprees. However, they also, perhaps for the first time in the history of this part of the world, introduced the concept of animal rights. In 1890, a law titled the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act was introduced. It is a sad reflection on the part of the people of Pakistan and their successive governments that the same law remains on the statute books with minor modifications. The law makes cruelty to animals punishable. A first offense is punishable with one-month imprisonment or a Rs. 50 fine. Three months imprisonment or a Rs.100 fine is accorded for a subsequent offense which is committed within three years of the first one. However, it is doubtful if anybody has ever been imprisoned in Pakistan for being cruel to an animal under this Act.

As opposed to Pakistan, India replaced the 1890 Act by a new law in 1960. An Animals Welfare Board was constituted which actively continues to advise the government on various issues relating to the subject. More than 12 sets of rules have been enacted under the 1960 Act, dealing with issues ranging from performing animals to dealing with animals used in transportation.

In addition to this, a provision of the Penal Code of 1860, common to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, deems

it a criminal offense to kill, maim, or render useless any animal; an offence punishable with five years imprisonment or with a fine. Again, few if any, are likely to have been punished at least in Pakistan under this provision.

Laws reflect the state of a society. However, their execution is even more important than their enactment. Pakistan to a large extent and most other South Asian nations, show a lack of

Laws reflect the state of a society. However, their execution is even more important than their enactment. Pakistan to a large extent and most other South Asian nations, show a lack of interest in animal rights through their legislations on the subject and its subsequent enforcement.

interest in animal rights through their legislations on the subject and its subsequent enforcement.

There is hardly any awareness about the rights of animals in the country. Many attribute it to Islam as a majority of Muslims regard slaughtering and subsequent eating of animals as justified on religious grounds. It is a religious obligation to sacrifice a cattle over Eid-ul-Azha which follows the pilgrimage season in Mecca. Such Muslims tend to look at animals only to feed them and in some cases to please them, if they cannot be eaten. The animals otherwise have no rights. This kind of attitude is unfortunate as the Holy Quran is silent on this issue while there are a number of sayings of the Holy Prophet that command Muslims to treat animals humanely.

However, lack of interest and awareness about animal rights cannot solely be attributed to religion as China, with a majority of its populace professing no religion is also indifferent towards the rights of its animals.

The same is the case in some other South Asian countries which profess religions other than Islam. The phenomenon is thus also attributable to culture.

A daily in Pakistan succinctly summed up the issue of a lack of animal rights by writing, "It is not surprising that wildlife receives little protection in Pakistan because for a country where human rights are rou-

tinely violated, how can we expect animal rights to be protected? However, we must keep fighting for animal rights. At some point, the government and wildlife protection agencies, both local and international, will have to listen. Otherwise, we will be left with barren land as our people and wildlife are neglected and killed, receiving no respect or regard."

The people of South Asia need to wake up before it is too late. There is an urgent need to introduce reasonable laws protecting the animals and strictly enforcing them. Awareness campaigns may help but could be regarded by some as bringing in western concepts. It would be more effective to start creating awareness about animal rights amongst young children in schools. ■

Anees Jillani is an advocate of the Supreme Court and a member of the Washington, DC Bar. He has been writing for various publications for more than 20 years and has authored several books.





Animal Welfare in Islam

Islam has advocated for animal rights since its inception, some 1400 years ago. Unfortunately, few today remember what it says.

By Aiman Reyaz

Photo credit Anjum Naveed-AP

Eid al Fitr is over and Eid al Adha is right around the corner. Muslims across the world will eat and drink and make merry, commemorating Prophet Ibrahim's willingness to sacrifice his son in the path of Allah. While we will slaughter hundreds of thousands of animals to mark the occasion, most of us will forget another significant lesson of the story: when Allah asked Prophet Ibrahim to sacrifice what was dearest to him, the Prophet initially thought that He meant his herd of animals.

While the festival enjoins us to offer animal sacrifice in the path of Allah, it also reminds us that animals too are living creatures like us, who are loved by Allah and whom we must also love and care for. After all, it won't be much of a sacrifice if we didn't love the animals in the first place. Islam means 'acquiring peace by submitting your will to God.' If that is the case, animals must be the best Muslims as they follow the law of God better than most human beings.

There are broadly two types of living creatures in Islam: human beings and non-human beings. The Quran says that if anyone kills an innocent human being, it is equivalent to killing the whole humanity. As far as non-human beings are concerned, no human being should harm them unnecessarily or kill them for sports, target practice or for fun. They may be used for the benefit of human beings, but never in excess.

A Muslim can be a very good practicing Muslim even by being a pure vegetarian. Islam neither makes it compulsory nor does it encourage human beings to consume non-vegetarian food. "Eat of the good lawful things wherewith We have provided you, and commit no transgression or oppression therein, lest My anger should justly descend on you," says the Quran (20:81).

It repeats in several instances that Allah loves not those who create mischief "by destroying the crops and the

cattle." Animals are sentient beings and Allah has created them to live in communities. Allah says that all creatures are like family to Him and they have their own ways of communicating with each other and worshipping the Almighty. "There is not an animal that lives on Earth nor a being that flies on its wings, but forms part of communities like you" (Quran 6:38). Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) once said, "All creatures are like a family (Ayal) of God and He loves the most, those who are the most beneficent to His family."

The Prophet also said there is no distinction between humans and animals as far as cause and effect are concerned, "A good deed done to an animal is as meritorious as a good deed done to a human being, while an act of cruelty to an animal is as bad as an act of cruelty to a human being." He also said, "whoever is kind to the creatures of God is kind to himself."

Although killing certain animals to eat them is allowed the Prophet said, "Do not allow your stomachs to become graveyards." What this means is that humans should not commit excess nor should we transgress and oppress any living creature, especially animals, because they are also a part of God, just like we are part of Him.

Islam has placed the killing of animals without a justifiable reason as one of the major sins in Islam, "Avoid the seven obnoxious things {deadly sins}: polytheism; magic; the killing of breathing beings! Which God has forbidden except for rightful reason." (Sahih Muslim: Kitab-ul-Imam (Ref. No. 46); Chapter. XXXIX, Vol.I; p. 52. Bukhari, 4:23.) According to the spirit and overall teachings of Islam, causing unavoidable pain and suffering to innocent creatures of God is unjustifiable under any circumstance. Prevention of physical cruelty is not enough, mental cruelty is equally important, if not more important.

"We were on a journey with the Apostle of God, and he left us for a

while. During his absence, we saw a bird called hummara with its two young and took the young ones. The mother bird was circling above us in the air, beating its wings in grief, when the Prophet came back and said: 'who has hurt the feelings of this bird by taking its young? Return them to her.' (Narrated by Abdul Rahman bin Abdullah bin Mas'ud. Muslim. Also Awn (Ref. No. 32) Hadith No. 2658.)"

One of the sayings of the Holy Prophet Muhammad tells us: "If you must kill, kill without torture." He also said "Do not be hasty with a 'being'."

Some 1400 years ago, during the age of ignorance, people were treated like animals and the Prophet Mohammed advocated for animal rights. During the pre-Islamic era, certain pagan superstitions involved acts of torture and cruelty to animals. When the Holy Prophet migrated to Medina from Mecca, he noticed that people would cut off camels' humps and the fat tails of sheep. The Prophet instantly halted this barbaric practice. All such acts were condemned and stopped by the *Rehmat ul Alameen* (a mercy to all the worlds and to every creature).

It was not only the physical but also the emotional care of animals that was emphasized by the Holy Prophet that he once reprimanded his wife, Aisha, for treating a camel a bit offhandedly. The Holy Prophet himself was once reprimanded by God for neglecting his horse, as the following Hadith tells us: "The Prophet was seen wiping the face of his horse with his gown (jullabiyah). When asked why he was doing that, he replied, 'Last night I had a reprimand from Allah regarding my horse for having neglected him.'

We must always strive towards perfection. Being perfect is not an end in and of itself but striving towards achieving it is should be the ultimate goal. **S**

Aiman Reyaz is a regular columnist for the Islamic website, Newageislam.com.

Bringing Justice

In a world where animals continue to be tortured, terrorized and controlled for human purposes, a movement emerges to advocate for their legal rights.

By Joyce Tischler



In a 1972 essay, American law professor, Christopher Stone wrote, “Throughout legal history, each successive extension of rights to some new entity has been, theretofore, a bit unthinkable. We are inclined to suppose the rightlessness of rightless ‘things’ to be a decree of Nature, not a legal convention acting in support of some status quo.” Most people consider it “unthinkable,” that non-human animals should be accorded legal rights. I have spent my career as a lawyer practicing what we now call animal law, and for me, the extension of legal rights to nonhuman animals is both a rational legal goal and a moral imperative.

For 2,000 years, animals have been categorized as “things” under the law. Early scientists believed that animals were nothing more than unthinking, unfeeling machines. Early philosophers and religious scholars were attempting to elevate humankind and therefore felt the need to distinguish between humans and what they called “the lower beasts.” Legal systems are generally a reflection of the society in which they operate, thus lawmakers created clear boundaries between those who had legal rights and those who did not. Human beings were worthy of consideration and the law termed them “persons” and “rights holders.” On the other hand, every other species on the planet was labeled “things,”

“chattel” and “property.” These living “things” could be used to satisfy even the most trivial interests of the rights holders, and their pain, their needs, and their most fundamental interests could be and were ignored.

A legal right can be viewed as a right (as opposed to a privilege) to seek protection under the law and be directly compensated for harms done, and if the right holder is incapacitated, his or her interests can be represented by a guardian or other legal representative.

If we examine the reasons offered

rights? If a human is born with severe physical deformities, that individual still retains his/her legal rights.

An argument arising from some religious sources is that animals do not possess immortal souls. This claim has been the subject of heated debates within the Christian religion. On the other hand, Hindus and Jains believe that animals do have souls. Let us assume for the sake of argument that nonhuman animals do not possess souls. The follow-up question is then, what does the possession or lack of a soul have to do with legal rights? In

ognize that not all human interests carry equal weight and it is the role of our leaders and lawmakers to decide which interests deserve protection as legal rights and to strike a balance among competing interests.

In the last 150 years, scientists have documented a great deal about the intellectual and emotional lives of animals. We now know that other animals have central nervous systems like our own, that they communicate, and that they develop close social and familial relationships. A report titled, “The Cambridge Declaration on Consciousness,” published recently by a distinguished international group of scientists, proclaims that nonhuman animals have human-like levels of consciousness.

In other words, animals also have interests. Therefore, those interests should be protected within the legal system. I’m not suggesting that nonhuman animals should have all the same rights as humans; a dog has no use for the right to vote. But, animals are similar to humans in ways that are morally and legally significant. In our current laws, there remains a core disconnect between what science tells us about the capacities and interests of animals and the legal protections that we provide to them.

Animals are not “things” or mindless machines, and a legal system which treats them as such is sorely flawed. Those of us at the heart of the animal law movement are working towards a world in which the lives and interests of all sentient beings are respected within the legal system. In that hoped-for world, nonhuman animals will not be exploited, terrorized, tortured or controlled to serve human purposes. ■

Joyce Tischler is co-founder of the Animal Legal Defense Fund (ALDF). Serving as the ALDF’s Executive Director for 25 years, she now serves as the agency’s General Counsel.

Human beings were worthy of consideration and the law termed them “persons” and “rights holders.” On the other hand, every other species on the planet was labeled “things,” “chattel” and “property.”

for limiting legal rights to human beings, we find that they don’t hold up under scrutiny. For example, it is argued that nonhuman animals don’t deserve rights because they have lower intelligence. In the U.S., possessing legal rights does not depend upon one’s level of intelligence. If it were otherwise, more intelligent humans would demand greater rights than less intelligent humans. While the average intelligence of humans is higher than that of other animals, some individual humans, such as those who are severely brain damaged, may function at lower levels than dogs, cats or other nonhuman animals. Still, those humans have basic legal rights such as the right to life, the right to bodily integrity, and autonomy.

Another argument for denying legal rights to animals is that they do not look like humans. Yet, physical form does not determine the threshold question of legal rights. How close to human form must one be to have legal

rights? In my country, with its Constitutional separation of church and state, the question of the possession of a soul is deemed irrelevant to determining the legal rights of the individual.

Finally, it is argued that, as a practical matter, we must rely on the use of animals for food, clothing, medical research, and entertainment. In most cases, this is the real reason for the legal distinction between humans and other animals. It is to the advantage of most human beings, either for economic or other reasons, to maintain the status quo. Indeed, all of the above reasons have been used at various times in history to argue that certain humans, such as slaves, women, and children should be denied legal rights.

Human beings have legal rights because we recognize that we have similar basic interests. Legal rights arise from the social contract humans make with other humans, so that we can protect our lives, our families, and our property. However, we rec-

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Exhibition of Garment & Textile Technology
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9 - 11 April 2013, Karachi Expo Centre
8th Information & Communications
Technology Exhibition and Conference
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Dr. Ram Buxani is the President of the worldwide Intra Group and ITL Group. He is the Chairman of Veeram International Ltd., BVI and is on the Board of IndusInd International Holdings Ltd., Tricolour Investments Ltd., BVI., Al Razouki International Exchange Co. (Dubai) and Pure Ice Cream Co. Ltd., (Sharjah). He is also on the board of Sanjay-Gulf Industries (Pvt.) Ltd. and Cosmos-Sanjay Textile Mills Pvt. Ltd. in Amritsar (Punjab). He was the founder Chairman of "Overseas Indians Economic Forum- U.A.E." A recipient of Man of the Year Award by Bharat Ratna, Dr. Buxani has also received the Shield from the President of India, amongst other honors.

How would you describe investor sentiment considering the unpredictability surrounding Indo-Pak ties?

It is a God given opportunity, which should be grabbed to its highest level without any apprehension. The level of calm and peace is bound to rise in both countries after investments are made from both sides. Have you ever heard a depositor attacking a bank in which he has de-

posited his savings? On the contrary, he would like to see that institution, safeguarded.

Can business ties be detached from other issues that exist between both the countries?

The fact that trade has not taken off well up till now can be attributed to the disinclination of the politicians. People have always been interested.

As a matter of fact billions of dollars worth of merchandise finds its way into Pakistan from India through intermediary countries like Nepal and Bangladesh and even Dubai.

What about the mindset and public opinion?

I have lived in Dubai for 53 years and have an enormous number of Pakistani friends. I don't see any en-

mity amongst citizens of both countries. A given incident can trigger a hostile situation sometimes but it is generally very short lived. Such situations occur in every household, every community, every association. But it is always temporary. In the same household, many a time two brothers living together get into serious trouble. But after couple of hours, or days, things become normal. The situation with India and Pakistan is the same, only the western media cashes in on this situation.

Which sectors are likely to experi-

Do you think a “Made in Pakistan” product will sell in India, especially when a common Indian does not know much about the country and believes in whatever media says?

I don't think a 'Made in Pakistan' label is going to be a problem in India. Indians have realized that at the end of the day, it is quality and only quality, which counts. Indians have seen the quality benchmark move from Europe to USA and from Indonesia to India. So moving to Pakistan and even Bangladesh is a natural phenomenon and has to happen.

ate confusion. Perhaps businessmen on both sides already have confidence in each other and are dealing through middle countries. Opening up direct links will simplify the process. But a businessman has to create that atmosphere of acceptance so that ethnic populations take the arrival of investments from neighboring country as a compliment to the existing setup and not a challenge or a threat.

Gulf-based Indian businesses have earned a lot due to barriers to direct trade between both the countries.

“No situation is difficult for India and Pakistan to handle.”

In an exclusive interview with SouthAsia, Dr. Ram Buxani speaks with Amna Khaishgi about the prospects of Indo-Pak business ties and the role of Dubai in opening new trade links.

ence increasing demand from Pakistan and why?

India and Pakistan make a mini world. The availability of resources is spread around the country. I feel each and everything will sell. Pakistan will look to India in areas where the latter is better placed and India will look to Pakistan for the items where the former is less competitive.

And how can India deal with it?


Businessmen know how to handle complex situations. No situation is difficult for India and Pakistan to handle.

Pakistanis are also exposed to the world market. The consumer in Pakistan is equally quality conscious.

Will a Pakistani investor be welcomed in India or will he be treated with suspicion?

When you go to a foreign land to do business you have to create a feeling of trust on the other side. Similarly, the person across the table has to create confidence in you. This is not abnormal. Both sides need to tap virgin areas sending signals that they have come to add value to local efforts and not compete or cre-

Do they stand to benefit or lose from this?

If trade relations between India and Pakistan improve, many Indo-Pak joint ventures will emerge in GCC countries. GCC should be considered as a window to world trade by India and Pakistan. Global markets can be serviced from here with much ease due to highly developed infrastructure. Gulf based Indian executives are likely to benefit in the long term with such a changed scenario. Opening up a direct trade link should not be taken negatively. 

Ever since India took a giant leap in becoming the fourth largest economy in the economic world order, not only has its GDP grown substantially, but the country also claims to have considerably reduced the incidence of poverty within its borders. According to the Planning Commission, 29.8% of India's 1.21 billion people live below the national poverty

line -- a sharp drop from the 37.2% in 2004-5. Despite its 7.6% growth, India remains the poorest among the G20 nations. A BBC report suggests that around 360 million people still live in abject poverty in India. Other evaluations indicate poverty levels to be as high as 77%. However, no matter what these numbers indicate, the fact remains that the poor in India are

getting poorer by the day.

Latest Planning Commission data reveals that the urban population is now trying to survive on Rs. 28.35 per day as opposed to Rs. 38 per day (the national poverty line a few years ago). Now, any citizen who is surviving on Rs. 28.35 per day in urban areas (this expenditure is said to be as low as Rs. 22.42 per day in rural areas)

Slum Dwellers or Millionaires?

Most Indians continue to live in abject poverty with the government doing little to alleviate their problems. Is this simple negligence or a calculated political move?

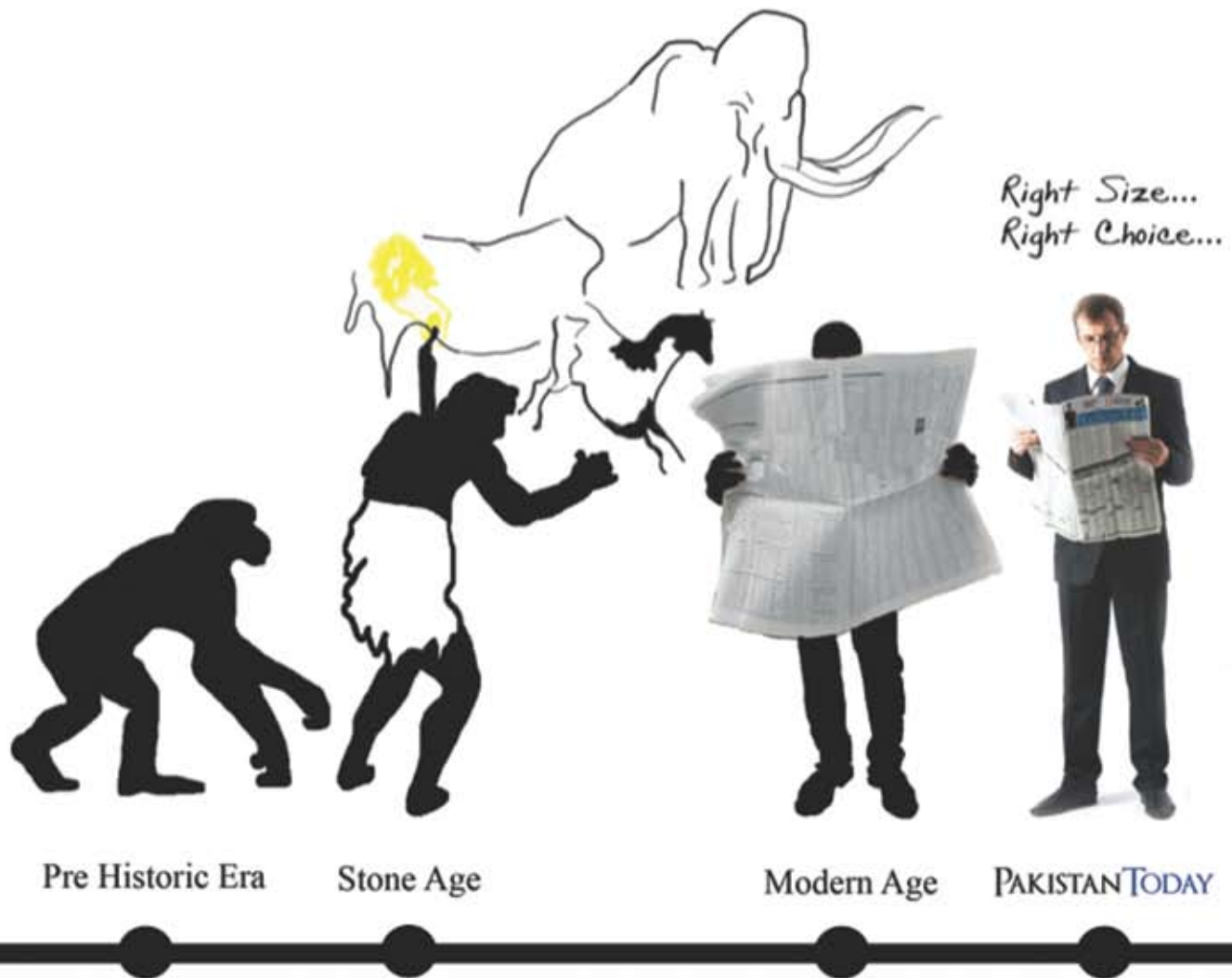
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is not considered to be living Below the Poverty Line (BPL). As a result, the National Commission of India has set lower standards for an individual not to be considered as poor, and this has generated quite a debate across the nation.

"Anything with an engine was out of bounds, we had to travel everywhere on foot. Any kind of protein, even eggs or dairy products became unaffordable," said Tushar Vashisht, a 26-year-old Indian who, along with his friend, conducted an experiment and tried to live on the suggested Rs 28.35 per day BPL level.

Although the debate on poverty has mostly been analysed in the economic realm, its social character and demographics are left unexplored. Poverty is more of a social marginalisation of a group or community rather than an insufficient income to fulfil the basic needs of a household. More than half of India's poor are concentrated in the states of Maharashtra, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand and West Bengal. The disturbing fact, however, is that over the years, the poorest states in India continue to be the same. Prevalent in these states (including Rajasthan and Karnataka) is also an alarmingly large percentage of scheduled castes and tribes. Agricultural laborers (marginal farm workers in villages, casual workers in cities), tribes people, Dalits (formerly low caste untouchables) and minorities (for example Muslims), are all part of the scheduled tribe system and remain the poorest of Indians. A strong correlation can be found between such vulnerable groups and poverty — poor endowments of productive land, sub-standard education, health facilities, living conditions, and caste-based discrimination have all resulted in these groups being prone to chronic poverty.

The informal sector of the Indian society, which consists of the hundreds of shopkeepers, farmers, construction workers, taxi drivers, street vendors, rag pickers, tailors and more, is responsible for approximately 90%

of India's annual economic growth. Ironically enough, these individuals — the backbone of India's booming economy — are the ones whose human condition is the most neglected in the country.

UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon said, "Now, more than ever, we need to connect the dots between climate, poverty, energy, food and water. These issues cannot be addressed in isolation." In order to live at all, one needs clean water, food, shelter, clothing and basic medical facilities. A life without these basic essentials is in no way compatible with human dignity and the standards of a democratic state. Contrary to international human rights norms that state, "everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing, and medical care" (Article 25, Universal Declaration of Human Rights), the Indian government has shown serious negligence in addressing the growing incidences of starvation and appalling living conditions found in shanty slums across urban and rural India.

According to a news story in Bloomberg, Ram Kishen, a starved 59-year-old man and many others like him are legally entitled to the food stored in government warehouses on subsidised prices (as local food prices climbed more than 70% over the past five years, dependence on subsidies has grown). Instead, through scams, around \$14.5 billion in food has been looted by corrupt politicians over the last decade in Uttar Pradesh alone, according to Bloomberg's data. The five-decade-old public distribution system has failed to deliver record of harvests, and thousands of families starve to death, while politicians go unpunished. Although India runs the largest public food distribution program, only 41% of the food set aside for feeding the poor reaches households nationwide. As a result, 21% of all adults and almost half of India's children, under five years of age, are malnourished and about 900 million

Indians eat less than government-recommended minimums, according to World Bank statistics.

Indira Khurana, WaterAid India's Director, Policy and Programs, says "Every year thousands of children die in India due to a lack of adequate sanitation and clean water. The Government must increase the level of spending on water and sanitation... so that all stake holders can work together to turn around the situation." Despite private sector intervention, reducing poverty levels remains slow, particularly in rural Indian villages where hunger, water and sanitation conditions are worse than those in most cities. Laws and systems that protect human rights need to be implemented and put in to practice so that the realities of a globalized economy can be dealt with more effectively.

"Economic opportunity in India still lies, to a large extent, in urban areas," says Eswar Prasad, a leading economist. Is it in the government's own inherent interest to keep those in rural parts destitute, illiterate and let corruption, bad governance and misplaced priorities become an oversight? Is vote-bank politics at play here, so that extreme dearth, emotions and pathos of the poorest in the society can be toyed with during times of election? In a New York Times article, journalist Jim Yardley summed up the reality of Indian slums as "One slum. Four layers. Four realities. On the ground floor is misery. One floor up is work. Another floor up is politics. And at the top is hope." If each slum is a true micro-representation of India and its dwellers the most vulnerable in its social structure, then hoping to live according to basic human rights standards, although the most fundamental of human interests, has sadly become the destiny for millions of Indians. ■

Sadia A. Ahmed is a graduate of Mount Holyoke College and has a post graduate degree in Human Rights Law from SOAS University. She is a freelance journalist and has previously worked for The Express Tribune.

Pakistan often finds itself battling hard against negative international perceptions. Most recently, a ground breaking scientific discovery once again brought this struggling country in to the limelight. Though national players instantly applauded the discovery, the mediocre science and fraudulent methods behind it, soon became apparent.

Some two months ago, Agha Waqar Ahmed, an engineer from Khairpur, a small town in Pakistan claimed that he could run a car on wa-

ter. The news spread like wild fire and immediately caught almost everyone's attention, locally and internationally. Waqar asserted that he had successfully developed a kit that splits the molecular composition of water into its parts: hydrogen and oxygen. The hydrogen and oxygen atoms are then combined again thus generating the sufficient energy required to power a car on its own. Emboldened by his invention, Waqar went onto to publicly claim that the entire country could be run on this model, providing relief to the people of Pakistan, instantly solving the prolonged energy crisis as well as creating thousands of jobs.

engineering from a small technical college in Khairpur have received a mixed reaction. Heavily criticised by intellectuals and scientists around the world, Waqar's discovery has also been endorsed by well-established scientists, political and media figures at home. So what has caused this array of reactions and on what basis are some experts confidently claiming that the concept is flawed?

Scientific basics state that combining hydrogen and oxygen generates energy. The water-kit claims to first

use the water from the car's battery to break down the water molecules and then use another process to combine them, thus generating energy. Despite appearing as a reasonably simple process, it has never been used before or ever because it is indeed impossible. The law of conservation of energy clearly states that energy cannot be created or destroyed, but can only change from one form to another. For a car to move, stored energy from fuel is converted into kinetic energy. Engineers refer to this as the first law of thermodynamics. The water kit, however, seems to be in violation of this because, as mentioned above, it claims to be creating energy rather than converting it.

To most people this theory comes across as too scientific and extremely complicated. In simple terms then, the water kit is criticised for going against the basic laws of science, which are also the basic laws of nature. Despite the flaws outlined by national and international critics, some in Pakistan readily expressed support for this car that runs on water and hailed Waqar as a successful inventor. Notably, Minister for Religious Affairs, Syed Khurshid Ahmad Shah expressed support for Agha Waqar Ahmad on

The Car That Runs

Pakistan's infamous car that runs on water has run into harsh criticism from scientists and experts around the world, despite being supported by some at home.

By Suha Jafri

ter. The news spread like wild fire and immediately caught almost everyone's attention, locally and internationally. Waqar asserted that he had successfully developed a kit that splits the molecular composition of water into its parts: hydrogen and oxygen. The hydrogen and oxygen atoms are then combined again thus generating the sufficient energy required to power a car on its own. Emboldened by his invention, Waqar went onto to publicly claim that the entire country could be run on this model, providing relief to the people of Pakistan, instantly solving the prolonged energy crisis as well as creating thousands of jobs.

The claims of the professed inventor and a graduate in mechanical

use the water from the car's battery to break down the water molecules and then use another process to combine them, thus generating energy. Despite appearing as a reasonably simple process, it has never been used before or ever because it is indeed impossible. The law of conservation of energy clearly states that energy cannot be created or destroyed, but can only change from one form to another. For a car to move, stored energy from fuel is converted into kinetic energy. Engineers refer to this as the first law of thermodynamics. The water kit, however, seems to be in violation of this because, as mentioned above, it claims to be creating energy rather than converting it.

television and made him a national hero. Several other federal ministers also extended their support for the idea. Surprisingly, even some of the finest Pakistani scientists, including A.Q.Khan endorsed the 'discovery'. 'It is appalling how men of high academic calibre can conveniently dismiss the fundamental principles that this concept is said to be violating. The field of science has witnessed major breakthroughs over the past few decades and surely the concept of water serving as a source of fuel has been put to test many times, yielding attempts that remain futile.

What is interesting is that this tiny 'ray of hope' emerged amidst a very delicate situation: the power riots.

People across the country were venting their frustrations over prolonged power cuts and load shedding with violent street protests erupting left right and centre. During such troubled times, a discovery that could potentially eliminate the people's most pressing woes, served the purpose of a tiny ray of hope that was desperately needed. Is that the reason why prominent personalities went to such

has had any answer.

Are some scientists and leaders then simply ignoring science and the laws of nature or is embracing such a non-plausible theory the only way of preventing further riots? Some wise academics in Pakistan, including Dr Pervez Hoodbhoy, have consistently been highly sceptical of the claims made by Agha Waqar and have published articles providing evidence that

planet but those too require a combination of gasoline and electricity. They too are not entirely pollution free but are certainly a more promising, reliable and economy friendly modes of transport.

on Water



great lengths to endorse an almost impossible idea? It makes sense that people saw Agha Waqar Ahmad as a national hero because he seemed to be the only person who had a solution to their misery, no matter how flawed. The current government, and many others before them, have tried to find a permanent solution to the energy crisis that Pakistan faces, but no one besides the engineer from Khairpur

falsifies this concept.

The international world has also criticised the claims laid by Waqar. Various scientists across the globe have invested their time and research in trying to use water as a source of energy and have concluded, after several failed attempts, that water alone cannot be a source of energy. The invention of hybrid electric vehicles is definitely a step forward in saving the

No one has so far been successful in using water as the sole source of energy provision and if Agha Waqar is able to prove his breakthrough discovery, then hats off to him for that! **S**

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It is a commonly held misconception that the area between Central Asia and South Asia is in perpetual friction. First, “the Great Game” gripped the region into its tentacles and now it is “the New Great Game” that continues to wreak havoc. The result of these bloody games is constant instability and warfare in an otherwise restive region. This turbulent land encompasses Afghanistan, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and the Tribal areas of Pakistan. The whole region has traditionally been marked by tribal, ethnic and religious affiliations and a conservative mindset,

gime and central authority.

‘Frontier of Faith’ consists of an introduction, six chapters and an epilogue. It is supplemented with maps, bibliography, glossary and an index. The premise of this book explores how the religious elite has maintained the essential autonomy of this region. Haroon attempts to also shed light on the contemporary terrorist upheaval.

The book attempts to explore the function of the mullah in Pakhtun hinterlands and traces his journey from a syncretism of Sufi creed to the orthodoxy of hard-line Deobandi belief. Turangzai, a mul-

Pakhtun of the Tribal Areas were ruled by their tribal code Pakhtunwali that remains intertwined with faith through the agency of the mullahs. The mullahs were mostly a part of a chain of mystics — mostly Qadiriya — who decided the matters of Sharia law in the light of their jurisprudence and in deference to the tribal code. Gradually the mullahs all changed to the Mujaddadiya chain of mysticism, which meant they became militant rather than quiescent in the Qadiri tradition.

Mullahs were by and large involved in agrarian-based mundane

Religious Autonomy of the Tribal Belt

Title: Frontier of Faith
Author: Sana Haroon
Publisher: Oxford University Press,
Pakistan (January 2011)
Pages: 258, Paperback
Price: PKR 595
ISBN: 9780199060252

making it a hotbed of military and political machinations. The other remarkable feature of this region is the existence of localism. This trend prevents the development of any legal-institutional authority system. The absence of a legal-institutional system has contributed to its alienation from the modern concepts like nation-state, written legislation system, global trade re-

lah, embodies this metamorphosis from mysticism to orthodoxy. Having fought against the British Raj, he has become a paragon of fight against foreign occupiers. Numerous Afghan fighters draw their imaginative strength from Turangzai’s fight more than a century ago.

Mullahs are vital social actors in the tribal areas. Historically, the

activities: financial transactions, marrying within an endogamous clan system and social interaction. In all these cases, mullahs were mainly Pakhtun in heritage and clan centered in outlook. These mullahs derived their energy from their knowledge of Shariah in the tribal jirgas. Therefore in social and legislative matters, the mullah’s influence overlapped with each

other.


Ahmed Shah Abdali rendered many changes in the religio-political landscape of this land. He allured the descendants of Mujaddid Alf Sani to move to Kabul after his raid of Delhi in 1748. On their arrival and with patronage from the court of Ahmed Shah, they gained pre-eminence at the Afghan court. They were also granted lands in Kabul, Kohistan, Jalalabad, Kandahar and Herat where the influence of the Naqshbandiya-Mujaddidiya line grew to its strongest. It is Alf Sani's Mujaddadi militancy that forms the Pakhtun personality. This

one of easing the orthodoxy propagated by Mujaddid Alf Sani. His disciples and descendants waged Holy war against Sikhs to revive and establish an Islamic Caliphate based on Arabian model. The roots of militant activities can be traced back from that era of religious revivalism.

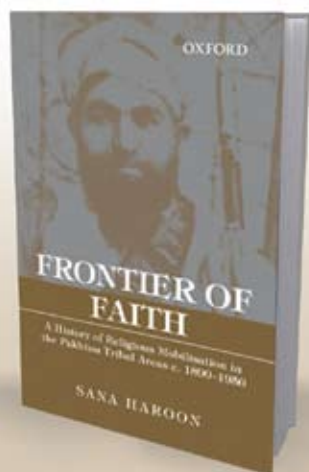
Akhund Ghafur set up the throne of Swat and in 1849 put Syed Akbar Shah on it as Amir of Swat. Shah was a former secretary of Syed Ahmad of Rai Bareilly, but after his death took the throne himself. He kept contact with the Mujaddadi chief mullah of Kabul

off-shoot of the influence of Indian Muslim political discourse on the areas of Peshawar, Hazara, Bannu, Kohat and Dera Ismail Khan. Tribal areas became accomplices of wider settled regions in that struggle against anti-colonialism.

In post-independent Pakistan, students of politics and history know what followed in that region during the regime of General Zia ul Haq. He launched a Jihad against the 'evil empire' of Russia at the behest of the American government. The army of Pakistan in connivance with CIA garnered a worldwide recruitment for militants. It was an era of free trade in jihadists. Washington witnessed the liberalization and deregulation of Jihadists across the world. Globalization of militancy took place without restriction and Peshawar became the capital of global Jihad. After 9/11 though, all the Taliban fugitives from Afghanistan took refuge in these tribal areas. Now these rogue elements, out of Jihadist impulse, are wrecking vengeance on the people of Pakistan.

The book is thorough, clearly written and well researched. Its arrival in the Pakistan market will definitely help to understand the religious anatomy of tribal areas of Pakistan. Policy makers as well as students of history and politics can immensely benefit from such a resource. 

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Reviewed by Hammad Raza

militancy is still found in the frantic frenzy of militants residing in these areas.

The *piri-muridi* tradition was strong among the Pakhtuns, until another great man in the tradition of Naqshbandiya-Mujaddadiya chain became their patron in chief, Shah Waliullah. This was a puritanical era in the religious configuration of tribal areas. His movement was

and derived much power from the Kabul throne through the mystic silsila. His military might was respected in the region surrounding Swat.

Jamaat e Mujahadeen began in 1915. The roots of anti-colonialism in the tribal areas did not come directly and this movement made anti-colonialism its main agenda. Anti-colonialism was in essence the

Princess Shahr Bano Begum's autobiography, *Biti Kahani* originally written in a male dominated society of India in 1885, is more than a mere autobiography. It serves as a comprehensive documentation, capturing the largely obscured lives of Indian women of that era.

The author Tahera Aftab, provides a detailed account of not only Shahr Bano's autobiography but also describes the challenges she faced in a highly patriarchal society that

around the tragic tale of an Indian princess born in the prominent family of Pataudi and wedded into another respectable family of Jagharr. Shahr Bano lived a life of envy until all was brought down by the 'mutiny' of Indian sepoys. Instead of taking us through chronologically, Tahera puts down the narrative event by event, unwinding Shahr Bano's life that took a turn for the worst.

Tahera gives a detailed account of all the major events and mishaps of Shahr Bano's life. It begins with

The striking aspect of her autobiography is the fact that having lived a life under shroud and protection, Shahr Bano is a master in the art of history and is at par with some of the best historians due to her keen observations.

As the revolt sets in motion, her life is thrown into a series of episodes of mistrust and hardship. However, she shows great character in living through those years of utter misery with elegance and keeping true to her roots. Tahera portrays

A Voice From the Powerless

Title: A Story of Days Gone By
Edited and
Translated by: Tahera Aftab
Publisher: Oxford University Press,
Pakistan (February 2012)
Pages: 268, Hardback
Price: PKR 825
ISBN: 9780199060122

failed to recognize the works of a female writer. Over the years, several notable writers have translated and edited the original text written by Shahr Bano. Aftab, however, must be appreciated for her exhaustive research that took her from public libraries of New York to those of South East Asia, in order to determine the authenticity of the edited version of the original autobiography by various distinguished writers.

The autobiography revolves

her birth, which allows Bano to add historical facts from the time of her forefathers. Due to this, Shahr Bano has described her autobiography as not only the 'narration' of her story but also as a 'chronicle of history.' Since there were no female writers in her era who could capture their own stories and those of others around them, Shahr Bano's autobiography became the only female perspective available in an extremely male-dominated society.

the great neglect suffered by Shahr Bano at the hands of her contemporaries and asks whether they ever considered her a force to reckon with in terms of power, leadership and sustenance.

Bearing kids at the tender age of 15, she was well-equipped for a life of responsibility and over the years had to travel excessively. She witnessed the death of her five children, who died in infancy, apart from her last son, who died at the age of 10.

Following her husband's death at the youthful age of 24, Shahr Bano exemplifies great strength and patience in dealing with a life that was deprived of any form of comfort or support.

Stricken with grief, the persuasion of Gertrude Fletcher was not the only reason for the Princess to document her life. A purdah-observing woman, she explained, "When one reflects on whatever has befallen a person all through life and deliberates upon the misfortunes,

Tahera Aftab has provided elaborate notes on the information she gathered from various sources. Many authors who have written about the life of Shahr Bano have misinterpreted her personality and character. Tahera gives us an overview of all those autobiographies and mentions the parts where the authors might have undermined Shahr Bano's true identity as a South Asian, Muslim woman. The excerpts from the various books she cross-examined, allowed Tahera to reach

women of her time appeared voiceless and powerless.

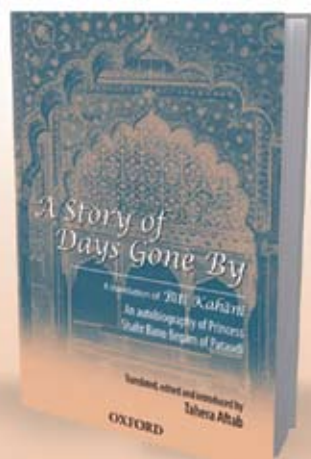
Tahera describes the writing style of Bano as the flow of a soft river. There is immense use of Persian words. The facsimile also hints at the tinge of old Urdu dialect, which makes it an even more fascinating read. The one page excerpt proves that Urdu has evolved over the years. Urdu was initially highly Persianised and gradually unfamiliar words and phrases of Persian and Arabic were eliminated. Written in 1885, the Urdu used in her autobiography is still quite close to the Urdu spoken in today's world.

The facsimile also allows the readers to analyze Shahr Bano's assessment of her self. The constant underestimation of her own personality not only reflects her modest nature but also mirrors the patriarchal nature of her society.

The book is divided into three parts. While the third part is a simple translation of Shahr Bano's second half of the autobiography, titled, 'The completion of my story', the first part revolves around the 'mutiny', which shaped the battered future of the Indian princess. The second part of the book attempts to understand the history of the Pataudis. The timeline, itinerary and map help in providing a clearer and more vivid picture of the challenges she faced. The book also consists of Appendixes, which help in understanding the text as it lays out the family tree.

Tahera Aftab has made a tremendous effort to reveal the unabridged story of our past by highlighting Shahr Bano's works in the midst of male historians who adhered to and furthered a patriarchal society. **S**

Kinza Mujeeb is pursuing a B.A in Media Science from SZABIST, Karachi.



Reviewed by Kinza Mujeeb

one would truly behold an amazing spectacle of Divine Power. There is an excellent lesson in this spectacle to keep one away from human negligence and heedfulness." She also believed that her roller-coaster life might serve as a 'lesson' for others. She wanted her 'sisters' to 'benefit' from her 'experiences.' This intention resonates throughout her autobiography as she constantly and directly refers to her 'sisters' while describing the events of her life.

the conclusion that while many may have exalted Shahr Bano's attempt to narrate her life of misery, many others have missed out on how she elegantly coped with every tumultuous stone thrown her way.

There is a facsimile of Shahr Bano's manuscript that aids in providing an accurate insight of the Princess' writing abilities to the reader. This gives the readers a firsthand account of Shahr Bano's knack of narrating her life in pen, when most



By Anees Jilani

A Triple Hand-shake Diplomacy

I am a fan of Hina Rabbani Khar and regard her as one of the few competent ministers in the current federal cabinet. However, it is getting increasingly boring to see photographs of her shaking hands with the Indian external affairs minister, month after month. These meetings between the foreign ministers need to achieve something other than mere photo opportunities.

The September 2012, S.M Krishna's visit to Islamabad was no different. He held talks discussing God knows what as there was little to show at the end of the day. The two foreign ministers then addressed a press conference in which they reiterated their usual stances, Hina emphasizing to "bury the past and move forward" and Krishna insisting that we cannot move forward unless "Mumbai terrorists are convicted by the Pakistani courts." Journalists were allowed to ask a total of only four questions, two from each side.

Then on September 8, our British Interior Minister, Rehman Malik signed a new visa agreement with S.M Krishna. To begin with, this was an odd couple as one represented the Interior Ministry of Pakistan while the other, India's External Affairs Ministry. Secondly, this visa accord was ready to be signed by the interior secretaries in May and then the foreign secretaries of the two countries in July 2012 in New Delhi. Rehman Malik however insisted that he should sign it on Pakistan's behalf. Ministers are not authorized under the Rules of Business of Pakistan to sign agreements and only secretaries can do so. In other words, the accord signed by the two gentlemen probably only conveys the intention of the two states. The Accord was not shared with the media.

Under the Accord, Pakistan and India agreed to issue single entry visa-on-arrival (valid for 45 days) to senior citizens (65 years and above) and to children below 12 years at the Wagah - Attari border. It is beyond comprehension as to how an under-12 child can travel on his own, without

an adult accompanying him.

Additionally, a new category of tourist visa for a group of more than ten but less than 50 persons is introduced. Such a visa, however, can only be issued when the tourist trip is sponsored by a government approved tour operator. We all know what that means. Relatives and friends will be given the tour operatorship licenses on both sides and exchange of money under the table is more than likely. The tourists will not be exempted from police reporting.

The businessmen are luckier which goes to show India's interest in forging improved trade relations. They can be issued multiple entry (maximum four) visas valid for a period of one year and covering five cities if they can show that their annual income is more than Rs 500,000 or their annual turnover is more than Rs three million. Businessmen with an annual income of Rs five million or an annual turnover of Rs 30 million can get the same visa for ten cities and will also be exempted from police reporting.

For ordinary folks like us, the only good news may be that the maximum city limit has been increased from three to five cities; and the visa duration has been increased from three to five months. However, one cannot live for more than three months on this visa at any one time (one must be really sick of his country or family and free to be living for three months in another country).

The Accord can hardly be regarded as a breakthrough or as ushering an era of liberalized visa regime. Something is better than nothing and so it must be welcomed but even this Accord has yet to be approved by the respective governments and thus yet to come into operation. **S**

Anees Jilani is an advocate of the Supreme Court and a member of the Washington, DC Bar. He has been writing for various publications for more than 20 years and has authored several books.

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