

KNOWLEDGE CORRIDOR

Quarterly Vol 1 No.2 April - June <u>2021</u>



Current Affairs Pakistan Affairs News & Reports (Seminars/Conferences/Sport Activities) Contributions of Students (Articles, Letters to Editors and Stories/ Book Reviews/Interviews etc.)

PAKISTAN STUDY CENTRE UNIVERSITY OF SINDH, JAMSHORO

Quarterly E-Magazine Knowledge Corridor	CONTENTS
Vol.I, No.2, 2021 (April-June 2021)	EDITORIAL
Patron-in-Chief Prof.(Meritorious) Dr.Muhammad Siddique Kalhoro	Prof.Dr.Shuja Ahmed Mahesar
Vice Chancellor University of Sindh & Chairman Board of Governors	ARTICLES
Pakistan Study Centre Jamshoro	• The Consequences of Incompetence by Sheeraz Mirani
Editor-in-Chief <i>Professor Dr Zareen Abbasi</i>	Regional Security by Shahid Abbas Haslo
Dean Faculty of Social Sciences University of Sindh Jamshoro	Climate Woes / Changes by Fatima Mumtaz
Editor	• CPEC, a game changer by Asad Wassan
Professor Dr Shuja Ahmed Mahesar Director Pakistan Study Centre University of Sindh Jamshoro	• Understanding 18 th Amendment in the Constitution of Pakistan by Samiullah
Sub-Editor <i>Ayaz Channa</i> Publication Officer Pakistan Study Centre University of Sindh Jamshoro	Solangi Contributors are requested to restrict their articles for publication in <i>Quarterly</i>
Assistant Editor <i>Khamees Ali Kubar</i>	<i>Knowledge Corridor</i> to a minimum 1000 and maximum 1500 words.
Research Coordinator, M.Phil Pakistan Study Centre Jamshoro	Printed by: Sindh University Printing Press, Hyderabad
Views expressed in the articles and reports in the magazine are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Knowledge Corridor.	- 341441 Jack 19
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The Consequences of Incompetence

Sheeraz Mirani

"There is no more dangerous menace to civilization than a government of incompetent, corrupt, or vile men." Ludwig von Mises

The public of Pakistan has begun to question the leadership ability of the PTI government. Because two years have been passed and it seems to be going back in every sphere rather than moving forward to create opportunities for the public. There is a yawning gap between saying and doing and Imran khan is good at saying rather than doing. When Imran khan promises to the public before the election standing on the container that I will prosperous Pakistan and create "Naya Pakistan" but in Naya Pakistan, there is no place for the poor people heavy taxes, unemployment, inflation, and corruption. The PTI government failed from the base level of the container. When it comes to providing justice, it seems to be a fierce campaign against political opponents. If *Insafian* leaders had done their homework before coming to power, we would have expected different results from the PTI government.

Firstly, In June and March, the Flour shortage hit the major cities of the country. The authorities remained silent. No, any legal action was taken by authorities against the mafia, the government, and the opposition accuses each other of the crisis. The cost of 20 kg of flour hit Rs 930 against the previous rate of Rs 880. The public faces the consequence of mishandling a flour crisis and this is the result of poor governance. Besides, there is illegal smuggling of wheat with the porous border of Afghanistan.

Secondly, In January 2015 Pakistan also had seen an example of a shortage of oil when the global prices of oil were falling and the mafia of oil industries was not ready to take the losses. This time too oil crisis developed over a certain period but the authorities have not been responding against the oil mafia and the policymakers have learned no lesson from the 2015 crisis. Besides, whenever the global price of oil goes down, the oil industry of Pakistan always tries to reduce their losses and when the price goes up, these entire oil industry gains inventory. This artificial oil crisis ensured that this government of Imran Khan is no better than the previous government as it was five years ago.

Thirdly, the collapse of PIA did not happen overnight. There are a total of 262 pilots out of 800 pilots were certified by the Civil Aviation Authority (CAA). The reason behind the ban of PIA flights landing in European airports was that the "fake" or suspect licenses of pilots. The main reason was the failure to meet security and safety management. PIA had lost its safety certification given by the European Flying Safety Agency (EASA) in March 2012 after rehashed incidents of minor mishaps (like a tire bursting into flames during landing or some other technical defects. On June 24, the minister of aviation worsened the **scenario** further. He reported that thirty percent of PIA pilots entourage the "Fake licenses". The aviation minister did not say that these pilots in question have "fake licenses". Instead, he claimed that the inquiry grounds suspected the authenticity of several pilots. The mishandling by the aviation minister and the reports of fake licenses go viral on international media and prove another bomb on the Pakistan economy.

Besides, the PTI government from the inception of Covid-19 did not announce any specific strategy to combat this deadly virus. Imran Khan since the beginning of this pandemic, said that the case of COVID 19 is much more similar than the case of flu. On the other hand, the country is already facing economic inflation, unemployment, poverty and now pandemic reaches the country's economy in worse shape. Few weeks of effective lockdown than Imran khan announces the policy of so-called smart lockdown, which resulted in nothing. This pandemic was the opportunity for the PTI government to take the place

in the heart of public but the PTI government mismanagement and misconduct in pandemic worst the situation.

In the above all mentioned discussion, the PTI government has to find out the solution. The public is full of anger by all that has happened. For the PTI government, 2 years have been difficult. Imran Khan, tenure is getting harsher and he does not realize that things are slipping out of his hand. This government is in critical condition and the coalition parties are breaking their coalition as Akhtar Mengal's party recently exited from the PTI government. The PTI government is unable to deal with serious economic issues on its own in an atmosphere of political instability.

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Regional Security

Shahid Abbas Haslo

The meaning of security is often treated as a common term that can be understood by unacknowledged consensus. In modern times, the term security covers a variety of interconnected issues in the world that have profound impacts on survival of humans. It consists of traditional or conventional modes of military power causes and consequences of war between states, economic strength, ethnic, religious, ideological differences, trade economic conflicts, energy supplies, science and technology, food as well as, threats to humans' security and stability or states from environmental degradation, global pandemic, global warming, and activities of non-state actors, a new threat in modern times that from which almost all states fear. In international politics, the term region has become most closely associated with different continents of the world; Asia, America, Europe and Africa. Hence, Regional Security can be understood as security provided by region. The concept of Regional Security got its preeminence after the world war 2 and especially cold war. The end of cold war resulted in establishment of many multilateral regional organisations such as North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in the Europe, Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in African states, and Shinghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) in South Asia. The establishment of regional security alliances has shown significant security dimensions ruling out cultural differences and extending concept of security to Human rights, environmental issues and democracy. Regional security cooperation is very necessary in order to achieve peace, human development index goals, exterminating prevailing threats both traditionally and non-traditionally. There are four models of Regional Security cooperation in 21st century; Alliances, Collective Security, Security Regimes and Security Communities. Alliances modes of cooperation has long been in use both in the past and present time. Alliances have often focused on eliminating threats and checking on enemies' activities rather than sustaining ever-lasting peace process. However, alliances should reduce the possibility of war, conflicts in the regions, establish mutual benefits opportunities and encourage states to promote peace and humanitarian values. The second is Collective Security which is an arrangement political, regional and global in which each actors in the system consent that security of any member state of organisation will be responsibility of all states. Therefore, a collective action is applied if the security of any member of organisation is threatened. The modern concept of collective security came into being in 1914. Immanuel, Kant, Martin Weight, Woodro Wilson and Micheal Joseph are considered pioneers of collective security concept. Their concept was to avoid grouping powers into opposing camps. The third, Security Regimes dates back to as early as 1970s, it is defined as norms, principles, rules and decision-making procedure around which members interest converge in the given issue. The security community concept has a good implications for the peaceful perspective. The term was coined by political scientist, KalDuetch, which he defined as region in which possibility of largescale violence or arising conflicts has low degree possibility. As a group of people (officials of the

States) believe that issue can be resolved by process of peaceful change rather than violance. Since the end of bipolar world 1991, Regional Security organisations have paid attention to preserve peace, root out the causes of conflicts, preserve humanitarian values, promote regional cooperation in order to accomplish economic prosperity, human welfare and goals of human development index. As Buzen and Waever, the pioneers of theory of Regional security Complex, said, " Simple physical adjacency tends to generate more security interactions among neighbours than among states located in the different areas. The physical adjacency has become very important in modern times. The development in the regional security organisations can give a good impression of concept of regional security and physical adjacency related dynamics.

Africa

African Union came into its form and its predecessor was organization of African Unity. African Union has strived to maximize security cooperation among its members, to stimulate Co-operation in socio-politico-economic and regional development, to resolve issues of cross borders, to terminate terrorism and ensure food supplies. African Union has shunned the inherited concept of culture differences that Organisation of African Unity didn't address.

Asia

Association of South east Asian Nations (ASEAN) has sought to address issues such as border crises by developing mechanism of trust and understanding. It has minimised the likelihood of raising conflicts and minimized efforts to gain mutual benefits by cooperation. Shinghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) has also been key regional organisation in South Asia to counter threats of terrorism, crimes, human trafficking and extremism. It has also emphasized on cooperation in economic military, science, technology and art.

Europe

Europe Union (EU) is the only organisation structured to operate at a super-national level as opposite to inter-governmental level. Europe Union has developed an internal single market with the organised system of laws where all members agree on a particular subject. The principles of free marketing, movement of people, goods, services and materials have been framed by European Union with its emphasize on regional security assurance and military-economic building measures.

Latin America and Caribbean

Organisation of American states (OAS) has followed the principles most needed by the Carribbean and Latin American countries. It has organised itself into a body to focus on non-traditional security threats; illigal drug trafficking, Corruption, money laundering, cybers warfare, dictatorship, food security and climate change.

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Climate Woes / Changes

Fatima Mumtaz

Earth's environment is an international environmental issue. The gases such as CO2 and CFC are main contributors to climate change. Burning fossils and fuels.UN Secretary General Banky Moon said following while discussing **effects** greenhouse**gases on climate**.

"We must harness the political will to seal the deal on an ambitious new climate agreement. If we get it wrong we face catastrophic damage to people, to the planet."

However, scientists have remained engaged in research on climate change and warned about the dangerous effects of the global warming and about gradual rise in the temperature resulting in rising sea levels andmelting glaciers. Many experts estimate that the average global temperature will an additional (2.5 to 10.4) Fdegree (1.4 to 5.8) degree by 2100 considering problems on globe ecopolitical agenda.

Rise in Sea Level

Sea level will rise due to melting of glaciers and excessive supply of water will cause floods. The floods will affect the lives of people across the world. Floods will damage crops and houses. Millions people will be displaced due to floods.

Depletion of Ozone Layer

Ozone depletion causes various effects on health of people. These health hazards include skin cancer among humans, effects on ecosystem etc.

Threats to Global Biodiversity

International experts of environmental studies believe that global warming poses threat to the life of 70% species. One of the most endangered animal species will be polar bear. It is argued that tropical forests are important for preserving bio-diversity. These forests provide home and food to more than eight to ten million species.

Shrinking Forest or Deforestation

There is rapid rise in deforestation. High growth rates in population, growing industrialisation, and urbanisation and lack of plantation has caused deforestation and desertification. This generates main sources of climate change in the world.

Water Shortage

Global warming is accelerating up the hydrological cycle under which water evaporates and it falls in the form of rain or snow. Climate change situation is very alarming as it is believed by experts that by 2025 two out of every three people on the earth will live in water-stressed area. Unchecked Population rise will further increase the demand for consumption of resources which will affect climate change.

Conclusion

Climate change is a dynamic and evolving threat that cannot be ignored. It is a cyclical repetitive and multifaceted impact on the social and economical indicators. Climate hotspots, drought, desertification, floods, diseases increased the frequency of natural disasters and mass movement of people. However, every species is suffering from the changes around on a massive scale. These are affecting agriculture further and angering food security a rise in sea levels and accelerated erosion of coastal zones.

However, climate change is one of the crucial and critical global challenges of our time.

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CPEC, a game changer

Asad Wassan

China Pakistan economic corridor (CPEC), a billion dollars mega economic project, is actually the leading manifestation of the Chinese one belt one road (OBOR) vision, being the first of its form and now almost in practice, CPEC not only brings the dreams of OBOR into reality but also changes the economic, strategic and political status quo of regional relations.

China Pakistan economic corridor is a mutual economic venture between china and Pakistan on the formula of giving and take, China is investing over 50\$ billion dollars in Pakistan infrastructure and energy sector in return for access to the country route leading to Gwadar port, the port will ultimately enable the Chinese goods to reach the African and middle eastern markets using the shortest possible way from the western.

One belt one road, on the other hand, it's a mega vision of china to connect the whole region a d beyond into a single network of transit routes using which china can carry its products to most of the Asian and European countries. OBOR remains to be a superior economic power replacing the USit is ensuring unprecedented ties between china and pakistan on the economic ground, it is brought Russia, UK, Iran, and central Asian republics to revive their attention towards Pakistan and the South Asian region.

It is building the economic connectivity between Africa, the middle east, and Asia along with seeking access to the European markets it is altering the regional strategic balance by making a shift in alliances new political and economic blocs are surfacing with new vision Owings to the CPECit is altering the regional approach from protectionism towards liberalism of trade and shared prosperityit's surely a valuable game-changer for Pakistan.

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Understanding18thAmendmentinthe Constitutionof Pakistan

Samiullah Solangi

Though Pakistan's founding fathers envisaged the country to be a federation, it was anything but federation. Instead of accommodating the cultural and ethnic diversity, the leaders of the country resorted to schemes to bulldoze diversity and enforce uniformity; the prime example being the One Unit Formula. However, this discrepancy between ideals and reality was erased by the enactment of the 18th Constitutional Amendment. It was an attempt to revive federalism in letter and spirit. The amendment set as its goal, among other things, the empowerment of the parliament, strengthening of the democracy, stipulation of provincial autonomy and limitation of unilateral actions of the centre. Whereas the amendment was vast in scope and overhauled the whole governance mechanism, it , nevertheless, left some important issues untouched.

Though the 18th amendment was vast in scope, one of its important aspects was to strengthen the feeble democracy in the country. In the seventy three years of the existence of Pakistan, democracy was prevented from deepening its roots. The chief hurdle in the way of smooth democratic transition has been the interference of undemocratic and non-civilian forces in the politics. However, the amendment has made it very hard for non-civilians to take the reigns of the government by strengthening the Article 6 of the Constitution wherein words "suspension" and "holding in abeyance" of the constitution have been added to the acts that constitute high treason. Further, even superior courts cannot validate a coup d'état. Therefore, the amendment has provided a fillip to democracy in Pakistan.

Moreover, the amendment has stipulated the supremacy of the Parliament. Now, the president can not declare emergency on his own, rather, the joint houses would approve the proclamation of emergency (Article 232). Furthermore, both the Council of Common Interests and National Economic Council are

obliged to report annually to the Parliament (Article 153 and 156 respectively). Besides, Parliament has been given considerable clout in appointment of judges and Chief Election Commissioner (Article 175 and 213 respectively). Hence, the amendment has established the supremacy of Parliament.

Further, the enactment of the 18th amendment has limited the potential of the centre to act unilaterally. Currently, if the federal government wants to construct a hydro-electric power station in any province, it will have to consult the provincial government concerned (Article 157). In addition to this, the Council of Common Interests (Article 153) has substantially clipped the wings of the centre by including the provinces in the decision making regarding the affairs of the federation. Therefore, the amendment has curbed the ability of the federal government to act on its own.

Likewise, the other main feature of the amendment was the grant of autonomy to the provinces. The abolition of the concurrent list was a major step in this regard. Resultantly, the provinces can legislate exclusively on the subjects that are devolved to them. In the same way, provinces have been given financial autonomy through the insertion of clause 3A in Article 160 which states "The share of the Provinces, in each Award of National Finance Commission shall not be less than the share given to the Provinces in the previous Award". Besides, the provinces have been given power to raise domestic or international loan subject to conditions set by the National Economic Council (Article 167). Hence, the 18th amendment provided provinces with autonomy.

Right from the very inception of the country, there has been a stark surge in the secessionist movements up until the enactment of the eighteenth amendment. By granting provinces autonomy to run their affairs, the amendment has took away the raison d'être of secessionist movements. Organizations like Baloch Liberation Army, Jeay Sindh QaomiMahaz and other ethno-nationalist organizations have been losing ground. Hence, the secessionist claims have greatly been neutralized following the enactment of the eighteenth amendment.

Apart from this, the amendment has brought decision-making a step closer to the common masses. As Pakistan is an ethnic federation, people belonging to different ethnicities often felt that they were ruled by government that was alien to them; the case of East Pakistan is pertinent, they felt left out of the government apparatus and had they been given sufficient authority, they would not have seceded. Perhaps this was in the mind of lawmakers when they granted provinces autonomy through the eighteenth amendment. This autonomy given to provinces, has given people a semblance of self rule. Therefore, the amendment, by giving provinces autonomy, has brought governance a step closer to the common people.

Furthermore, the amendment has made easier the process of accountability by abolishing the concurrent list. Under the 1973 constitution, the concurrent list had 47 subjects. On these 47 subjects both the federal government and provincial governments could legislate. Resultantly, the process of accountability was compromised; as it was very difficult to find out which order of the governance caused failure in service delivery. However, through the legislation of the eighteenth amendment, the concurrent list has been deleted. As a result, it has become very easy as to which order of the governance to hold accountable for failure in service delivery. Therefore, the amendment has smoothen the process of accountability.

In the preceding paragraphs, the impacts of the 18th amendment on the federation of Pakistan have been elaborated. Whereas, the following paragraphs put light on issues that should have been addressed in the amendment.

Though the amendment addressed very important and long standing issues, it, nevertheless, left some issues unaddressed; chief among them being the creation of new provinces reflective of ethnic concentrations. Ever since Pakistan's inception there has been clamors for the creation of new provinces. Prominent among these have been the residents of southern Punjab, demanding that a province for the Seraiki speaking people be constituted there. Other manifestation of this trend is the voices raised by Hazara people concentrated mostly in eastern Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and northern Balochistan. They too want to have a separate province more in line with their ethnicity. These two areas are the hotspots for inter-ethnic violence. Hence, the amendment could have stipulated for the creation of new provinces in line with ethnic reality.

In addition to this, the amendment could have provided for the making of military an ethnically balanced institution. As the military wields enormous power in the federation of Pakistan, it is a pre-requisite for harmony among federating units that the military composition should conform to the ethnic reality of the country. Currently, Punjabis alone constitute about 55% of the military (Journal of Strategic Studies, 2010); this contributes to the resentment among other federating units. Therefore, the amendment could have ameliorated the situation by adding a proviso in Article 39 to make military a ethnically balanced institution.

To conclude, the enactment of 18th Amendment in the Constitution of Pakistan was an unprecedented move that transformed the Pakistani federation. As it has been held by AsmaFaiz in her book "Making Federation Work", "The enactment of 18th amendment in the Constitution of 1973 has transformed Pakistani federation from organic to co-operative one." Though there cannot be denying of the fact that the legislation of the eighteenth amendment marked a watershed moment in Pakistani federation's evolution, nevertheless, it left some issues unaddressed. These issues like, creation of new provinces and dominance of military by one ethnicity continue to haunt the federation. Nonetheless, the amendment was one of its kind in the history of Pakistan. The spirit of the amendment should be kept alive and it should be set as a yardstick for future legislations to counter the forces bent on compromising the spirit of federation.

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