

The Business

Chief Editor

Irfan Athar Qazi

E-mail: editorthebusiness@yahoo.com
thebusinesslhr@gmail.com

Tijarat House, 14-Davis Road, Lahore
0423-6312280, 6312480, 6312429, 6312462
Cell # 0321-4598258

1st Floor Ahmed Plaza near Zong Office
Susan Road, Faisalabad, Ph: 041-8555582

ISLAMABAD / RAWALPINDI
N-125 Circular Road, Ph: 051-5551654,
5532761, Cell # 0300-8567331
KARACHI
3rd Floor Kehkashan Mall 172-I Block II PECHS
Opp Rehmania Masjid Main Tariq Road
Ph: 021-34524550, Cell # 0300-8251534

Foreign investment

The Overseas Investors Chamber of Commerce and Industry's (OICCI's) Annual Security Survey 2020 brings some very welcome news. The report that is based on feedback regarding the country's security situation for the last year - one of the main determinants of foreign investment, especially hot money - says foreign investors expressed a "high level of satisfaction" regarding Pakistan's "fast improving security environment" especially in the main economic hubs of Karachi and Lahore. In fact, the respective profiles of the two cities seem to have improved so much that investor money now finds it just as reliable as other mega cities of the region. It turns out that the recent handling of the attack on the Pakistan Stock Exchange (PSX), when the law-enforcement agencies (LEAs) were able to restore order in a matter of minutes and the trading floor never stopped operating, only confirmed the opinion of most foreign investors that Pakistan has its security situation sorted out. That explains why they did not mind the odd hiccup on the way like the disruption from the so-called Azadi March in December 2019, the border tension with India during the fall and winter of last year, or even all the problems brought about by the coronavirus pandemic.

Before Covid-19 complications, OICCI data shows that the number of foreign nationals visiting Pakistan for business matters relating to the Chamber's members recorded a very healthy increase, and more than 40 percent respondents apparently reported more overseas visitors than last year. 26 percent hosted more than 50 visitors and most parties got more between 20 and 50 visitors, which says a lot about how relevant authorities have sanitised the security environment. That is especially so since the respondents included CEOs and senior management officials of member organisations who belong to 35 countries and also operate in 14 key sectors of Pakistan's economy. The decisions of most of these people make and break markets, and the conventional wisdom is that they usually know what they are doing.

Before 2015, the country had effectively descended into a highly chaotic situation in terms of law and order, and the military finally lashed out after terrorist incidents over many years had claimed more than 50,000 lives. Now there is every reason to expect increased investment inflows down the road. The one thing foreign investors despise even more than bad news is uncertainty, and since now they have factored in the certainty of Pakistan's much improved security environment, it seems that a healthy dose of foreign exchange into the country can be expected as the world eases out of the restrictions induced by the coronavirus.

Does Hunza matter?

AMIR HUSSAIN

This article is by no means a review of 'Hunza matters', a book written recently by Hermann Kreutzmann. However, it makes sense to highlight some key aspects of this book in order to set the context of debate around socio-economic transformation in a remote society like Hunza.

The book is an important addition to the scant academic scholarship about the border communities and their liminal political status in an increasingly security-oriented state of Pakistan. The book provides some deep insight into the processes of transformation from a broad-based perspective of evolving spheres of influence in historical times to reshape the social and political landscape of Hunza. The transition from portage to transportation, agropastoral to consumption based life, relative autonomy to bordering and ordering and evading myths of longevity and ideal state to political realism are key to Kreutzmann's idea of transformation.

Contrary to the expectations of a reader from a rapidly changing society like Hunza, the book does not

prescribe solutions; it only provides archival evidence from a wide array of resources and opens up possibilities for new debates. Those who have been reading the writings of the author will not find it strange for him to be non-prescriptive and one must remember that the book is an academic endeavour and not a political treatise.

Having said this, one cannot condone the politics of not being political and the academic exegesis may well hide the urgent political question for an arcane and far removed theorizing. But this is not typical with Kreutzmann only; our traditional academia has increasingly become a source reproduction machine rather than being the producer of new knowledge to reflect upon the fluid realities of our times. Academics and researchers operate in an opaque world of theorizing while politics continues to be a hollow assertion to shape facile worldviews.

Assertion versus substantiation have become two distinct categories where the former can never become substantiation the moment it prescribes solutions. The latter will always be accumulating unending rephrasing and reproduction and it will never lead you to conclusions.

Our postmodern sense of substantiation is like circular debt that reproduces the deficit of politics while assertiveness suffers from over-indebtedness with a huge supply of social media disinformation.

If academic research is only knowledge reproduction, political assertiveness is about disinformation consumption. Academics and politics have entirely been disengaged from the actual workings of fluid transitions in the marginalized societies. Does Hunza really matter? Yes it matters but there is a lack of imagination to visualize the transformation as a converging point between academics and politics.

Assertiveness may be intrinsically linked to one's individual journey of transformation more than a larger goal of deciphering the mysteries or the underlying forces of social change. One may argue that we have always had orientalist scholarship as a non-assertive, non-prescriptive, intellectually debilitating and politically neutralizing academic enterprise. The book 'Hunza matters' can be viewed from a larger historical perspective of a politically neutralizing orientalist scholarship but it has risen above the traditional bias of 'otherness' and has

captured some sense of developmentalism as new politics of localism.

Punctuated by lack of access to basic human development needs like education, health and economic opportunities most of these young people have grown up in Hunza. But this valley has undergone an unprecedented transition which has brought up new challenges. This transition of Hunza from an excluded, food deficient and primitive place to an educated society in a short span of four decades lends credence to its developmental framework of neo localism.

The civil society has gone into deep slumber with some academic theorizing of looking down upon the young people as troublemakers - a euphemism for anti-state narrative. There is rising poverty, disparity and a sense of deprivation.

There is a marked difference between having technical knowledge of poverty as an expert to analyze it and experiential knowledge of poverty to live it. For an expert, poverty is a technical matter but for those who live in poverty it is a political matter. Hunza matters of course - but those who live in poverty are not troublemakers and there is no technical or academic solution for that.

Letters to the Editor

Big loss for India

Four years after India and Iran signed a deal to construct a rail line from Chabahar port to Zahedan, Tehran has decided to proceed with the project by itself citing delays from New Delhi. According to Indian publication The Hindu, the country will now use around \$400 million from the Iranian National Development Fund, instead of relying on financial assistance from India.

The railways project, which will be completed by March 2022, witnessed the inauguration of its track laying process by Iranian Transport Minister Mohammad Esfandi last week. The railway project, which was being discussed between the Iranian Railways and the state owned Indian Railways Construction Ltd (IRCON), was meant to be part of India's commitment to the trilateral agreement between India, Iran and Afghanistan to build an al-

ternative trade route to Afghanistan and Central Asia. In May 2016, during Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to Tehran to sign the Chabahar agreement with Iranian President Hassan Rouhani and Afghan President Ashraf Ghani.

The blow to India comes in the backdrop of China finalising a huge \$400 billion strategic partnership deal with Iran. From the Indian perspective growing Iran China relationship is a reason for worry and changing strategic landscape.

India's relations with Iran cooled off substantially after India agreed to reduce its trade relations with Iran after imposition of sanctions. The visit of President Trump and increasing Indo-US economic and strategic partnership seems to have been the last straw.

It is unlikely that relations with Iran would improve in the near term.

Afia Ambreen
RAWALPINDI

Kamyab Jawan?

The PM has launched a 'Kamyab Jawan' program with a lot of publicity and fanfare. This program is geared toward providing low markup loans to young entrepreneurs between the ages of 21 and 45 to start businesses and projects. The government claims that the program will change the fate of the country by generating economic activity. Though it seems a well-intended and charming scheme, I am afraid it has all the ingredients of falling prey to corruption and scandals like similar programs launched by the governments in the past. Be it the Yellow Cab Scheme, CM/PM Youth Program, Laptop Scheme, or BISP, every program is supposed to change the fate of the country. Involving the opposition in this initiative would further strengthen transparency.

Raja Shafaatullah
ISLAMABAD

Kashmiri lives also matter!

IKRAM SEHGAL

The anti-racism movement, "Black lives Matter" (BLM) has created a global outcry from several quarters. While in the US, the place of origin of the anti-racism wave, a responding movement 'All lives matter' has taken off, British Pakistanis have taken notice of the slogan in order to draw attention to the plight of the Kashmiris in IHK, "Kashmiri lives also matter" in an interview is attributed to movie star Mehwish Hayat who is quite vocal about condemning Indian atrocities in occupied Kashmir.

During the premier ministership of PM Modi things have taken a fatal turn for the Kashmiris, but likely for the Indians as well. British Pakistani businessman and community leader Tarab Raja drawn attention to the situation in Kashmir when saying that the western world has recently woken up to the reality of Black Lives Matter but it also needs to pay attention to the 'Kashmiri Lives Matter' campaign that has been going on for a long time.

By revoking Article 370 of the Indian Constitution and getting the move rubber-stamped by the Indian Parliament afterwards India has interfered with the status quo of the disputed Kashmir territory, thus violating UN resolutions and international law. PM Modi divided the territory into two separate entities - namely Jammu & Kashmir and Ladakh - while putting both so-called "union territories" under direct rule of New Delhi. By a stroke of the pen he dismissed an elected parliament of J&K as well as its government.

Kashmiri politicians were put in house arrest. Such action by the "largest democracy of the world" vividly illustrates what kind of democracy we are talking about. In addition, anti-Muslim campaign organised by the "Ghar Wapsi" movement re-converting Mus-

lims to Hinduism has been going for a while. Other laws that target the citizen status of Indian Muslims has added to the insecurity of mainly Muslims Kashmiris as well other Indian Muslims as well.

Violence has been present in Kashmir over the decades where half a million Indian soldiers are keeping the 'law'. For many years Kashmir has become the largest open-air prison in the world. Lately a picture showing a three-year-old child sitting next to his grandfather's dead body in Sopore town of Indian-administered Kashmir has stirred anger and frustration in the Muslim-majority region. The family of the deceased accused the security forces of killing the 65-year-old civilian after dragging him from a car which only had his grandson with him.

Already one can read about young Kashmiris taking to arms and a new civil war seems in the making. Civilians who reject violence are caught in between and normal life is disturbed for everybody. As reported by a civil rights group, the "Coalition of Civil Society". At least 229 people, including 32 civilians, have been killed in Indian-administered Kashmir in the past six months.

With the change of the political status of J&K the right once granted to Kashmiris under article 35(A) of the Indian Constitution that no outsiders can settle in the Himalayan region has also been scrapped and there is fear of an intentional ethnic change by the settlement of outsiders in Kashmir is current. Up to 25,000 people have been granted domicile certificates in Indian-administered Kashmir since May 18, supporting the fears of a beginning of demographic changes in the Muslim-majority Himalayan region.

The certificate, a sort of citizenship right, entitles a person to residency and government jobs in the region, which till last year was reserved only for the local population. Kashmiri politicians

across the divide have said the revocation of special citizenship rights was aimed at reversing the Muslim majority character of the region.

This aggressive Indian policy has already endangered peace in the region. China is not going to stand by helplessly when its territory is encroached

Apart from the dire situation of Kashmiri and Indian Muslims caused by India's single-handed action to 'solve' the Kashmir issue to its own satisfaction another intention of the Modi government has come to light just recently. Ladakh has been separated from the rest of the former princely state and has come under direct rule of Delhi.

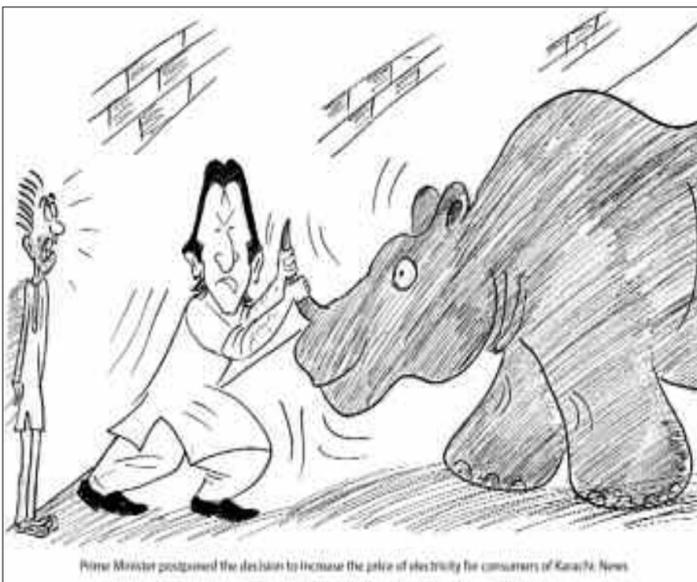
That exposes the different ethnic and cultural character of Ladakh that is part of Chinese Tibet and, consequently, its population is Tibetan or a close mix of it. With Aksai Chin, another part of Tibet, already under Chinese administration Ladakh and the unresolved border issue between India and China takes a new central stand. The first result of this is that India has again started its 'forward strategy', a policy that includes to advance military posts in the disputed border area as far forward as possible - a policy that in the late 1950ies had been invented and led to the Indo-Chinese war of 1962.

With India's joining of the anti-China "Quad Alliance" shows Modi's design not only to incorporate disputed Kashmir territory but to take in as much of disputed territory along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) which constitutes the de facto of not de jure border with China. Such grand-standing of India in the region while hoping for support from the US and other QUAD powers is a logical furthering of India's aggressive standing against its own population and in the region. During the last decades India has incorporated Sikkim and is claiming territory of Bhutan and Nepal. This aggressive Indian policy has al-

ready endangered peace in the region. China is not going to stand by helplessly when its territory is encroached. Last month's violent border clash between Indian and Chinese troops may be only a first step. Since then, China has placed sophisticated weaponry in the border region so as to be ready for further Indian attacks.

International security experts caution that the Indian army is not adequately armed and trained for a military adventure and neither acclimatised in the numbers for a force requirement in a high mountainous region like Ladakh and the Himalayan border area. Cautioning that the 'support' from the US or other Quad members would be verbal, there seems to be a dangerous over-confidence rampant in India and there is a probability that any new military adventure would end the same way the 1962 war ended. At that time India was beaten miserably and had not China voluntarily withdrawn Ladakh could have been reunited with Tibet since then.

There is a dangerous situation brewing in India and along the Indo-Chinese border and the world is silent. With burning wars in Yemen, Syria, Libya and an unresolved bloody conflict in Palestine do we need another place where people are dying day by day and their lives are in constant danger? India must be stopped in its anti-China and its anti-Muslim designs. The former princely state of Jammu and Kashmir is an internationally recognized disputed territory that cannot be changed single-handedly by India and such illegal Indian action has to be censured. When the international media are reporting about Ladakh they do that without even mentioning the vital connection to the Kashmir conflict, a sore wound in the body of South Asia that is damaging not only neighbouring countries but first and foremost the Kashmiris. 'Kashmiri Lives Also Matter' is the message that should be taken in by the world.



Prime Minister postponed the decision to increase the price of electricity for consumers of Karachi. News

Misreading the Indian mind

JAVID HUSAIN

Sun Tzu laid down a fundamental principle of strategy in the following words: "If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles. If you know yourself but not the enemy, for every victory gained you will suffer a defeat. If you know neither the enemy nor yourself, you will succumb in every battle." Unfortunately, we have overlooked this fundamental adage in the formulation of our India policy. If we had paid due attention to this principle in handling our relations with India, we would not have faced the disaster of the dismemberment of the country in 1971 or the Kargil fiasco in 1999, just to quote two instances of gross mishandling of our relations with India.

While it is not easy to read the mind of as large a country as India with its long history, religious and cultural diversity, and political complexities, an effort nevertheless must be made to comprehend the various factors which influence its strategic thinking and goals, and how they affect its foreign and security policies.

Since India is an overwhelmingly Hindu-majority country, it is inevitable that Hindu religion and culture, which in a marked contrast with Islamic principles of human brotherhood and social equality are based on the impregnable division of society into castes barring vertical mobility, will deeply impact both its internal social conditions and strategic thought. Internally, people belonging to lower strata of society, especially the "untouchables", must be resigned to a life of abject misery and deprivation in a Hindu-majority India. The followers of other religions, whether Muslims or Christians, can expect an even worse treatment in Indian society which is currently swayed by Hindu fanaticism because of the growing appeal of Hindutva. This factor has spillover effects on India's relations with a Muslim-majority Pakistan. We should, therefore, be prepared to face a hostile India in the foreseeable future since the huge rightward shift towards Hindu fanaticism in India reflects a long-term trend rather than an aberration.

India's animosity towards Pakistan is aggravated because of the deep unhappiness of Indian politicians, policymakers and scholars at Pakistan's initial emergence as an independent country, and their long-term strategic goal to integrate Pakistan into a greater India. Shyam Saran, a former Indian foreign secretary, in his book, "How India Sees the World", offers the following revealing comments:

"This section reflects my view that the Indian subcontinent is a single, interconnected geopolitical entity and ecological space with a shared history, strong cultural affinities and dense economic interdependencies. The eventual integration of this space,

transcending national boundaries, will remain an enduring objective of Indian foreign policy."

In simple words, India's long-term foreign policy goal is to turn Pakistan either into a satellite of India or subsume it into an Indian federation/confederation through the process of economic integration and the formation of a South Asian Economic Union, which will be dominated by India because of the heavy weight of its huge size. It is a pity that despite these obvious dangers of the formation of a South Asian Economic Union, which have been elaborated at considerable length in my book, 'Pakistan and a World in Disorder - A Grand Strategy for the Twenty-First Century' published by Palgrave Macmillan from New York, Pakistan's leaders and policy makers, including also the Foreign Office, have continued to support the establishment of the South Asian Economic Union in the Saarc declarations. This was indeed a serious case of the misreading of the Indian mind.

It is by now well established that the pursuit of hegemony in South Asia and the Indian Ocean region is India's main and enduring strategic goal. As long as Pakistan resists India's attempts to dominate South Asia and refuses to be reduced to the status of its satellite, there would be long-term and enduring tensions and hostility between the two countries. This factor combined with the festering Kashmir dispute, which is fast turning into a civilizational dispute because of the growing sway of Hindu fanaticism in India, precludes the possibility of friendship and a harmonious relationship between Pakistan and India.

Pious statements by Pakistani policymakers envisaging friendship with India, therefore, are unrealistic and reflect a mirage. In fact, the trend has been in the reverse direction, especially under the Modi-led BJP government in India which has virtually annexed IOK in a blatant violation of the UNSC resolutions and adopted a muscular style of diplomacy in dealing with Pakistan as reflected by the heating up of the LOC and New Delhi's sponsorship of acts of terrorism in Pakistan.

Indian strategic thought is deeply influenced by Kautilya's teachings as contained in the Arthashastra, which was written for the benefit of Chandragupta Maurya around 300 BC. The book is recognized as an important guide on strategy by Indian policymakers and scholars.

The main focus of the Indian strategy, however, would be on destabilizing Pakistan politically though disinformation and terrorism, weakening it economically through various stratagems, and undermining its separate cultural identity to overcome Pakistan's opposition to its hegemonic designs in South Asia. Pakistan will have to attend to these areas in the formulation of its grand strategy to counter India's offensive moves while maintaining a credible secu-