

MATRIX MAG

VOLUME 1 | ISSUE-3
JULY 2019

PAKISTAN @ 72

Pakistan's Creation Was
a Miracle

Iron Fist In Steel Gloves

Pakistan's Political History

Pakistan Needs Injection
of Integrity

We are Infinitely Powerful!




Nestlé
Good Food, Good Life

ساتھ
بہرہ سے

150 Years of TRUST & QUALITY





Editor in Chief: Imtiaz Gul

Imtiaz Gul has over 35 years of journalistic experience. Gul regularly appears as an analyst/expert on Pakistani and foreign TV channels as well as the Doha-based Al-Jazeera English/Arabic satellite TV channel for his expertise in areas such as Afghanistan, Tribal Areas and the Kashmir militancy. He has authored several books.



Managing Editor: Sameena Durrani

Sameena Durrani has over twenty years of experience in the development sector. She is a member of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Commission on the Status of Women. She can be reached at sameena@matrixmag.com



Associate Editor: Saad Gul

Saad occasionally contributes to The Express Tribune and Institute of Chartered Accountants of Pakistan's 'The Pakistan Accountant'. He oversees design of the print magazine and website. He can be reached at saad@matrixmag.com



Content Editor: Aliya Naseer Farooq

Aliya Naseer Farooq, holding a Master's degree in English Literature from Kinnaird College Lahore, is a teacher and a writer. She has written columns for English dailies such as 'The Nation' and 'The Frontier Post – Lahore'.



Guest Editor: Farooq Yousaf

Farooq Yousaf is a PhD in Politics, from the University of Newcastle, Australia. He is also currently serving as an Assistant Editor at the South Asia Research (SAGE Publications) Journal. He can be reached at farooq@matrixmag.com



Editor at Large: Zeeshan Salahudin

Senior Research Fellow, Center for Research and Security Studies (CRSS). Previously, he has served at Express 24/7, Dunya News and Capital TV in varying management positions.



Editorial Advisor: Zeeshan Siddique

Starting his career as a print journalist twenty years ago, Zeeshan continues to explore himself as a professional after having various stints with both newspapers and leading channels.

Special Contributors:

Yasmeen Aftab Ali - Lahore
Durdana Najam - Lahore
Faizah Gilani - London
Jehangir Khattak - New York
Lubna Khan – Toronto

Guest Contributors

Sitwat Bokhari
Saddam Hussein

Content Writer:

Mawara Tahir

Business Development Manager:

Mahwish Jaffar

Admin & Finance Officer:

Zulfiqar Ali Shah

Technical Team:

Asad Ghuman (Production Manager)
Shahid Raza (NLE)

Legal Advisor

Jillani and Hassan (Advocates)



matrix.media



matrixmedia



matrixxmedia

TABLE OF CONTENTS

06	BIRTH OF PAKISTAN
08	THE PAKISTAN DREAM IS STILL ALIVE
10	IRON FIST IN STEEL GLOVES
12	THE MISSING PART OF QAID'S DREAM
13	PAKISTAN'S JUDICIARY
14	PAKISTAN'S CREATION WAS A MIRACLE
16	@ 72 PAKISTAN IS DIFFERENT
16	THE ELITE THAT RULES PAKISTAN
17	72 YEARS OF ART IN PAKISTAN
18	PERFORMING ARTS IN PAKISTAN FLOURISHING TOO
20	PAKISTAN NEEDS INJECTION OF INTEGRITY
22	UN ON INDIAN HIGH-HANDEDNESS IN KASHMIR
24	PEACE EFFORTS FOR AFGHANISTAN GEARING UP
26	NATO STATUS FOR INDIA: ANOTHER FAVOUR!
28	US SANCTIONS ON IRAN: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW
30	TRUMP-KHAN ENCOUNTER: ICE BROKEN BUT TEST AHEAD
32	OF REFORMS AND RESISTANCE: TAXATION POLICY AND ITS PERCEPTION
34	ML-1-ANOTHER CPEC DIVIDENT
36	PAKISTAN'S POLITICAL HISTORY
44	FACTS YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT PAKISTAN
46	WE ARE INFINITELY POWERFUL!
48	TIME TRAVEL IS POSSIBLE
52	HOW WILL CLIMATE CHANGE IMPACT THE WAY WE EAT?
54	SOCH
55	GROW OLD ALONG WITH ME
56	THE LION KING RETURNS
58	HEALTHY LIVING

Editor's Note



Pakistan at 72 is a mixed bag of cautious optimism and boundless pessimism - depending on your prism. It has seen a plethora of ups and downs, celebrations and mourning. In the words of veteran diplomat Riaz Khokhar, the creation of Pakistan was a miracle to the context of a society where Muslims are made to feel that they don't belong there. Economist Sakib Shirani insists Pakistan in 2019 is a completely different country. Professor Mehdi Hassan thinks we have lost Jinnah's Pakistan to political opportunism and lack of honest leadership. Senior journalist M. Ziauddin postulates that political populism, and corporate and civil-military vested interests have all joined to exercise new forms of media censorship – a blow to media freedom

Let us survey the change Pakistan underwent since 1947.

At the start in 1947, Pakistan was a predominantly agrarian economy (agriculture contributed 53% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP)) with a negligible industrial base. The then population of 30 million has ballooned to nearly 213 million; the GDP has grown to around \$350 billion in 2019, with exports around \$24 billion, and remittances from overseas Pakistanis approaching \$18 billion. Economists agree that the black economy is at least the size of the GDP itself. The per capita has risen from a miniscule \$100 in 1947 to a respectable \$1,600.

This is in part because Pakistan today has a creditable ordnance industry, and vibrant steel, plastic, and auto industries. The country is producing exportable military hardware in abundance, including fighter jets, in addition to tractors, cars and motorcycles, fertilizers, chemicals, sugar, and cement. Pakistan also has a world class textile industry that exports its products to all corners of the world.

In the words of the versatile artist couple Hajira Mansoor and Mansoor Rahi, art in Pakistan has flourished tremendously in the last seven decades with numerous art and music schools all over the country. The media landscape has exploded with over 250 private radio and television channels.

All of the above has happened despite two protracted Afghan wars, three wars with India, four martial laws, two calamitous floods in 1973 and 2010, a catastrophic earthquake in 2005, and continued political instability. This is a testament to the perseverance of the Pakistani people.

Equally important milestone that the country achieved on the eve of its 72nd anniversary was the election in seven new districts for the parliament of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa on July 2019; with this, Pakistan consigned an historical aberration i.e. the erstwhile Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) to the dustbin of history- thereby constitutionally mainstreaming the once no-go regions abutting Afghanistan.

Today, a sense of instability is discernible exploded because of the questionable string of accountability probes – primarily targeting the opposition, Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). Their leaders find themselves in the dock mostly on charges of corruption and abuse of power.

The resulting resentment has further widened socio-political divisions and polarization among the ruling Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) and the PPP/PML-N camp. The latter two believe the PTI is the political front of the mighty military establishment while the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) is its arm-twister.

Accompanying this charade is the raging insistence both by Prime Minister Imran Khan and the military establishment on the rule of law, meritocracy, and structural reforms. Will this civil-military convergence of interests and vision yield a different Pakistan a few years down the line? We await anxiously with bated breath.

BIRTH OF PAKISTAN

It was in the 18th century Europe that the idea of nationalism emerged, allowing man to identify himself as a nation at different levels i.e. cultural, religious, political and geographical borders. Nationalism took birth in South Asia with the British colonisers strengthening their grasp in the region. The idea of Muslim Nationalism gave birth to the All India Muslim League.

The Pakistani identity evolved in 1947 as a political statement. It is composed of diverse ethnic groups and different religious groups; further sub-divided into sects within these different religious groups. Thus, the idea of a Pakistani identity cannot establish and entrench itself in the psyche of its people without acknowledging all its multi-cultural and multi-religious roots. No country can develop as a nation by negating its component parts.



Yasmeen Aftab Ali

The writer is a lawyer, academic and political analyst. She has authored a book titled 'A Comparative Analysis of Media & Media Laws in Pakistan.' She can be contacted at: yasmeenali62@gmail.com and tweets at @yasmeen_9

Subscribing to the thought expounded above, Hywel Coleman, an Honorary Research Fellow of Leeds, did a research paper for the British Council in 2010 addressing the weightage awarded to English Language competency in the Civil Service Exams in Pakistan. He suggested that applicants should demonstrate not only competency in English language but also the language generally understood by all; Urdu as well as competency in at least one regional language. In one stroke of brilliance, Hywel told us that though English is necessary in today's world based on inter-linking of nations, it is also important to link Pakistanis under the common 'umbrella' of Urdu, understood by all. He has at the same time awarded equality to regional languages, thereby emphasizing the importance of one's roots.

The Pakistani identity is not based on one aspect alone to the exclusion of every other component involved; it is multidimensional and multilayered. It is many things rolled in one. The objective never was that once the goal of creation of Pakistan was achieved, Pakistanis would mete out the exact same treatment to their minorities as meted out to them in undivided India. **Pakistan is essentially pluralistic in its identity; a society composed of different ethnicities, religions and cultures and as such must be given the environment to nourish, gain strength and grow; learning in the process to love and celebrate their differences.** Belittling or nullifying these varieties of flavor will only damage the fabric of our combined identity. Yet at the same time, one needs to understand that all are intertwined as one under the umbrella of 'Pakistan' and this defines each of us!



Multiculturalism is the underlying thread that weaves the Pakistani Identity and holds it together. Emphasizing on citizenship cannot accomplish the harmonious existence of different faiths and cultures. Instead, accepting and celebrating the differences, initiating serious inter-faith dialogues and appreciation of cultural character can create a bonding.

Unfortunately, Pakistan continues to suffer from the trauma of its birth in 1947. To understand the dilemma, one must have a clear understanding of the terms involved. The simplest meaning of identity can be

defined as a distinctive character marking an individual, group of individuals, an ethnic group, and a nation. Most Pakistanis measure it by religion, others by culture, yet some use other varied markers. Each of these markers are used in exclusion of other elements involved; a fatal mistake.

The first seed of the split was sown when the speech of Quaid-e-Azam for 11th August 1947 was censored by Chowdhery Muhammad Ali. The only paper to publish it uncensored was The Dawn. Chowdhery probably did not agree with the Quaid when he stated, "You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques, or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State.... Even now there are some states in existence, where there are discriminations made, and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God, we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no discrimination between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste, creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State."

Little did Jinnah know that the identity that had emerged as a strength in the pre-creation of Pakistan era would later be damaged and torn apart by divisions created by different vested interests. It was this understanding of a pluralistic society that gave birth to Pakistan, not the exclusion of rights of those not following the religion of the majority. The excerpt shared above of Jinnah's speech stands testimony to that.

The term citizen denotes every person holding the citizenship of Pakistan irrespective of the caste, creed or religion. If I may add: exactly as promised by Jinnah. Freedom of expression is deemed to be a basic human right, that includes; freedom of thought, freedom of press, freedom to express oneself in arts, poetry, architecture, crafts, lifestyles, dressing, eating, culture, music, sculptures and professing one's faith. Pakistani identity therefore, does not offer this gift to members of one religion while excluding others. Nor does it offer an advantage to one sect within the religion to the exclusion of another.

Nations geographically and demographically bigger than us have had more cultural diversity in terms of ethnicity, yet they have managed to emerge as one nation. One such example is the US. The US Census Bureau map shows the ancestry of its 317 million people of which Germans are by far the largest with 49,206,934 people. This is followed by the African-Americans. Then there are roughly 4.5 million Irish people settled in the larger cities of the US including New York, Boston, and Chicago, to name a few. The English-Americans are also sizeable in number. Those claiming a Mexican ancestry are said to be at 31,789,483 in number. Yet, this does not stop any one of them from thinking and acting only as Americans.



In countries having served time under colonial rule, English has more often than not been given a legislative status. Most African states, for example, had English as their national and official language to curb ethnic disputes, which would otherwise arise from existence of multi-tribes and ethnicities.

The Pakistani identity must be seen in a bigger context as opposed to being relegated to religious, linguistic, or similar levels to the exclusion of other elements at play, as discussed above.

Endnote: "In any case, Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic State — to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non- Muslims — Hindus, Christians, and Parsis — but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizens and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan."

(Jinnah in February 1948 address in US)



THE PAKISTAN DREAM IS STILL ALIVE

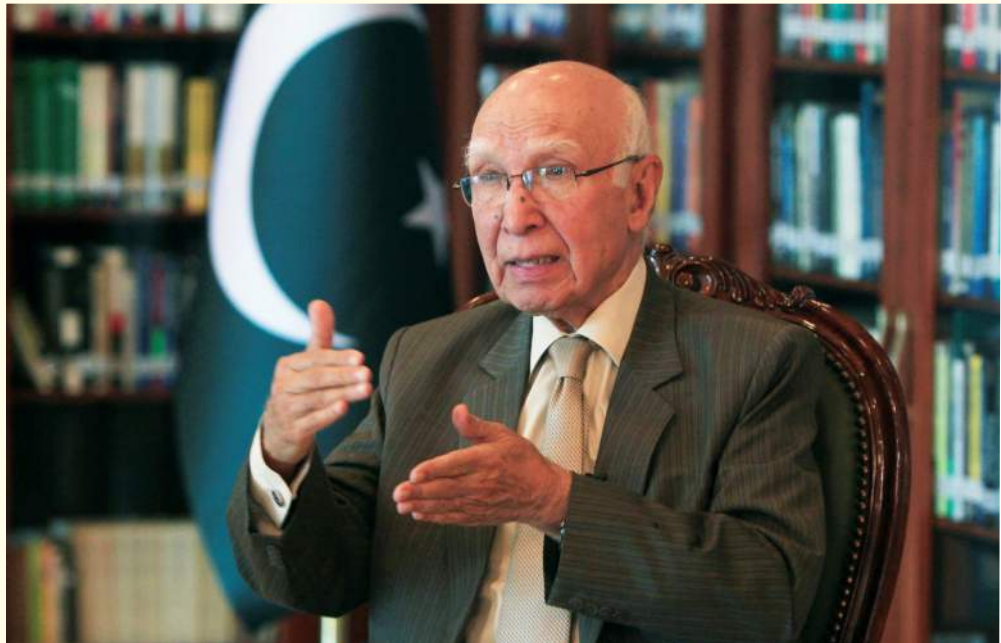
In this special exclusive conversation with MATRIX MAG, former finance and foreign minister, advisor on foreign affairs, Sartaj Aziz reflects on the dream of Pakistan which he insists is still alive

MATRIXMAG(MM): What are your reflections on Pakistan at 72?

Sartaj Aziz (SA): Pakistan came into being in exceedingly difficult times. We did not have even paper pins. The government began its work in adverse circumstances in Karachi. Most of our assets were in India. Over five million refugees from India were the biggest issue. Most Indian observers then had anticipated that Pakistan will not survive beyond six months. But the spirit of the Pakistan movement was still very much alive and people were ready to work hard and with commitment. And then everybody saw the result of that commitment. Back then, the new-born country hardly had any factory, now we have thousands. Today, we are self-sufficient in food. We only had two universities at the time of independence but today there are more than 200 universities across Pakistan. Economically, we were ahead of India during the first 40 years or so. We were growing at over five percent, compared to the 4 percent growth rate of India. Our per capita income was also higher than that of India's. Our armed forces also developed into a professional army and successfully defended the country in the face of hegemonistic designs of India. Although socio-economically, Pakistan could not develop as fast in the last 20 years as it did earlier yet as a whole we have done well.

MM: Where did we fail?

SA: Our failure is primarily political and its reasons are very basic; firstly, normally leaders who lead a nation into independence manage to evolve consensus on settling some basic issues such as the constitution, the governance system (parliamentary or presidential), the level of provincial autonomy, and the role of religion in the state affairs. Our basic failure is political because we have not been able to evolve a sustainable democratic system. From the very outset we could not reach a consensus on the issues I just mentioned.



Pakistan was, however, unfortunate in this regard. It lost its founding father – Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in September 1948. Almost three years later – in October 1951 – Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, was martyred at a public rally. The country was then left with a leadership vacuum and thus some core issues remained unresolved.

India drafted and adopted its first constitution in 1950 but we got ours in 1956, nearly nine years after the independence. This had happened after the rulers broke a basic democratic principle and increased the number of seats of West Pakistan to create a parity with East Pakistan, despite the fact that East Pakistan was larger in population. This obviously created a sense of deprivation.

Unfortunately, the then defense minister General Ayub Khan seized power in 1958 and abrogated the 1956 constitution.

Another misfortune was that the first truly democratic general elections, according to my own view, were held in 1970 – over twenty-three years after the independence but it really did not give way to a true democratic process. Ayub Khan's decade-long martial law had widened the cleavage between the eastern and western Pakistan. That is why not a single candidate from West Pakistan could win from the eastern wing. Similarly, only one Bengali leader Noorul Amin could secure a seat in West Pakistan.

This means people in the East had literally voted for separation.

I would say the fear of India had in fact kept us together but the Bengali Pakistanis realized during the 1965 war with India that the West was not in a position to defend them. No surprise that six months later Sheikh Mujeebur Rehman presented his Six-Points and six years later Bangladesh came into existence.

MM: What were the basic shortcomings in this journey?

SA: The loss of founding leaders in quick succession was one big disadvantage. Then the first martial law, then the second and third (General Yahya Khan in 1969 and then General Ziaul Haq who deposed Z.A.Bhutto in 1977). Had Ayub Khan handed power to political leaders they would have probably found a political solution to the simmering issues. When martial law ends it leaves behind a plethora of issues. Military leaders don't really transfer power. They actually look for a civilian façade to continue their rule. That is why we see that most of all civilian leaders are the product of military rule. You see what happened to Bhutto, Junejo and Sharif when they tried to assert themselves. We simply got caught up in a vicious cycle.

Secondly, we in Pakistan paid heavily for wrong decisions by military rulers Ayub Khan (alliance with the United States and his indulgence in the Cold War, disregarding Russia), Gen. Zia ul Haq's initiation of the Afghan Jihad and General Pervez Musharraf's partnership in the US-led "War on Terror"

Is it a coincidence or a grand design that Pakistan found itself under military rulers during the Cold War, the US-led Afghan jihad against the Soviet Union and then the War on Terror? And our leaders partnered with the West. We are still paying a heavy price for the military rule. We shall have to ultimately allow the civilians to sort out national issues among themselves through the electoral process. Democracy allows mass participation, irons out differences of all kinds. Had democracy been allowed to function things would have been different. Democratic system could not take roots.

MM: Do we see some hope for future, have we moved for the better?

SA: Things have improved meanwhile. We have an independent judiciary, a vibrant civil society and media and these are all essential elements for a true democratic process. Terrorism has been defeated to a large extent. Government has brought reforms in the erstwhile Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) - now part of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the fencing of the Afghan border is also underway. Islamabad is playing a vital role in the Afghan peace process, and economic connectivity through China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is in full swing. All this augurs well for a prosperous future of the country.

MM: Would you agree that had politicians ruled with integrity and greater responsibility it would have minimized military interventions and interference?

SA: That is true but when leaders are preoccupied with issues of survival they mostly focus on securing their flanks instead of governance. Politics is primarily a game of space and survival. The current polarization is very unfortunate and our economic adversity is also because of this political instability.

MM: Would you agree that we have been fed on an overdose of "India fear."

SA: The fear of India is a reality. Given the current circumstances and the hostile policies of the BJP government I can foresee peaceful coexistence but no real friendship with India.

MM: How do we extricate ourselves from the current socio-political mess?

SA: No single institution or person can tackle our current problems. In the wake of these challenges, it would not be wrong to say that this is the right time for a grand inter-institutional dialogue as contemporary issues cannot be solved by a single institution, as had been suggested by former chairman Senate, Mian Raza Rabbani too. There is a need for across-the-board cooperation.

MM: What is your message to young Pakistanis?

SA: Let me quote you an example. I had once asked students of the Beacon House University about their motivation; almost 60 percent said they wanted to earn a lot of money and lead a comfortable life. The same year I visited Jamia Millia in India and asked the students the same question. Surprisingly almost half of them said they wanted to excel in their subject and contribute to the store of knowledge.

My message to the Pakistani youth therefore is: Stop running after material and aim for excellence in your respective fields. The dream of Pakistan is still alive. You should not let it die.



IRON FIST IN STEEL GLOVES

From special coercive laws to blatant censorship, the Pakistani media has witnessed many forms of oppression in its 72 years of struggle-filled existence.



M. Ziauddin

Former Resident Editor, Dawn Islamabad, former Editor, The News, former Executive Editor, Express Tribune, former Assistant Secretary General PFUJ, former General Secretary, National Press Club, was also President of Pakistan chapter of South Asia Free Media Association (SAFMA)

But what the media endured in 2018 and since also includes an unprecedented level of imposed "self-censorship" through tactics unbecoming of a responsible state. Those who refuse to fall in line suffer loss of readership and viewership. Unjustified cover-ups and the suppression of truth regarding crucial questions of public accountability have seriously affected the perception of the quality of democracy in Pakistan.

History

In the very first decade of our independence harshest of colonial press laws were employed to suppress the media. Since the second decade until up to the late 1980s media were silenced using a law known as the Press and Publication Ordinance. And many newspapers were taken over by the government and functioned under what was called the National Press Trust.

During General Ziaul Haq's rule the media were subjected to the worst kind of censorship. In the beginning of his diabolic term the General had filled the jails with protesting journalists. He even had some of us subjected to public

lashing. During the Musharraf era the broadcast media industry was opened for the private sector but licenses were issued going away with the cross-media ownership law. The side-effects of this policy were devastating.

When the chips were down for him in 2007 as the lawyers' movement peaked, Musharraf came down heavily on the very private broadcast media that he had allowed to be set up so earnestly.

Imran wary of the media

In an interview with a US think tank during his recent visit to the US, Prime Minister Imran Khan said that the media in Pakistan is freer than that in Britain, adding "it is not just free but it is out of control".

However, a look at how the government had tried to control the media highlights the gulf between the government's words and its actions.

During the ten years leading to his emergence as the Prime Minister, heading a PTI-led coalition government, Imran Khan was the darling of the media not only because of his having been a world class cricketer, a successful social worker, and a celebrity known almost the world over but also because both Nawaz and Zardari, to say the least, were suffering from the incumbency factor then. Now the roles are somewhat reversed. He is in power. Therefore, gets the media flak that incumbents usually do. But he refuses to accept this reality, and views even constructive criticism of his policies and style of his governance by media with a lot of wariness. Therefore, his mistaken belief that media has gone out of control.

Today the no go areas are very well delineated in some cases but most of the time it is like playing blind in a card game only to end up being censored at show time. No intrusive reporting on missing persons, nothing on what is really happening inside Balochistan or in the war zone adjacent to the Afghan border or in the IDP camps. No intrusive reporting on counter insurgency strategy. Nothing on attempts to mainstream terrorists caught red-handed except spot news. Nothing on the formation, funding and arming of proxies. Nothing on Pushtoon Tahfuz Movement (PTM) and interviews and public protests of opposition leaders (under NAB investigation), especially the rallies being addressed by Maryam Nawaz.



Indeed, media in Pakistan is facing serious intimidation, restrictions on the sale and circulation of newspapers as well as the blockading of television broadcasts by the authorities. A climate of fear impedes media coverage of abuses both by government security forces and militant groups.

In August 2016, the government also enacted the Prevention of Cybercrimes Act, which allows the government to censor online content and to criminalize internet user activity under extremely broad and vague criteria. The law also sanctions government authorities to access data of internet users without judicial review or oversight.

Dawn whose circulation has been continuously disrupted has also claimed that, since October 2016 that is soon after publication of what is called Dawnleaks on October 6, 2016, it has suffered a complete ban on advertising from organizations falling under the domain of the ISPR, including DHA and other commercial establishments.

A number of cable operators have complained of having been compelled to take certain channels off air or to move them to the very end, thereby making them less accessible.

Dawn is perhaps, the most influential newspaper in Pakistan and the combined reach of news and views of Geo-Jang-The News makes it the market leader by lengths. The message that went to the entire industry was that if these two prominent media houses could be targeted in the form of disruptions of circulation and transmission with complete impunity the lesser ones better fall in line lest they are made to pay a heavier price in case they try to take 'foolish' chances!

Common consequence of 'disobeying' instructions is vicious character assassinations through anonymous social media accounts and social networking platforms that go so far as to incite violence against media persons – and in the case of women, rape threats.

At least seven editors and reporters in GB have testified to receiving threats with dire consequences if they do not comply. In one case, an editor and publisher who did not comply was accused of being on the payroll of foreign spy agencies.

One of the major reasons for the establishment to be acting with such complete impunity is the failure of the working journalists to speak in one voice. The Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists (PFUJ) is too splintered. Many had been either compromised or were too afraid to take a strong stand.

Just over a year ago, transmission of Geo News and all of the four other channels owned by Geo TV was suspended for several days throughout at least 80% of the country in an apparent reprisal for its overly independent news coverage. No official suspension order ever emerged but the military were widely blamed because they control the network distribution cables in every district.

Five well-known bloggers were kidnapped in different parts of Pakistan within a few days of each other in January 2017 and were held for several weeks before being released. One of the five who has since fled the country, Ahmed Waqass

Goraya, says the abductions were carried out by the intelligence services with the aim of intimidating online dissidents.

Gohar Wazir, a Khyber News TV reporter was arrested on the evening of 27 May this year after covering a meeting convened by a Pashtun tribal defence movement to denounce army abuses in the former Tribal Areas along northwestern Pakistan's border with Afghanistan.

Shahzeb Jillani, an investigative reporter in April this year faced charges of violating four articles in the 2016 Prevention of Electronic Crimes Act and two criminal code provisions. The charges include "defamatory remarks against the respected institutions of Pakistan" and "cyber-terrorism." The case had been designed to intimidate and silence journalists. He was set free later when the accusers could not prove their charges.

Jillani said that he believed that the real reason for the charges was his recent story on missing persons, and his 24 March tweet criticizing the decision to decorate a senior military intelligence officer "widely accused of political engineering" during the July 2018 election.

The rise of internet and emergence of new means for advertisers to reach their target audience is said to be diverting increasingly advertisements from the conventional TV and print media to social media. The size of the advertising cake has increased over the years, but so has the number of claimants. The competition for advertising income has increased sharply.

Meanwhile, the number of people using smartphones now exceeds the number of TV screens in the country. So, it's not just economics that is affecting the industry. Audiences are turning away. Younger people are looking at other platforms for information and entertainment.

Both the newsroom and the journalist will have to change to meet this new challenge. Newsrooms cannot restrict themselves to one medium or language. Neither can journalists. Most journalists will now have to improve their skills to be able to report for different platforms. They will have to immerse themselves in social media in a bid to connect to their new audiences. News will change in the manner it is made and delivered.

State of the media in the region

The state of the media in the three countries of the subcontinent (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) and Turkey is far from ideal. In fact, in all these four countries media has to a large extent lost its public service characteristics having been captured by corporate vested interests and also suffers from suppressive controls of the governments of the day. Fake news is not a new phenomenon in these countries. However, since the advent of social media fake news, post-truth and alternate truth have become almost like a new norm. It is political populism that is now being propagated by the regular media, the world over.

THE MISSING PART OF QUAID'S DREAM



Dr. Mehdi Hasan

Former Chairman of Punjab University's Journalism Department and a veteran political analyst.

Every time the democratic process is obstructed in Pakistan, the forces of obscurantism promptly appear on the scene to add to the confusion and uncertainty. The conflict between liberal values, modernity and democratisation of the society and the out dated ideology preached by clerics in the name of orthodox religious philosophy is more than 150 years old.

After the initial success of the British East India Company in the subcontinent, the clergy, instead

of concentrating on reshaping and modernising their ideological stand, talked of the revival of the Muslim glory. And their interpretation of the past glory was the revival of Muslim monarchy. The portraits of Muslim invaders from Central Asia who ruled India for more than 900 years are placed in our Prime Minister House. The religious might did not realise that the era of emperors and monarchs had ended and democracy was on the horizon.

They vehemently opposed and obstructed all efforts of such Muslim leaders who tried to persuade the Muslim masses to acquire modern knowledge and reform their out dated ways of life. The short sighted and uneducated clergy men , unaware of modern knowledge, also obstructed and opposed all efforts of the Muslim leadership for the constitutional and democratic rights of the depressed and deprived Muslim masses.

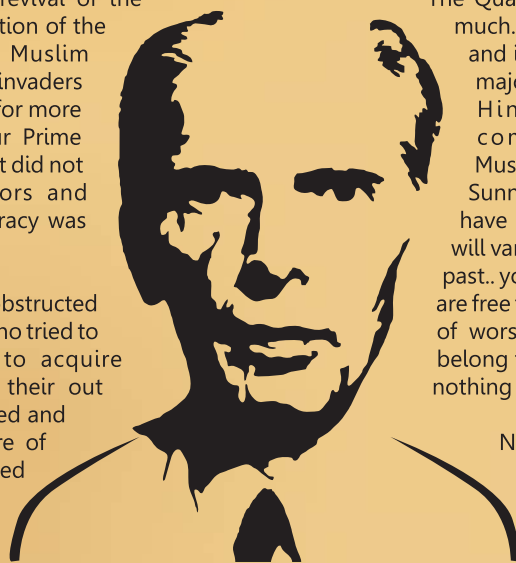
When Sayed Ahmad Khan and Syed Amir Ali were struggling to prepare the Muslim masses for their due share in democratic governance, these elements were busy debating frivolous religious issues. However, whenever they opposed democratic and constitutional politics, the general public rejected them.

After being rejected by the Muslims of the subcontinent during the independence movement, these elements regrouped themselves in independent Pakistan. They soon revived their activities to distract the people and the rulers from the democratic path, necessary to introduce a democratic culture and constitutional rule to make the newly independent Pakistan a strong, liberal, progressive and democratic state.

After the death of Quaid e Azam in 1948, these elements

outmaneuvered the political opportunists who had dominated the scene and captured power through the back door.

The Quaid's vision for a democratic, liberal and progressive Pakistan, that he had announced in clear terms on August 11, 1947, in his address to the first constitutional assembly, was set aside. Even his speech was censored and was asked by Chaudhry Muhammad Ali in press advice, not to be published, because according to him it was against Two Nation Theory. The hold of the forces of obscurantism on the affairs of the state can easily be realised from the fact that the August 11 speech of the Quaid should have been a part of the constitution, was not only censored, but is also missing, full text, from all history books. It was the first major defeat of the liberal, democratic and progressive forces in the country.



The Quaid had said, I can not emphasise it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all those angularities of majority and minority communities the Hindu community and the Muslim community because as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on, and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khattris and so on will vanish.... we must learn a lesson from it.. the past.. you are free, free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed; that has nothing to do with the business of the State.

Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

There cannot be any clearer indication that the founder of the State of Pakistan wanted the newly independent country to be a liberal and secular democracy. A secular state is not a Godless state. It is one in which the state does not owe allegiance to any particular religion and thus no particular religion has an unfair advantage or denies privileges to others. Exactly the same ideals were set forth by the Quaid e Azam.

Unfortunately because of political opportunism, and lack of proper leadership, the Quaid's Pakistan has been turned into Zia ul Haq's Pakistan. The siege of the religious might that had started after the death of the Quaid continues in the state of Pakistan that would be turned into "Riasat e Madinah" by a former playboy.

PAKISTAN'S JUDICIARY



Maham Nawaz

The author is a student of law at Cambridge University.
Maham@Jillani.org

When Pakistan came into being on 14th August 1947, the Government of India Act 1935 was adopted as the country's interim constitution. The system of government under this Act was characterized by a strong Executive (arm of the state) and a relatively weak judiciary. While the judicial structure functional under the Act remains primarily the same till date, a number of constitutional reforms, over the years, have progressively strengthened the judiciary's position. In one of the first reforms in 1954, the introduction of the

writ jurisdiction of the High Courts granted the courts a valuable role in protecting fundamental rights of the citizens as against any contraventions by the Executive. The Constitution of 1956 explicitly mentioned separation of the judiciary from the Executive which was an important factor in guaranteeing the independence of the judiciary among its principles of policy. Further, the Supreme Court replaced the Federal Court and, in addition to its appellate and advisory jurisdiction, was conferred with the original jurisdiction to issue writs. The Constitution of 1962 included a new procedure for removal of judges via the Supreme Judicial Council. This provided greater judicial autonomy than the previous procedure, whereby it was based on a presidential address approved by a two third majority in the National Assembly. In other terms, it represented a step-back; such as by limiting the writ jurisdiction of the superior courts. The Constitution of 1973, applicable today, was by far the most progressive. It restored the wider writ jurisdiction of the High Courts and empowered the Supreme Court to act in suo motu on matters of public importance concerning the enforcement of fundamental rights.

In spite of these measures, the judiciary in Pakistan was traditionally seen as playing a passive role. It has been argued that the judiciary's judgments, historically, have often supported the governments of the day. This observation has not been completely without foundation. When the Governor-General of Pakistan first dissolved the Constituent Assembly, this was upheld by the Federal Court on the basis of doctrine of necessity. This doctrine was thereafter used to validate the abrogation and suspension of the Constitution thrice by the superior courts. Perhaps it is for this reason that when the Supreme Court finally started asserting independence in 2005 under the leadership of Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhary. However, this did not sit well with the Executive.

It is only following the Lawyers' Movement of 2007, leading to the restoration of judges deposed by President Musharraf, that the judiciary garnered public acclaim for demanding government accountability. Following this restoration, the judicial review became more prevalent and was used to strengthen rule of law in the country. This strengthened role of the judiciary was reflected even in subsequent constitutional amendments. One of the most significant changes has been

the introduction of the new judicial appointments procedure. The 18th Amendment introduced the procedure of appointments through the Judicial Commission and Parliamentary Committee, as opposed to the previous mechanism where the President had the power to appoint the Chief Justice of Pakistan along with all other senior judges in consultation with the Chief Justice. This was improved upon by the 19th Amendment by increasing the number of judges in the Commission to give the judiciary an effective control over the nominations.

Since then, the judiciary has had an increasingly proactive role in holding the governments of the day accountable, however, this role has not always remained positive. From a judiciary that mostly remained deferent to the Executive, it transformed into one which threatened to undermine the rule of law by becoming involved in matters properly within the domain of the Executive. Particularly, the Supreme Court expanded the exercise of its suo motu powers without defining any specific criteria. The issue of suo motu notices to state officials and public servants peaked under Chief Justice Saqib Nisar's tenure. Interpreting the jurisdiction of "right to life" as providing citizens with "access to clean water", the court proceeded to take upon itself the responsibility of collecting funds to build dams. Judicial proceedings were mocked because adjournments were granted in return for donations to the dam fund.

It is no secret that the legal system of Pakistan suffers from a variety of problems; ranging from long delays, high pendency of cases and lack of protection for judges in the criminal justice system. It is sad to note that the judiciary failed to use its strengthened role to bring about much-needed changes in the legal system to alleviate these issues. In 2016, the Supreme Court upheld the establishment of military courts to deal with terrorism cases on the basis that the ordinary courts were not well-equipped to deal with such cases. The government had reasoned that they would use these two years to better equip the Anti-Terrorism Courts.

Despite the fact that none of these promised legal reforms were brought, the Supreme Court failed to strike down an extension of the military courts. Further, the number of cases pending in the Supreme Court alone doubled during the past five years. As per the Law and Justice Commission of Pakistan, the country currently faces its largest backlog of cases with an estimated 1.9 million cases pending in all courts. While a number of reforms to better the judicial system, in theory, may have been introduced since 1947, some of the most basic laws in Pakistan, including the Code of Civil Procedure and Code of Criminal Procedure, continue as enacted by the British with minor amendments.

In these circumstances, the current Chief Justice Asif Saeed Khosa's resolve to ensure that the Supreme Court's jurisdiction under Article 184(3) of the Constitution shall be exercised very sparingly and focus on judicial reforms represents a ray of hope. The model courts set as part of these reforms have already achieved resolution of 5,800 criminal cases in 48 days, and zero pendency of murder and narcotics cases in six districts.



PAKISTAN'S CREATION WAS A MIRACLE

In the following special MATRIX essay, Riaz Khokhar, the veteran outspoken diplomat, a former Foreign Secretary reflects on how he has seen Pakistan's evolution since 1947. He also lists down some factors that have impeded political stability, impaired social cohesion, stunted economic growth and strained Pakistan's relations with some of its neighbours.



Riaz Khokhar

Riaz Hussain Khokhar was the former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan between June 2002 to February 2005. Khokhar also served as Pakistan's ambassador to India, the United States and China.

I would say the creation of Pakistan itself was a miracle of 20th century due to efforts of one great leader, Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He gave us this country after a very complicated struggle, the independence from the British India. It's only after serving in India for 10 years that I realized the importance of the country that the Quaid created for us.

What followed after 1947 is a different story; it has been a checkered history with ups and downs, internal upheavals, and martial laws. Pakistan had made considerable progress during the 60s and 70s, and I must say that the Chinese made a good contribution in that. I think the Korean boom helped us a lot in the 50s and 60s. And I must say that the Chinese made a good contribution in that. And I think the Korean boom helped us a lot and that in the fifties and sixties. But then the slide began with the 1971 tragic separation of East Pakistan.

I am glad I have had the privilege of serving with four civilian prime ministers. One of them was Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who collected the pieces and gave this country a sense of feeling after the breakup of Pakistan in 1971. But of course, he made some mistakes too. The decades after him have been a mixed bag, with General Zia ul Haq leaving a legacy that has deeply scarred Pakistan's political economy.

Then, if one were to look at the last five or ten years, it has been very unfortunate. The country has been drained of its economic strength, systematically drained, the political parties did not live up to their reputation.

Corruption, and the weakening impact it had on the institutions. I can tell you that the bureaucracy today is in a very bad shape. They are no longer what was expected of them and the guidelines that Quaid e Azam had laid down, for the bureaucracy.

Primary reason of deterioration

Systemic corruption, abuse of authority by the elites and politicization of institutions are the primary reasons for this deterioration. The bureaucracy is now split in pro Zia, pro PML-N, pro PPP and pro Musharraf segments – a really sad deteriorating factor.

Secondly, not enough attention was paid to some areas. Baluchistan, FATA region, (which has now been merged into entire KPK) or Gilgit Baltistan – were all neglected. The political leadership failed to focus on these neglected regions, which means weakening of the bonds and creating space for discontent.

Cumulative consequence of military intervention?

It is difficult to attribute the decline to military interventions only. I think everybody has contributed the most. The military system i.e. the martial law is not the answer. They come in for a while and then they don't know what to do. Then they basically try to hire politicians with dubious reputation and get misled. And then eventually they're forced to go in for elections. As but we had the full five-year PPP and PML-N governments, and quite honestly, they made a real mess of things both politically and economically.

Democracy demands responsibility and integrity

Democracy doesn't mean just getting elected. The objective of democracy is to ensure that you serve the people and their interests. And this has not happened in Pakistan. Politicians eventually only serve their own political and economic interests. And hence few families have become multi-billionaires. This lack of commitment and integrity basically stems from an elite that comprises feudal lords, business tycoons and adventuring generals. This elite has let down this country very badly. Elite is utterly responsible for letting us down, and that includes people like me. I'm one of the first one to say it that I think we didn't measure it up to our responsibilities and commitment to the country.

Dangerous neighborhood

Another contributory factor to Pakistan's instability has been very complicated relationships in a very dangerous neighborhood. India is the most pronounced example; it is defined by lot of commonalities and divergences. When you are in India and if you are a Muslim, you are made to feel that you are different or you are not at par with them. It is actually much worse today. Today it has actually surfaced. Unlike Gandhi's and Nehru's idealism, the real India has now surfaced in a much more pronounced way. The present BJP-led government represents the true face of India, I would say.

Relations with India

Sadly, as of now, there is no evidence that India-Pakistan relationship may get better. We are trying and we should not give up. Hopefully one day things will change.

Relations with China

Since the legendary Chairman Mao and premier Chou En Lai, all Chinese leaders have consistently helped Pakistan. And the more important thing is that they never twisted our arm, unlike some other major countries. That is the difference between a relationship with China and that with others.

I think, through the CPEC, we have new opportunities. It is not something that the Chinese have imposed on us. CPEC is clearly a great opportunity for Pakistan and I think, it's the responsibility of not only the leadership but of the population to make it successful. Therefore, I see a great future for Pakistan.

Non-Prioritization of education

Their graduates end up going abroad, either to the United States, Europe, England or Australia, to find better opportunities and almost 80-90% of them don't come back because the parents feel that they will be better off abroad. Nobody has prioritized education for the masses.

Clearly, it is not the number of tanks or nukes you have. Survival and progress depends on how you are preparing your people and whether you are transforming your human resource into an asset. Because if we don't invest in our human resource, it can also become a huge liability for us. India has fast become an education-based society because their rulers prioritized education as the key to progress.

Elites settling down abroad

Another contributing factor may be that a lot of people in positions of power - whether the military or civilian - opt to stay back after retirement in the United States or Europe. At least I did not go that way. I was offered a fabulous job by some American company to work in China six months before retirement but I refused that and returned to Pakistan. I didn't take any job thereafter. Because if I had continued for another five years, I would only have created bad blood among those aspiring to make it to the top.

Is at all doom and gloom?

I am optimistic about this country and have great faith in the younger generation. May be my generation failed. We are struggling today to give hope to the teeming millions of young Pakistanis. We are trying create an environment of peace in the region. I hope we succeed because we are not a poor country. Our focus has to be on improving governance, vitalizing the agriculture, controlling the expanding population and containing the degradation of the environment.

@72 PAKISTAN IS DIFFERENT



Saqib Sheerani

In 1967, the late Finance Minister Dr. Mehboob-ul-Haq identified a handful of powerful business and industry elites as the "22 Families" that influenced Pakistan in many ways. The list was topped by famous industrialists Saigols, followed by Habib, Dawood, Adamjee, Crescent and Valika. Other families and groups included, Rangoonwala, Fancy, Bibojee, Latif, Jaffer brothers, Noon, Packages, Dadabhoy, Haroons, Fecto, Gul Ahmad/Al-Karam, Atlas, Biboojee, Monoos, Fecto, Ghulam Farooq, Al-Fateh, Shahnawaz and Ittefaq.

This business-industrial conglomerate comprised many of those who had opted to stay in, or migrate to Pakistan in 1947. They were the direct beneficiaries of the industrial/business boom of the 1960s. But the break-up of Pakistan in 1971, when the eastern wing became Bangladesh, and the wave of nationalization by former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, dealt these groups a severe blow and brought the unbridled freedom given to big businesses since 1947.

Meanwhile, a new crop of the hyper-affluent industrialists and businessmen – i.e. AKD, Khadim Ali Shah Bukhari, Malik Riaz of Bahria Town, Jehangir Siddiqi, and Rafiq Habib, as well as Politicians-cum-businessmen including Asif Ali Zardari, Omni Group, Sharifs, Saif Group, Hashoo Group, Jehangir Tareen, Air Blue of ex PM Shahid Khaqan Abbasi – has meanwhile displaced the original 22 families.

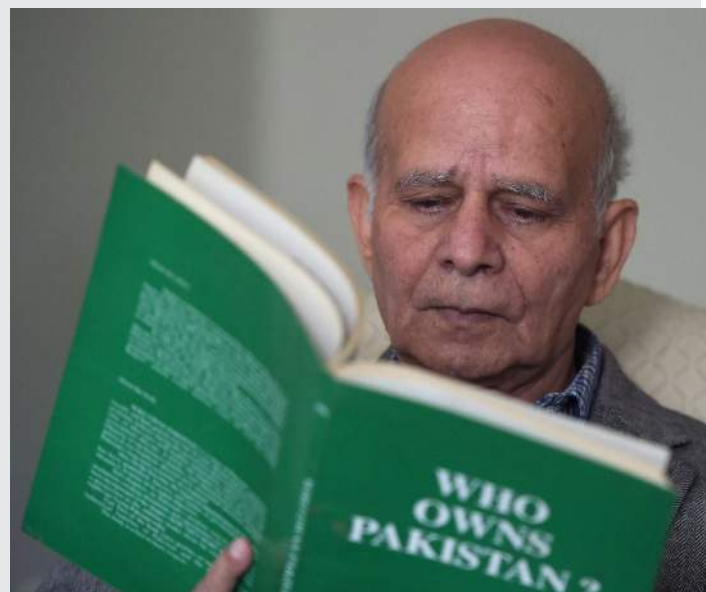
A parallel emergence is that of a powerful media elite that includes the Jang/GEO Group, ARY TV, HUM TV, Dunya Group, Express TV (an affiliate of another big business/industrial empire of Lakhani).

For decades, these mighty elites collectively stalled fundamental structural reforms of the political economy, perpetuating the elite capture at the cost of teeming millions of Pakistanis. through a series of radical reforms the current PTI government has taken on these elites, yet only time will tell whether it can consequently break the status quo for a more equitable distribution of resources in Quaid's Pakistan!

THE ELITE THAT RULES PAKISTAN

Pakistan in 2019 is completely different from what it was at the time of independence in 1947. Then, its population was about 34 million which has now grown to over 220 million. More importantly, the size of the economy then was about \$3 billion, which today stands at over \$350 billion with a per capita income of \$1,600, up from less than a hundred dollars in 1947. Pakistan then was importing all the food stuff that didn't grow here. It just grew cotton in 1947 and some staple grains.

Today, Pakistan - the sixth largest country in the world - feeds itself largely and also is a big exporter of certain agricultural commodities including cotton, rice and sugar. Pakistan is the fourth largest producer of cotton textiles, fifth largest producer of milk, eighth largest telecom market in the world. It has the ninth largest oil and gas deposits in the world. It is the 25th largest economy in terms of purchasing power parity (PPP). Pakistan is one of 25 economies in the world worth \$1 trillion. It is a nuclear power and boasts the seventh largest standing army. It had begun with a near zero industrial base. But today, the country has a robust defense hardware industry, vibrant steel, plastic and automobile industries. It is producing tractors, cars and motorcycles, having a world class textile industry—producing fertilisers, chemicals, sugar, and cement. I think Pakistan is completely different when you compare it to 1947. *The author is a veteran multiple author and journalist*



Shahid-ur-Rehman

72 YEARS OF ART IN PAKISTAN

Mansoor Rahi is a senior painter. He graduated from Government College of Art and Craft in Dhaka and is known for his figurative Cubist paintings. Rahi has exhibited extensively in and outside Pakistan. Mansoor Rahi has won several awards for his work including First Prize at Government College of Arts and Crafts Dhaka (1961) PNCA (1969 and 1987) and Shakir Ali Award Biennale show PNCA

Hajra Mansoor studied on a Scholarship from Lucknow Art College in 1962 and graduated from the Lucknow Art College in 1964. Hajra opened the first art school in Karachi named Karachi School of Art. Hajra is the recipient of the National 1969 Chughtai Award in the All Pakistan National Exhibition sponsored by the Pakistan National Council of Arts PNCA. In 1982, she got the First prize in Haidar Awards, conducted by Abasin Arts Council, NWFP. She received President's Pride of Performance in 2009 and has been declared "Safeer-e- Mashriq" of Pakistan.

Hajira and Mansoor Rahi have spent their lifetime for promotion of art in Pakistan. Below is their brief story and insights into the journey and evolution of art in Pakistan since 1947.

Back in the 1950's, when Pakistanis like us used to study overseas, people outside Pakistan used to believe that perhaps there was no such thing as "Art" in Pakistan.

It would definitely make us upset!

Hence, while experiencing similar perceptions about Pakistan overseas, we decided that we will strive to promote art in Pakistan. Taking this challenge upon ourselves, we started our quest for promotion of art in Pakistan

When Pakistan got its independence, there were only a handful of artists at that time in the country. However today, we have artists in practically every city of Pakistan. Moreover, we also have many institutions- colleges and universities- that are teaching "Art" as a specialized area of study. Hence, in our view, art has really flourished in Pakistan during the last 72 years of its existence.

One of the major reasons for this flourishing was the paradigm shift among Pakistanis who started seeing Art as a profession. People realized that art was a not only a form of expression, but was also a decent source of income. This created art in quantity, where artists also started opening art galleries to display and sell their art pieces.

Establishing galleries really played a very major role in

promoting art and painting in Pakistan. Among many people, Ali Imam, who is one of the pioneers of modern art in Pakistan, played a major role in promotion of modern art, as he taught Pakistanis what art actually was. Moreover, he also gave his students the sensitization on how art was supposed to be appreciated and marketed for the general audience.

Because of these factors, Art is now offered as a degree course in various universities and colleges across Pakistan. This clearly shows how art has been acknowledged and appreciated over the past 72 years of our existence. Among arts in general, painting is something that is very close to our hearts.

Even though paintings are considered as "silent items", they still have the ability to convey strong messages. This is because they have a universal language that is understood by people of all colors, faith, castes and creeds. Therefore, painting as an art form is an extremely important aspect in the evolution of a society and in shaping its behaviors.

On the other hand, media also played a major role in promoting art in Pakistan. By giving space to the artists and talking to them about various aspects of art, the media has helped in creating awareness and understanding amongst masses regarding art. Through our mainstream electronic and social media, art has found its way in reaching homes and found its appeal among the masses.

Art is a form of expression and hence when our country was going through a difficult time with the onset of terrorism especially since 2001, we, as artists, also felt very disturbed.

In reaction to those feelings, Mansoor Rahi painted a series of paintings. One series was entitled "humans as animals". The aim of painting those pieces was to show that "some" humans were behaving as animals by killing other fellow beings.

We believe that art has made substantial strides in Pakistan since 1947.



PERFORMING ARTS IN PAKISTAN FLOURISHING TOO



Fouzia Saeed

Fouzia Saeed is a social activist, gender expert, trainer/facilitator, development manager, folk culture promoter, television commentator and author. She is the author of two well regarded books.



In February 2015, she was appointed as the Executive Director of Lok Virsa, the National Institute of Folk and Traditional Heritage for a 3 year term which she completed on 9 February 2018 with exuberant accolades from the press and civil society for revitalizing Lok Virsa and expanding the space for performance culture in Pakistan.[15][16][17]

Art and Culture in Pakistan has evolved over the last seven decades. After independence, Lahore and Karachi both became the hub of the country's cultural activity. It was not until the fifties where our great masters started to contribute; including Rasheed Atray, Khuwaja Khursheed Anwar, and Noor Jehan. The 1960s was the era where we saw the peak of the film industry in which a lot of actors like Muhammad Ali, Zeba, Waheed Murad, Shamim Ara, Shabnam, Nadeem, and other senior actors were all introduced to the film industry.

The 1960s was really a climax when both radio and theatre were at their peak. The masses at that time were enjoying the entertainment, the creativity, the wit and the humour of theatre artists. The seventies is also remembered as a progressive era. The 1970s was a period where there was a focus on creating institutions and policymaking, however it

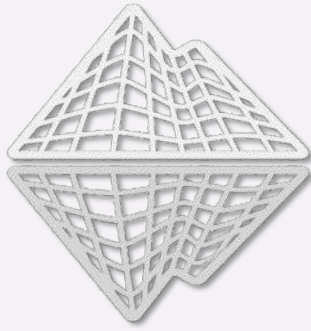
was followed by a dark period in the 1980s.

During the 90s, the business sector became more active and the artists and the professionals took a back seat. Marketing and business investments actually flourished more. And certain performing arts became more like "business". The film industry almost died. Theatre almost died. Though it was primarily because of the security situation in the country that also became, an excuse, to curtail a lot of creativity.

Cinema revived in early 2000 and especially with Shoaib Mansoor's movie 'Khuda K Lye', followed by 'Bol' and then other movies came. So, right now, we are experiencing a surge in modern cinema. Younger people are back in films and younger people are doing music.

One thing which is very important is that artists survive because of their clientele or their audience. We focus on creating artists, whereas we need to create listeners because that is the secret of the survival of music. So for the younger generation, I think we should not only focus on finding good singers, we need to focus on finding good listeners and appreciators and we need to really look at the policies that are coming in the way.





EVENSWISS 
with **DERMATOPOIETIN®**



Fewer laugh lines.
More Glee & Glow.

Boosts radiance, increases skin elasticity
& prevents first signs of aging.



YOUTH SERUM

 @evenswisspak

 0332-6226661

PAKISTAN NEEDS INJECTION OF INTEGRITY

The soft-spoken and charismatic Dr. Sania Nishtar has multiple introductions; social entrepreneur, philanthropist, development economist, and now the head of a new multi-dimensional social welfare programme led by the federal government - EHSAAAS - for poverty alleviation and skills development.

In an exclusive interview with MATRIX MAG Dr. Nishtar spoke of her aspirations for development in Pakistan and her vision for poverty alleviation through capacity-building of poor men and women.

Matrix Mag (MM): Could you please explain the basic concept of the Benazir Income Support Program (BISP) and do you personally agree to that?

Dr. Sania Nishtar (SN): Benazir Income Support Programme (BISP) is a safety net and it was initiated to support the most marginalized or under privileged groups of our society. Especially people who are disabled or totally illiterate to be economically productive for themselves. Every state around the globe needs a safety net but the challenges these states face is to protect this net from misuse. There shouldn't be any false inclusions or exclusions. Only the one deserving should benefit from it. I agree to its fundamental premise however I wouldn't want this system to be static. The institutions dealing with such programs should biannually or annually analyze that who is still living under the poverty line, who is facing any catastrophe and deserves to come under this safety program, and who has become financially stable to come out of the net. Just to summarize, in every state there is a segment who needs a safety net; either temporarily or on an ongoing basis.

MM: Has the programme achieved its objectives since its inception?

SN: There are two categories of the people in this regard, number one; the people who needed an ongoing support and, number two; the people who have become independent by utilizing these stipends. Our assessment tells us that it



has impacted the lives of the poor but at the same time it has also been misused. My role is to fix discrepancies, leakages and abuse of the support.

MM: What is the percentage of the women who have benefitted to stand on their feet?

SN: There is a good number of women who have started their businesses and have become self-sufficient, so definitely, it has impacted their lives. However, it is more protection-oriented than empowerment for the women who couldn't come under the economic sphere because they couldn't earn themselves. There are some women whose male family members are sick or their children are disabled, for them, this stipend is almost life-saving. At the same time, there are other women who educated themselves, bought sewing machines to run a tailoring business, started a tuck shop at their homes, educated their family members, had their sisters married – an ultimate positive cascading effect. There are tons of stories that emerge from such programs.

MM: BISP was criticised as cash hand-out which creates a strong dependence syndrome? What are you doing to counter that criticism?

SN: To cater to this, we have launched a poverty graduation program which loans and asset transfers like a sewing machines, agricultural tools, cattle for farming or any other business material as well skill building. That is the focus now.

We are trying to bring this program in one window, like if someone gets in contact for the support, the government should have a transparent ability to assess the deserving ones without politicization or favoritism and for how long will he/she need the support. However, there are a few segments in every society who can't stand on their feet, i.e. disabled people and illiterates with no skills. It is the responsibility of the state to hold their hand. If we can't do that our government is of no use.

MM: Would you agree there is a lot of duplication in the social welfare work, a lot of duplication?

SN: You are right, there is a lot of duplication of the program. In Punjab, for example, we discovered around 139 social welfare government-run programs – all of them duplicative, paper based and stand-alone management information system-based. Nobody knows that where is the money going and on what criteria. Same

is the case with federal government and all other provinces. We mined Rs. 42.65 billion rupees from this existing system and got only Rs. 5 billion from the new budget. We comprehensively strategized goals and objectives of the ministry and we brought it under a monitoring framework and communication strategy, so that people know that we can give out 80,000 loans every month.

All such programmes including BISP, Zakat, Bait-ul-Maal, and Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund (PPAF) will now fall under the new ministry that I am heading. Their capacities will be used in a complementary way to avoid duplication and cut costs. What we are trying to do is the problematic consolidation, data base consolidation and also consolidation at the eligibility level, but more important than the programmatic side of the reform is the governance reform through the Ehsaas program, designed to increase state institutions' ability to be responsive to the needs of the people.

MM: How would you differentiate Ehsaas program from BISP?

SN: BISP only used to give money to the women, but we are changing that. Women will not get the money only but accounts would be opened for them and mobile phones would also be given to them. A financial literacy program will be implemented alongside. This program will pave the way for their economic empowerment. Some 500 technology hubs will be initiated for them and their families, where they can go and use free internet. We are bringing very fundamental changes in BISP but BISP is just one of 115 programs run under the umbrella of Ehsaas program. People don't usually know about it. We are also introducing food credit card schemes that they can use at grocery stores. There is also a poverty graduation program in the planning to make people stand on their feet. About 16.28 million People will benefit from it. Under-graduate scholarship scheme is also under consideration. Special scholarship for girls to be enrolled at schools will also be introduced. There is also a program for women who have stunted children. Every government institute will now have a board installed outside their premises that Ehsaas is an umbrella of programs and policies through which government organizations will not only empower the marginalized groups but the underdeveloped areas will also be brought in the streamline of social development.

Ehsaas program is also carefully looking at the following:

- avoidance of conflict of interest,
- Error, fraud and corruption framework
- Whistle blowing frameworks
- Mandating agencies to have list registers
- Itemized work plan
- Composition of the boards and their regular working.

If you analyze the history of social welfare institution in the country, you will get to know that the boards of these organizations are dysfunctional, mostly they rely on discretionary decision-making and their accounting frameworks are often missing.

MM: So, you are attacking the status quo, stepping on the toes of many?

SN: These are the fundamental things for running an organization, how can you give organizations the responsibility of rolling out programs worth billions of rupees with the kind of managements they have. You have to fix these loopholes as a starting point. You have to make sure that the whistle blowing frameworks are in place. The conflict of interest is implemented. The reporting frameworks are there. The monitoring and evaluation, and independent professional audits are being done.

MM: Will you be able to implement these policies in the face of a reportedly obstructive bureaucracy and other vested interests?

SN: The implementation of Ehsaas is assigned to 28 federal ministries and four provincial governments. Our ministry has the most number of programs and we also have a coordinating role. Wherever, you attack the vested interests you will face the push back. If you talk about conflict of interest in government structures, you will surely face resistance. However, at the same time you will have your allies. There are good people as well who are ready to help. The key to success for such programs is to be very careful while selecting your secretary because if you don't have a good secretary then only God can help you. Secretaries are the principle accounting officers who have a very important role in decision making. I have selected the two secretaries of integrity and repute which has made it easier to deal with negative aspects. I believe that if Ehsaas successfully implements its 20% agenda, we can bring a massive transformation because we are using every engine of the government for welfare. There are 25 such policies that are designed for elites who have a tight grip over government resources. That is about state capture.

I am facing a lot of opposition and you might have also seen its manifestations. It's not only from the system, I am attacked by the media that she has an NGO style of working but we have to ignore it because the institutional structures will remain the same if we don't ignore them. We are genuinely trying to bring reforms and implement them.

MM: How will you explain Pakistan to foreigners, what is your message?

SN: Pakistan is an amazing country, people have unparalleled talent. There is massive compassion within the society and people are remarkably resilient. Despite, having been subjected to such bad governance, people are surviving through but they deserve much better. I think what the system needs is an injection of integrity. We are not in sub-Saharan Africa where there are no people and no institutions. Pakistan is one of the most over-legislated countries in the world. We have institutions for conceivably every thematic area but state capture has been so pervasive.

EHSAAAS is an antidote to the state and elite capture. It is an aspiration for development of the common Pakistani. We are trying our best to cascade this aspiration into implementation.

UN ON INDIAN HIGH-HANDEDNESS IN KASHMIR



Dr. Syed Nazir Gilani

The author is President of London based Jammu and Kashmir Council for Human Rights – NGO in Special Consultative Status with the United Nations.

The two UN Reports, of 14 June 2018 and 8 July 2019 on the Human Rights situation in Jammu and Kashmir, are leap steps taken by the Office of UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. The reports have resolved two basic issues of interpretation of “Administered Territories” and “Self-Determination”.

The reports have defined Indian-Administered Kashmir as consisting of the Kashmir valley, the Jammu and Ladakh regions and Pakistan Administered Kashmir as comprising of the “two administrative regions – Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK)

and Gilgit-Baltistan (G-B). In recommendations 19 and 10 July 2019 report has asked India and Pakistan to “Fully respect the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir as protected under international law”.

The draft report was sent to Government of India and Government of Pakistan on 12 June 2019 to “provide any factual comments by 17 June”. Foreign Office of the Government of Pakistan could not spot that the report has addressed the Indian-Administered Kashmir as “Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir” 8 times in paragraphs 4, 6, 9, 18, 46, 52, 70 and 132.

The report has qualified the manner of its interest as ‘serious’ in India and as ‘significant’ in Pakistan. In Pakistan-Administered Kashmir the human rights violations have been considered far distinct from violations in Indian-Administered Kashmir. These have been described as of ‘structural and legal’ in nature. India carries the blame of “serious human rights violations and patterns of impunity.” (Paragraph 181 of July 8, 2019 Report).

Government of India has suffered a serious loss of respect at the Human Rights Council and around the world. India remains on the Human Rights Council until 2021 and Pakistan keeps its membership until 2020. Indian allegation that the OHCHR June 2018 report was “false and motivated” and further accusation that the Special Rapporteurs had “individual prejudices” against India, could not help the member nation of UN to undo the massive evidence brought against its human rights record in Kashmir.

Indian stand on the report and on the questionnaire of Special Rapporteurs has no merit. The report is based on “reasonable grounds” test and all the sources used are Indian. It has used the official Indian sources, like, information obtained under Right to Information Act, Parliamentary questions in the Indian Parliament, Indian court orders, police reports, reports

of the Press Trust of India, J & K Human Rights Commission, National Human Rights Commission of India, research of local, national and international NGOs, and a “smaller number of interviews to corroborate information.”

The massive spread of evidence of the gross and systematic violation of human rights in Kashmir valley does not support the Indian stand that the report is “false and motivated” and that UN Special Rapporteurs had any “individual prejudices” against India. In fact OHCHR June 2018 report did not have the benefit of the testimony of Yashwant Sinha a senior Indian politician and head of a civil society organization – Concerned Citizens Group, which he gave on 26 December 2018 after his visit to Kashmir. He has said that “Modi Government had abandoned the Vajpayee policy of ‘Consensus, Democracy and Insaniyat’, in favour of a “Strong State Policy” in Kashmir, “which meant the use of brutal force to kill as many as they could.”

Three JKCHR documents titled “Jammu and Kashmir – Freedom of opinion and expression”, Jammu and Kashmir–Merits of Indian refusal to respond to UN Special Rapporteur and “India-Danger of normalising racism, xenophobia, intolerance and all forms of bigotry,” released as UN GA documents under agenda items 3, 4 and 9 at the 41st session of UN Human Rights Council in Geneva further add to the evidence secured by the United Nation about the disturbing human rights situation in the Indian administered Kashmir.

India should not be judged by how close it stands to the world’s most powerful countries, but how much the State extends itself to the most vulnerable within its own boundaries. The report is a sad commentary on the situation in the Indian administered Kashmir. People have been disenfranchised. Government of India played foul with the elected leadership of Kashmir and engineered a dissolution of the Assembly in June 2018.

Governor’s office fax was deliberately switched off on 21 November 2018, so that Mehbooba Mufti could not serve the notice of her ability for formation of a Government in alliance with National Conference and Congress to the Governor. Delhi has perfected its master plan of deceits in its administered part of Kashmir.

Indian Government wanted to use the Governors rule (and now the Presidents rule) to push through some laws, which an elected legislature would have debated and refused. Indian Government does seem to have many plans, in particular, the plan to tamper with laws to allow a change in the demography is dangerous.

The most sinister thing that has been highlighted (missed out by all Kashmiris) in the 8 July 2019 UN report is the amendment made through Governor’s order in the Section 10 of Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act. Section 10 of the

PSA would not allow permanent residents of the state to be lodged in jails outside the state. Soon after dissolution of the Assembly Governor Vohra issued the new law on 13 July, 2018, under which the citizens of Jammu and Kashmir have lost this protection and are now lodged outside the State in various prisons of India.

The orders of detention are issued by the deputy commissioners rather than the courts and despite the high court revoking the PSA orders in the case of many prisoners, they are being again booked under the Act through an "administrative order". The detention under PSA is renewed with a new administrative order after every release by the Court. This has helped the administration to slap 37 detention orders on Musarat Alam.

From Para 89 of the UN updated report we find that even the Kashmiri Government based at Srinagar has betrayed its own people and has violated the oath of doing 'good to all manner of people'. It has been revealed that "while the PSA Advisory Board confirmed almost 99 percent of the detention orders, the Jammu and Kashmir High Court reversed over 81 percent of these detention orders. In May 2018, the State Government further diluted the checks and balances in the application of the PSA by removing the need to consult Jammu and Kashmir High Court Chief Justice while constituting the Advisory Board". Mehbooba Mufti headed the alliance Government in May 2018. She resigned on 19 June 2018. She has acted against the Kashmiri traditions and remains an accomplice in the use of PSA, which has caused enormous indignity and suffering.

Human Rights Council has been asked by NGOs in special consultative status with the UN, to take note that Indian army has been admitted on certain conditions. It is a subordinate army and a supplement to the State forces. United Nations has placed restraints on their number, behaviour and location. Assurances of their good behaviour have been given at the UN Security Council and the most prevailing assurance was that these Indian security forces would be under the watchful eye of the UN Commission. We have UNMOGIP supervising the cease fire line but the UN Commission supposed to watch these forces, was never allowed to assume its role.

JKCHR has been working on the four components of Kashmir case, namely, 'rights and dignity' and 'security and self-determination'. For the last 4 years the NGO has been focussing on demilitarization and the use of UN force in Kashmir as first proposed by Pakistan at the 761st meeting of UN SC on 16 January 1957. The proposal was carried forward by Australia, Cuba, United Kingdom and Northern Ireland and United States of America in their joint Resolution S/3787 moved on 14 February 1957 at the UN SC. On 30 September 2015 at the 70th session of UN General Assembly Pakistan has reiterated its proposal for a demilitarization in Kashmir.

No army has ever vanquished a people aspiring to be treated as 'equal' and to exercise their right of self-determination. Indian army could not be an exception in Jammu and Kashmir. Both UN report of June 2018 and July 2019 ask India and Pakistan to "Fully respect the right of self-determination of the people of Kashmir as protected under international law". The quicker, the better.



PEACE EFFORTS FOR AFGHANISTAN GEARING UP



Sitwat Waqar Bokhari

Sitwat Waqar Bokhari is a Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Research and Security Studies (CRSS) and Program Manager for CRSS's sister organization – Afghan Studies Center. She tweets @SitwatWB.

After nearly four decades of conflict, signs of peace in Afghanistan may be emerging. The seventh round of US-Taliban talks at Doha, followed by the intra-Afghan peace conference sponsored by Germany and Qatar in the first half of July offered some hope to that context.

The two-day intra-Afghan dialogue, attended by more than 50 delegates from Afghanistan – including women, former jihadi commanders, civil society and pro-government factions – and 17 representatives of the Taliban, was the first intra-Afghan talks

not objected by Kabul, preceded by similar meetings in Moscow late last and early this year. In fact, while extending its support for all-Afghan summit, President Ghani's spokesman Sediq Sediqqi stated that face-to-face negotiations between the Kabul regime and the Taliban are now inevitable to end the prolonged crisis in the country.

In a surprising and unprecedented move, the Taliban also pledged – though still ambiguous – to reduce violence against civilian institutions in the post-peace Afghanistan. This move signaled as a security guarantee in case the US-Taliban deal materializes. According to US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, Washington is hopeful that a peace agreement between the two warring parties will be reached before September 1, 2019.

At the same time, both American chief negotiator Khalilzad and Taliban's spokesperson Sohail Shaheen have branded the seventh round of US-Taliban peace talks in Doha as the "most productive session" so far. Both sides have agreed on a few more points and the first draft of the deal is expected to be out in the coming days. At the same time, following the conclusion of the US-Taliban talks, Khalilzad's visit to Beijing amidst China's rising influence in the region beeps up hopes of regional powers coinciding their efforts for a speedy resolution.

In parallel, Pakistan and Afghanistan are witnessing a new opening for cordial relations as well, particularly since President Ashraf Ghani's visit to Pakistan in late June after a gap of nearly five years; his last visit to Pakistan being in November 2014 following his election in September. Ghani,

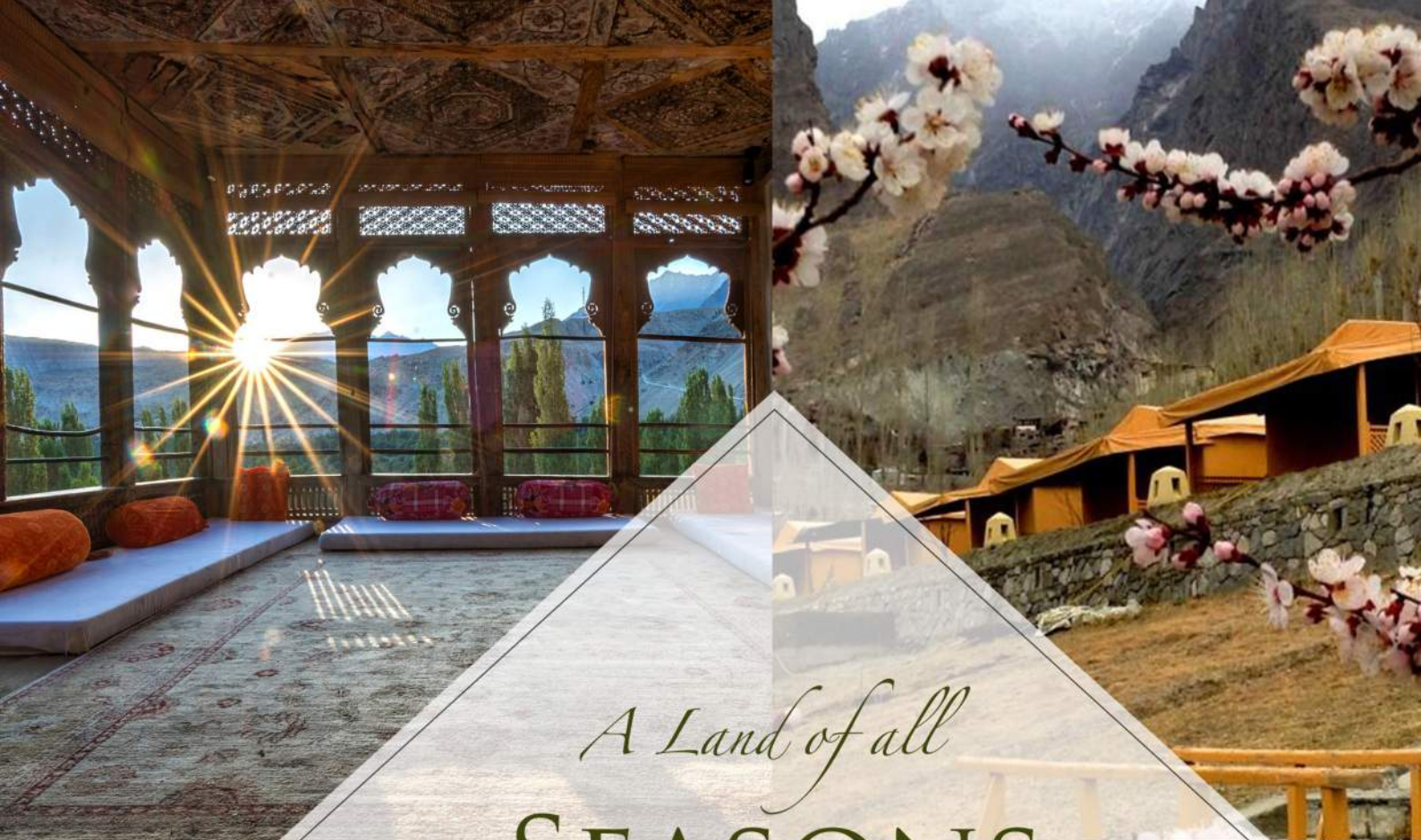
who previously held a harsh stance towards Pakistan, has been displaying a softer view on Pakistan, probably because of the changing security dynamics in Afghanistan to the backdrop of Khalilzad-led peace talks with the Taliban.

Ghani's delegation held comprehensive talks with Prime Minister Imran Khan, focusing on resetting of strained bilateral relations and promoting reconciliation with the Taliban – not without an intra-Afghan dialogue. During his visit, Ghani affirmed that Pakistan has a vital role to play in the Afghan peace process and both countries need to move from conflict to cooperation for tangible gains in bilateral relations.

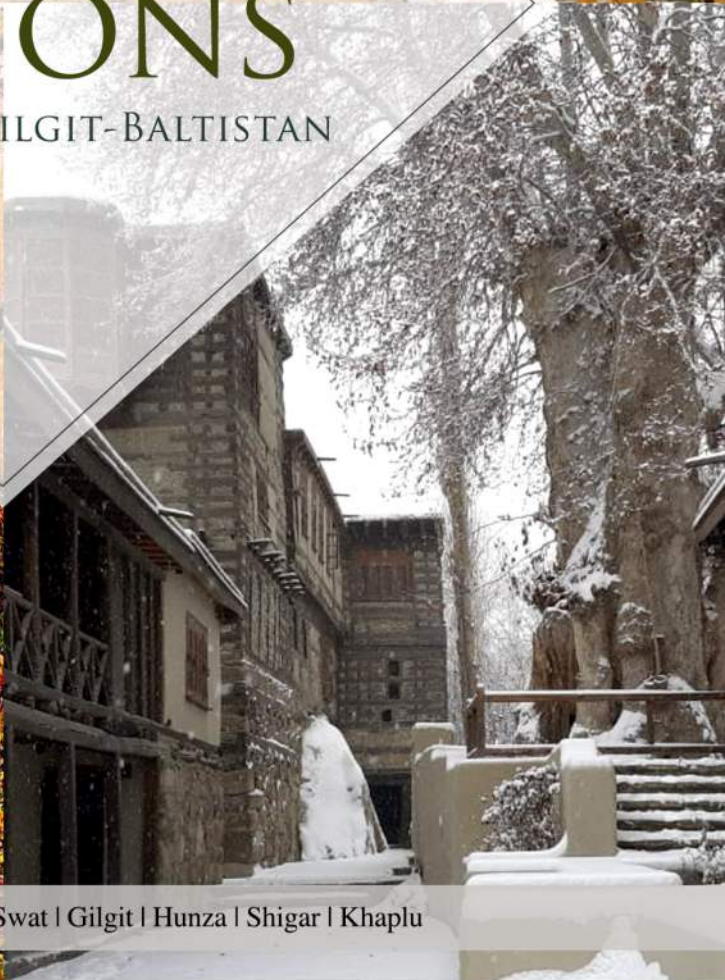
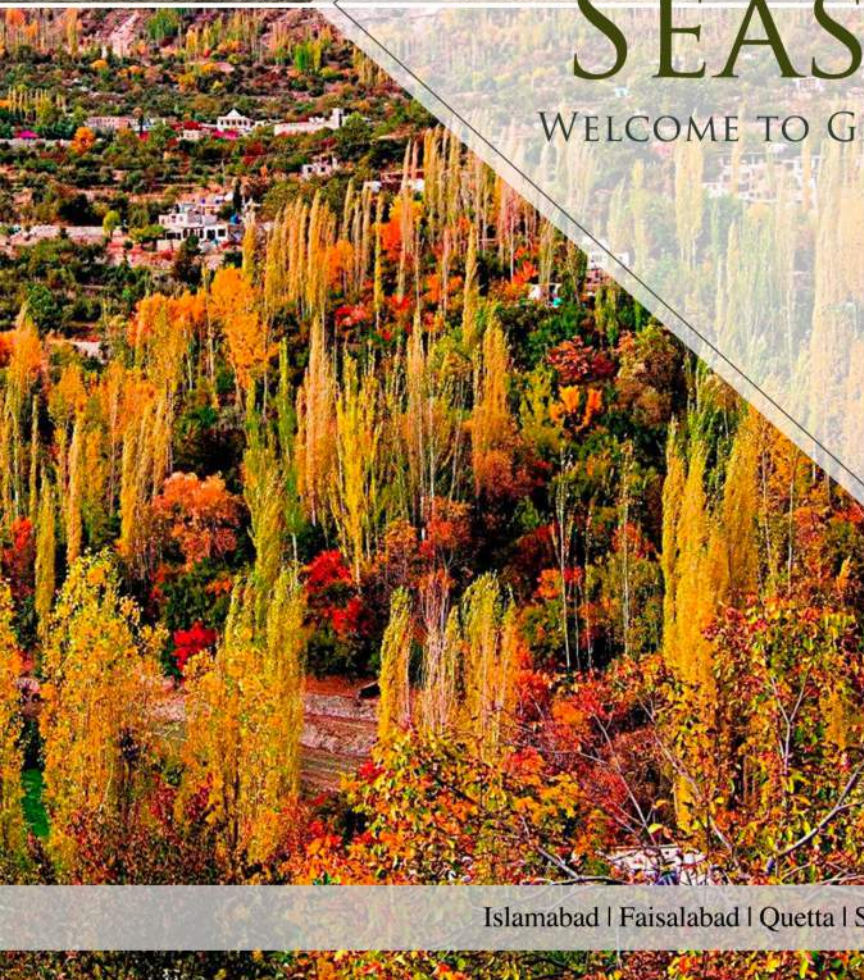
Ghani attributed his recent change of heart to seeing an opening in Pak-Afghan relations due to Pakistan's increased focus on its internal policies under the new government, particularly poverty reduction, which Ghani perceives Afghanistan could benefit from through mutual efforts. Prime Minister Imran Khan's deep reexamination of policies which, in Ghani's view, had not benefited Pakistan, and Khan's outlook to embrace regional cooperation and connectivity have particularly been appealing to Kabul, according to Ghani. "I see that intentions are changing and fundamentally, I see that a sovereign, stable and prosperous Afghanistan is being seen to complement Pakistan," he said. He also termed the recent state level dialogue as "constructive" and sought Pakistan's support in consolidating reconciliatory efforts in his country which has been badly damaged by war for the last four decades.

In response, Islamabad has also reiterated its full support to Kabul, as Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood stated that "we [Pakistan] will encourage and facilitate an intra-Afghan dialogue, which we [Pakistan] feel is essential for reconciliation, and we [Pakistan] will try and gain each other's trust." On another front, in their trust-building efforts, Pakistan has also agreed to keep the strategic Torkham border open 24/7 from August 2019 to ease cross-border mobility, while Ashraf Ghani also sought assurances from Pakistan to allow Afghan traders' trucks to go straight to India through Wagah border. Though, no such agreement has been confirmed by Pakistani authorities yet.

At the same time, along with Pakistan, Iran, Russia and China are all working in unison to support and promote peace efforts. The developing situation certainly augurs well for the region as the Afghan quagmire has continued for too long. All stakeholders must now cash on this available window of opportunity; if nations do not cooperate and work together, it is the people who will suffer.



A Land of all
SEASONS
WELCOME TO GILGIT-BALTISTAN



Islamabad | Faisalabad | Quetta | Swat | Gilgit | Hunza | Shigar | Khaplu



SERENA HOTELS

HOTELS AND RESORTS
PALACES • FORTS

For reservations, please call (05811) 455894-7 or email at sales@serena.com.pk



serenahotelsofficial



serenahotelsofficial



serena_hotels

NATO STATUS FOR INDIA: ANOTHER FAVOUR!



Faizah Gilani,
London

The writer has studied History and Politics at Queen Mary, University of London (BA Honours) And Near and Middle East Studies at SOAS, University of London (Masters)

India and the United States of America have enjoyed growing relations that have strengthened over the years. America has always acknowledged India's power and influence within South Asia and has always regarded it as a key player within the region. But now the equation between the two allies is significantly changing. A resolution has passed in the U.S senate that brings India at par with NATO allies, which includes Japan, South Korea and Australia. This resolution will serve as a huge boost for India-US defense relations and increase cooperation between the two allies. This latest development is huge and on many levels.

The strengthening of defense relations between India and America date back to 2016, with America recognising India as a major defence partner. And in 2018, India and the US signed the COMCASA (Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement). From Pakistan's perspective, the recent development of elevating India to NATO-like status, is somewhat a cause for concern. Pakistan's relationship with America has never been a consistent one, having been tried and tested over the years. But relations in recent times have been seriously put to the test.

Pakistan and America have always shared a tricky equation. There have been trust issues and miscommunications in the past. And the Pakistani cause was not helped by Osama Bin Laden ending up on its soil. But Pakistan has often gone out of its way to appease America and its leadership. And one cannot deny that Pakistan has sacrificed a great deal by becoming an ally in America's war on terror following the tragedy of 9/11. The body count of both army and civilians under the green and white flag is a testament to that.

But despite Pakistan's sacrifices, the country finds itself backed into a corner, side-lined and used according to the wishes of its so-called allies. Today, Pakistan's rival India is being rewarded with perks, whereas Pakistan finds itself reeling in the background with a crippled economy. Of course, alliances between countries largely depend on personal agenda. World leaders in general seek to exploit the benefits that can be provided for their nation. There is never personal love between countries. It all comes down to pushing your own agenda.

We must not forget that India and America's trade relations in recent times have been somewhat frosty. However, America is now



looking at the bigger picture. It views India as a subtle pushback for China's influence. And although Prime Minister Modi has over the years shown a keen interest in pushing for economic ties with China, it has also been wary of the Chinese motive. And of course, the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has ruffled feathers in New Delhi, making them somewhat nervous. Therefore, both America and India share a common concern – China's growing influence within South Asia and the Indo-Pacific.

So, everything boils down to strategic scenarios. Everything is driven by individual benefits. However, whatever reasons both America and India may have for this new development, the bottom line is that it will hurt Pakistan in the long run, and proves yet again that despite all its efforts, Pakistan is being left out in the cold. India will no doubt use this to further flex its muscles within the region, and to undermine Pakistan and show up its leadership in every possible way. With America's support, India intends on taking new strides within the region, self-crowning itself as king.

America provided India with an opportunity, and India lapped it up. This was to be expected. But one must ask Pakistan's top leadership – why has it come to this point? Pakistan has lumbered itself with so many problems, it is losing its footing within its own region, and ultimately losing its stand on real issues and legitimate causes concerning them. India gaining superiority and importance within the region will prove to be a hindrance for Pakistan's stance on (IOK) Indian Occupied Kashmir. Pakistan's efforts in recent times have been to place the spotlight on the human rights violations in Indian Occupied Kashmir, and to push for the Kashmiri right to self-determination on an international level.

However, India receiving status equal to any NATO member will serve as a real setback to Pakistan's efforts. Pakistan's stance on Indian Occupied Kashmir is genuine and there is no doubt that Modi's right-wing Hindu extremist policy within IOK is appalling. The use of excessive force and the gross human rights violations and curbing of basic Kashmiri rights should be a cause for concern for all defenders of human rights. Sadly, the world continues to turn a blind eye towards the Kashmiri plight, and this latest development means that India's stance on Kashmir will go unchallenged by the big players of the world stage. And Pakistan will yet again stand alone on the international platform.

India's NATO-like status will also draw a curtain on Pakistan's chances of exposing India's mischievous activities within FATA and Balochistan. India is now officially seen as an equal partner by the United States, and the effect will rub off on other NATO allies. India will naturally use this as a protective cushion, shielding it from any form of criticism over IOK, as well as its interference on Pakistan's soil. This comes with the perks of being friends with the world's superpower. Pakistan's concerns over India's interference on its soil are genuine and well documented, but sadly mishandled and not properly exposed to the international level.

Pakistan's leadership, both military and civilian, have failed to bring those concerns to the forefront. Instead, Pakistan is

once again being humiliated on the diplomatic front and is being weakened in a way so that it is left with no real option but to either amend its foreign policy to suit the likes of India or to abandon it altogether. Leave the world stage aside, for an excruciating amount of time now, Pakistan has struggled to find its footing within the region.

Prime Minister Imran Khan has always expressed a desire for Pakistan to play the role of peacemaker in conflict, and to create a harmonious relationship with all its neighbours. Sadly, this seems to be a distant dream. Pakistan continues to share a difficult relationship with its neighbor, Afghanistan, who seems to be enjoying the company of India all too conveniently. Afghan leadership continues to blame Pakistan for any mishap that occurs on their soil, something which India has taken complete advantage of and used for its own personal gains.

But for India to be given NATO like status simply means that Pakistan's desire to play a more proactive role within the region will gradually fade away. Pakistan will not be able to stand tall in front of India and will most likely find itself weakened under the towering influence of an emerging India within the subcontinent, and eventually, in the world. And this is also what America has wanted all along. Someone to keep Pakistan in check, and what better way to do so other than equipping the arch-rival. India is under no illusion. It understands the reasoning behind Trump administration's support. But it works in India's favour, therefore, Modi Sarkar will gladly take it.

India has, for a long time now, been waiting for the opportunity to play the role of boss within its own backyard, and it is finally getting that chance. Pakistan, on the other hand, finds itself being pushed into a corner of irrelevance. Any sacrifice made by Pakistan as a nation in the war on terror or towards peace and stability in the region, continues to go unnoticed by America and one can perhaps say, the rest of the world. Tricky times are ahead for Pakistan's leadership, both military and civilian, who will have to rediscover and redefine Pakistan's role in the region, as well as the world stage.

India's NATO like status will also draw a curtain on Pakistan's chances of exposing India's mischievous activities within FATA and Balochistan. India is now officially seen as an equal partner by the United States, and the effect will rub off on other NATO allies. India will naturally use this as a protective cushion, shielding it from any form of criticism over IOK, as well as its interference on Pakistan soil. This comes with the perks of being friends with the world's superpower. Pakistan's concerns over India's interference on its soil are genuine and well documented, but sadly mishandled and not properly exposed to the international level.

US SANCTIONS ON IRAN: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Matrix Report



The US government is seeking to globally enforce its unilaterally imposed sanctions to bind other countries, including allies, to its foreign policy course. The sanctions against Iran are the most prominent example. They also made German business with Iran largely impossible. Washington first implemented extraterritorial sanctions in the mid-1990s, but finally reached agreement with the EU not to enforce them against European companies. This was changed during the Obama administration, when it amassed billions in fines from banks in the EU. The Trump administration has expanded the extraterritorial sanctions to include Russia and Cuba.

Extraterritorial Sanctions under Clinton...

Already in the 1990s, Washington attempted to bind its western allies unilaterally to its foreign policy with extraterritorial sanctions. At the time, the Clinton administration had imposed sanctions on Cuba, Iraq, Iran, and Libya, prohibiting US citizens and companies to do business with these countries, even if it was transacted through US subsidiaries outside the United States. In addition, the export of goods, produced outside the United States, should no longer be allowed to these countries, if these goods contained individual US components. The "Helms-Burton-Act" was the most severe form of sanctions. Enacted into law on March 12, 1996 by US President Bill Clinton, it aggravated the embargo against Cuba. These US measures provoked fierce disputes also with the EU, which had adopted the Blocking Statute in 1996, prohibiting companies based in the EU from complying with sanctions imposed by third states under penalty of punishment. At that time, however, this did not lead to a showdown between the EU and the USA. In 1998, Washington conceded and promised not to take measures against companies in the EU.



...,under Obama and Trump

On a larger scale, Washington did not enforce extraterritorial sanctions until the presidency of Barack Obama. In 2010, several US authorities, including the Justice Department, launched investigations into foreign banks, accused of violating the unilaterally imposed US sanctions on Iran. A lawsuit against the Commerzbank ended in 2015, compelling the German bank to pay US \$1.45 billion to US authorities in a settlement, because it had done business with Iran's state-owned Islamic Republic of Iran Shipping Lines (IRISL). The French BNP Paribas even lost US \$8,9 billion in a similar lawsuit. Because of these experiences, German companies immediately withdrew from Iran after the Trump administration renewed the imposition of sanctions on Iran. Like those under Obama, these measures have extraterritorial effects. The Trump administration has begun to impose extraterritorial sanctions against Russia, also effecting German companies. German business circles speak of billions in losses. (german-foreign-policy.com reported).

Helms-Burton Act, Section III

Washington's most recent move came two months ago. Section III of the "Helms-Burton Act" went into effect on May 2. Because of international protests, all US presidents, have regularly suspended its becoming effective, since it was passed in 1996. At the beginning of the year, US President Donald Trump announced that he would break with this tradition. Section III stipulates that US citizens have the right to sue US American, as well as foreign companies, if they use Cuban property belonging to US Americans prior to the Cuban Revolution, which had been nationalized in the

aftermath of the revolution. The first lawsuits against EU located enterprises have been filed. For example, the heir of a former landowner, whose Cuban property had been expropriated, recently sued Spain's Meliá hotel chain, which operates hotels on his expropriated real estate - in full compliance with Cuban law. Because the suit was filed in Spain, it is not legally based on the Helms-Burton Act, but the lawyers are explicitly basing the arguments of their case on that law. Two descendants of a family, who had owned a hotel in Cuba, prior to the revolution, have now sued the hotel search engine Trivago, headquartered in Düsseldorf, for having mediated rooms in that hotel, which also had been expropriated, and is today legally operated by Meliá. The Trivago suit was filed in Florida on the basis of the "Helms-Burton Act."

"In Violation of International Law"

In the meantime, the EU has announced countermeasures for various aspects. The EU is probably most affected by Section III of the "Helms-Burton Act." Enterprises in the EU have invested around a half-billion euros (figures from 2017) in Cuba - more than any other investor. They are mainly companies in Spain and France. But as Trivago's example demonstrates, German companies may also be sued. A statement by the EU, pertaining to the enactment of Section III, declares that "the EU considers the extraterritorial application of unilateral restrictive measures to be in violation of international law." The outgoing EU head of foreign policy, Federica Mogherini has promised that "all applicable measures will be applied" to protect enterprises of the EU. Of course, Brussels had already made similar promises after the USA reimposed extraterritorial sanctions on Iran and re-enacted the 1996 blocking statute - without success. Until now, no German enterprise has successfully been able to avoid these extraterritorial sanctions with this statute. In addition, the EU's attempts to circumvent US measures using INSTEX - a finance vehicle operating on the barter system, originally planned to permit enterprises within the EU to maintain their trade with Iran - has proven ineffective. The attempt is considered a failure.

Through the Courts

Government advisors in Berlin are applying pressure. The EU must "begin to create instruments that can provide long-term protection against extraterritorial sanctions," the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) declared in mid-May. This will be "necessary, if striving for a strategically autonomous Europe is meant seriously." Ultimately, the conflict over the extraterritorial sanctions, is about "Europe's capability to carry out foreign policy." In the quest for means to undermine the Trump administration's measures, SWP suggests that not only political measures be applied, but judicial ones as well - "through US courts." "As a complement to increasing their strategic autonomy vis-à-vis the U.S. government, European foreign policy-makers could" also "rely upon the US judiciary," according to a recent study published by the chancellery-financed think tank. "In practice, this means systematically encouraging and eventually assisting EU-based companies" to challenge the US administration's extraterritorial enforcement in US domestic courts. "Semi-official enterprises such as the European Investment Bank (EIB) or INSTEX" could lead the way.

Adopted/Excerpted from the German Foreign Policy magazine (<https://www.german-foreign-policy.com/en/news/detail/7994/>)





TRUMP-KHAN ENCOUNTER: ICE BROKEN BUT TEST AHEAD



Jehangir Khattak

The writer is a New York-based senior journalist and commentator. He tweets at @JehangirKhattak

President Donald Trump's sweet, 47-minute press talk along with Prime Minister Imran Khan broke all records. It was the longest bilateral press state-stake-out and the best ever White House narrative on Pakistan and a loud endorsement of Khan's government.

The unprecedented, over 20,000 community gathering of highly charged Pakistani Americans at Washington's Capital One Arena - called by administration officials a "rock-star performance"- and his very confident interaction with the American media and handling of tough questioning at the United States Institute of Peace seemed to have turned Khan into a victor at DC.

What followed the visit? On July 26, the Trump administration announced reversal of its 2018 suspension of military aid and cooperation by approving \$125 million for technical support to

Pakistan's aging fleet of about 85 F-16s.

Pakistanis had only hoped to repair the bilateral relations that suffered immensely during the early months of the Trump administration, but Trump took a 180 U-turn on Pakistan," Arif Rafiq, president of Vizier Consulting, LLC, a security risk assessment company, New York told Matrix Mag.

Many in the US, including Rafiq, believe that Trump's inclination towards a reset in relations came about "when he stopped listening" to his senior advisors, such as Alice Wells, Lisa Curtis and John Bolton. Reports of behind-the-scenes efforts by Saudi Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman, former Chief of Army Staff General (Retired) Raheel Sharif, Ross Perot Jr. and General David Petraeus in facilitating the trip have also been making the rounds inside the Beltway and in Pakistan.

As expected, Afghanistan and India were the elephants in the room but the talks were not limited to the two countries. Both leaders assured each other of a much more mutually beneficial partnership, in the future.

What took many by surprise was the “unscripted, candid, honest and persuasive” Khan convincing Trump and lawmakers to do his best to persuade the Afghan Taliban directly negotiate with the Ashraf Ghani government.

Some quarters in DC speculated that under the agreed strategy, premier Khan will try to cajole the Taliban into a ceasefire and direct hold talks with the Afghan government.

New challenges for Pakistan

Pakistan’s civilian leaders and the military establishment are now on trial to deliver on what they promised to the Americans. President Ghani’s desire to run for a second term is a major stumbling block too.

“The risk is that, since the Taliban have not yet formally agreed to talk to the government, and since they will not do so until they agree with the U.S. on troop withdrawal, they may feel compelled to deny that they have agreed to negotiate with the government,” Barnett Rubin, a former state department official who was part of the Obama administration’s negotiation efforts, told New York Times.

“That would be a setback for the process.”

Is it a reset in relations?

There is some debate in the US on the question of a reset in the bilateral relations? While Pakistan’s Foreign Office may have enough reasons to believe the relations have been reset, there are still many skeptics in Washington. To them the two sides may be on a course to a reset.

“In essence, from the Trump administration’s perspective, the U.S.-Pakistan relationship may have improved, but that doesn’t mean a reset is in order—or that Trump even wants one,” said Michael Kugelman, Deputy Director of the Asia Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C.

“The bottom line is that while Khan’s trip to Washington may have been full of smiles and good vibes, and it may have even solidified U.S.-Pakistan cooperation in Afghanistan, it shouldn’t be mistaken for a reset in troubled ties. This newfound comity can’t mask the reality that U.S.-Pakistan relations are still in need of major repair,” he wrote in an article in World Politics Review.

Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, nevertheless, has been optimistic. He was one of those optimists who tweeted after meeting Prime Minister Khan: We are moving in the right direction and I hope to see continued progress in the days and months ahead, on peace in Afghanistan, counterterrorism, regional security, and trade,” Pompeo said in a tweet.

Trust deficit

Trust remains a challenge for both sides to overcome despite the new warmth in the relations. Mutual suspicions are blamed for the many complications in the bilateral relations. Also unpopular inside the Beltway is the billions of dollars Islamabad has received in aid.

Many in DC expected Khan to seek restoration of civilian and military aid to Pakistan. But he had a different message.

“I did not come here for restoration of aid. I came here for restoration of trust,” he told a questioner at a talk at the US Institute for Peace.

Army top brass presence

The presence in DC of Chief of the Army Staff General Qamar Javed Bajwa and ISI chief General Faiz Hameed was probably the icing on the cake for many Washington watchers who have always peddled a civil-military divide theory; Pakistani civilian leaders might promise big in DC but may fall short on delivery because of lack of support by the security establishment.

The high profile accorded to General Qamar Javed Bajwa by the US military reflected a mutual desire to enhance cooperation.

The US military’s new Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Mark Milley had already advocated for maintaining strong military-to-military relations in his testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee on July 11.

What next?

While Trump administration seems to have changed its view of Pakistan – considering it part of the Afghan solution rather than a problem – yet, a long fight lies ahead.

Analyst Arif Rafiq believes few in Washington’s policy establishment are very warm to building truly long-term relations with Pakistan. Reason; India is their bulldog for the Asia Pacific and South Asian region. But he hoped that Khan’s successful visit will have its “trickledown effect” on the American bureaucracy. But such change may have short-term effects – limited to transactional rewards for progress on Afghanistan and counter-terrorism.

A strategic realignment will be a huge challenge for the two sides in the long-term. India and Afghanistan — the two countries in the region which Pakistan considers biggest threats to its national security are America’s closest allies. Conversely, China, which the US considers the biggest threat to its national security, remains Pakistan’s closest friend and partner. An alignment will only be possible if the US helps a normalization of relations between the two countries and accepts and promotes greater regional connectivity for trade and commerce. President Trump’s body language and statements, including his offer of mediation on Kashmir, hold a lot of promise and genuine reasons of hope for Pakistan.

OF REFORMS AND RESISTANCE: TAXATION POLICY AND ITS PERCEPTION

Anti-documentation traders across Pakistan, observed a shutter-down strike on July 13, 2019, in protest against recent budget, which they term as predatory. They perceive these measures as not business-friendly and sponsored by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The day long shut-down gobbled up economic activity worth PKR 50 billion - according to traders' own rough approximations late that evening.

In parallel, the traders are also wary of the novel taxation measures - undertaken by the Federal Board of Revenue (FBR) - Pakistan's central tax authority. Traders primarily put forward two demands i.e. withdrawal of zero-rating facility for five export oriented sectors and the condition of any transaction exceeding PKR 50,000 to be done through Computerized National Identity Card (CNIC). The strikers also urged for simplification of tax system, withdrawal of additional taxes and stoppage of harassment of traders in the name of tax collection.

However, it is conceivable that a few groups with vested interests just want to circumvent the documentation process and continue to operate in the black economy. While continuing to enjoy spoon-feeding and pocket unjust profits in no-competition-environment via government's retreat on zero-rating facility.

FBR seems to be following a carrot and stick policy by giving the message that its doors are always open for dialogue, at the same time pronouncing that government will not be blackmailed by anyone. In the same spirit, FBR held numerous consultations with traders,

chambers and other relevant stakeholders and are still open to have more sittings in this regard. Pakistan's huge fiscal deficit is partially related to the fact that it has one of the lowest tax-to-GDP ratios in the world, at around 9% in 2018. Throughout its history, Pakistan has confronted the tax-collection imbroglio. Large-scale tax evasion by the affluent and tax mobilization strategies that rely on regressive taxation disproportionately affect the poor and salaried classes.

The biggest sectors of the national economy - large agri-business, real estate, banking and finance - all well represented in the established structure of power, are taxed far below their potential. On the other hand, the bulk of the tax burden is placed on ordinary working people through indirect taxes on fuel, electricity and everyday items, coupled with income taxes on salaried workers and import tariffs. Agriculture accounts for one fifth of GDP but yields only 1% of public revenue; services accounts for more than half of GDP but generates only a quarter in taxes.

Additionally, hundreds of billions in tax revenues are also lost through the issuance of SROs (Statutory Regulatory Ordinances) by tax authorities for tax concessions, waivers and exemptions to powerful industrial and financial interest groups.

In this backdrop, to attain any tangible economic success Pakistan needs to completely overhaul its taxation system on a progressive basis and integrate it with an economic plan for growth in domestic production. This can only



Saddam Hussein

The author Saddam Hussein is a Research Fellow/Program Officer at Center for Research and Security Studies (CRSS), Islamabad. He tweets @saddampide

FBR

happen through the convergence of political will and widespread backing for clamping-down powerful tax evading business interests. This requires a rigorous countrywide effort to document the economy and assets. Tax policy needs to be separated from administration in order to equip, empower and capacitate tax collection officials and systems. The authority for granting tax exemptions and waivers need to be returned to parliament and provincial assemblies, making tax administrators directly and democratically accountable to the people. Moreover, FBR needs to initiate some reforms which include the simplification of tax laws, filing system and appellate system. Tax codes also need to be simplified for a layman to understand and ensure one-window facility in its true essence.

Finding silver lining in the cloud, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf's (PTI) sitting government has already begun the tax reforms under the veteran FBR's Chairman - Shabbar Zaidi. Some of above-mentioned proposed reforms have been initiated and some still need the attention of those in power corridors. However, for the first time, it seems that there is a political will for change, along with the robust team to make it happen. The top brass includes Chairman FBR; Dr. Reza Baqir, Governor State Bank of Pakistan (SBP) and Dr. Abdul Hafeez Sheikh, Advisor to Prime Minister Imran Khan on Finance, Revenue and Economic Affairs.

Within this top tier, there seems to be a mutual understanding of the urgent need for reform and they seem to be working towards these goals with synergy. Chairman FBR's letter to Prime Minister Khan, soon after taking the reins of the revenue authority, stated that existing system won't work anymore. Zaidi termed the country's tax system lethal for the economy and not sustainable for the future generations.

In the existing conditions of economic crunch, the first thing to look for is short-term revenue goals. Unfortunately, it's primarily the poor and salaried class that has to bear the brunt in this phase. Although reforms to increase sustainable revenues have been initiated, it will take some time to witness the outcome of long-term goals.

A negative perception of revenue authorities seems to be a crucial factor in the operation of the tax machinery. Among the common people, not seeing any palpable improvements in quality of life over the last decades has led to a mistrust of the apparatus.

In order to restore this 'lost' trust, the current government can run public awareness campaigns operating at the grassroots. This campaign needs to be specifically targeted towards confidence building in the new political atmosphere.

The new approach seems to be a shift in emphasis from the 'hardware' to 'software'. Physical infrastructure was, for always, the axis of the development policy for all the previous governments in Pakistan. While the sitting government speaks about human development, environmentalism, devolution, government and bureaucratic reforms. On the implementation front, we will have to wait and see, as it takes minimum two years for policies to show some results.

In a crux, it is imperative to take urgent measures which can put in place a new social contract between citizens and the government. Of course, citizens must realize their responsibility towards paying taxes. Nevertheless, it remains the government's duty to make the tax compliance process less cumbersome so that it does not result in excessive transaction cost to the tax payer. The key lies in the smooth and consistent outcomes of the proposed measures while softening the economic brunt on common folk, as the reforms mature into progress.



ML-1-ANOTHER CPEC DIVIDENT



Yasir Arafat

Yasir Arafat is a Research Coordinator in the Executive Office of Centre of Excellence-CPEC since 2016. He is the winner of "All Pakistan Business Plan Competition-2015" and "Mobilink Discover – NUST Business Plan Competition-2014-15" on "Energy Auditing Services"

Transportation is one of the key ingredients which is used to enhance economic development and one of the main objectives of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)/ China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is to improve the transportation infrastructure in 68 countries of BRI including Pakistan. BRI/CPEC allocates 8.2 billion USD 8.2 billion for Pakistan Railways project, namely, "Up Gradation of ML-I Project of Pakistan Railways and Establishment of a Dry Port near Havelian" which indicates that railway is an important and strategic project in BRI/CPEC.

An operative railway system of the country reduces transportation cost, enhances rural and urban development and promotes commerce and trade. Pakistan railways is administrated by federal government under the supervision while railways' headquarter is in Lahore. Railway provides an important and cheapest mode of transportation throughout Pakistan. It reveals a vital role in carrying the remotest region of the country for the purpose of education, tourism and many other important services. However, since past few decades, inefficient policies, lack of attention, ineffective use of funds, insufficient technology, floods and mismanagement have resulted in huge budget deficit for Pakistan Railways that seriously had a question mark on its sustainability. Transport sector contributes to economic growth through low production cost by providing timely delivery of raw material, enhancing economies of scale and creates communication links. It enhances competitive advantage in production which ultimately promotes trade. It also encourages foreign investment and tourism. Nearly 6 percent of labor force is engaged in this sector. It also generates revenue for government through taxes and duties. Hence, railway is an indicator that shows level of infrastructure of the country.

Among the means of transportation sector, railway is the safest and economical mode. The first railway plan was projected back in 1858 during British Raj. Due to poor performance of Pakistan, railways road transport has taken an extra gain. However, safe and comfortable

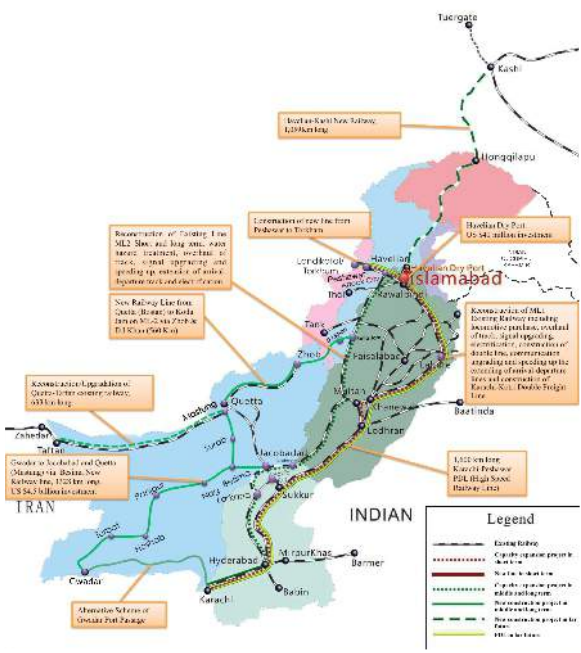
are two major advantages in the service aspect while low environmental impact, saving natural resources, saving space and economical are its social impact. Pakistan Railway was a dominant mode of transportation till 1965. During 1955-1960 Railway was at its peak handling 73 percent of goods transport compared to nearly 4 percent in 2015. During 1970s, Railway had the highest passenger share in transportation and it is declining massively since that.

A trend of high-speed trains has been introduced since the past few years. A country which has higher population requires high speed trains. Pakistan is one of the developing nations who decided to upgrade its trains in 2002. Pakistan imported new coaches from China and travel was shortened to hours from days. But still these trains are not sufficient to reduce the travel time within the country. The upgradation of current ML-1 railway track is one example where it takes 28 hours to travel through train from Karachi to Peshawar at an average sectional speed nearly 70km/hr. Through the upgradation of Railway track, the average speed can be raised to 120-160km/hr. Hence, it will reduce massive time cost.

The sentence should be "However, due to poor transportation policies i.e., investment on road instead of railway by consecutive governments and the upgradation of the railway traffic system not made on the required pace have resulted in heavy losses to Pakistan railways. Service delivery and capacity augmentation also suffered quite badly due to under-investment.

The main line one (ML-1) of Pakistan railways is a main corridor for North to South transportation. The infrastructure of ML-1 is below standard due to being in operation for a long time. The tracks at most of locations are in extremely bad condition. ML-1 covers nearly 1750 km from Karachi to Peshawar. It has 196 big and small railway stations. Federal Government has planned to upgrade ML1 under China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). It includes upgradation of bridges, tunnels, buildings, telecommunication systems, transportation systems, track maintenance system etc.

Similarly, this intervention is directly and indirectly addressing the five key Sustainable Development Goals of United Nations i.e. No Poverty (goal 1), Zero Hunger (goal 2), Decent Work and Economic Growth (goal 8), Industry Innovation and Infrastructure (goal 9) and Climate Action (goal 13) respectively through creating direct (14,400) and indirect jobs, improving transport infrastructure, pushing sustainable economic growth clubbed with lower carbon emissions.



WILD WINGS
sports, tapas & grill

WANT TO GO
WILD?



EAT.
CHEER.
REPEAT.

13-K F-7 MARKAZ
ISLAMABAD

(051) 8437318

 @WILDWINGSPAKISTAN

 @WILDWINGSPK

PAKISTAN'S POLITICAL HISTORY

1947

Muslim state of East and West Pakistan created out of partition of India at the end of British rule. Hundreds of thousands die in widespread communal violence, and millions are made homeless.



1948

Muhammed Ali Jinnah, founding leader of Pakistan, dies. First war with India over disputed territory of Kashmir.

Military rule

1951

Jinnah's successor Liaquat Ali Khan is assassinated.



1956

Constitution proclaims Pakistan an Islamic republic.

1958

Martial law declared and General Ayyub Khan takes over.



War and secession

1965

Second war with India over Kashmir.

1969

General Ayyub Khan resigns and General Yahya Khan takes over.

1970

Victory in East Pakistan election for breakaway Awami League, leading to rising tension with West Pakistan.

1971

East Pakistan attempts to secede, leading to civil war. India intervenes in support of East Pakistan, which eventually breaks away to become Bangladesh.



1972

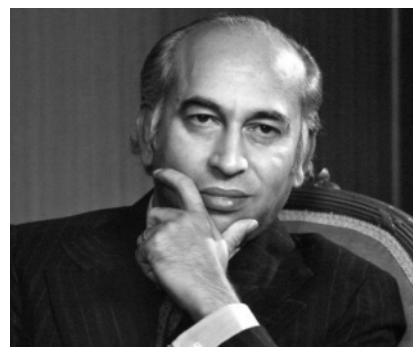
Simla peace agreement with India sets new frontline in Kashmir.

1973

Populist Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto becomes prime minister

1977

Riots erupt over allegations of vote-rigging by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP). General Zia ul-Haq launches military coup.



1978

General Zia becomes president, ushers in Islamic legal system.

1979

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto hanged amid international protests.

1980

US pledges military assistance to Pakistan following Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

1985

Martial law and political parties ban lifted.

1986

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's daughter Benazir returns from exile to lead PPP in campaign for fresh elections.



1988 August

General Zia, US ambassador, and top army brass die in air crash.

Bhutt comeback

1988 November

Benazir Bhutto's PPP wins general election.

1990

Benazir Bhutto dismissed as prime minister on charges of incompetence and corruption.

1991

Conservative Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif begins economic liberalisation programme. Islamic Sharia law formally incorporated into legal code.

1993

Prime Minister Sharif resigns under pressure from military. General election brings Benazir Bhutto back to power. Liberalisation programme. Islamic Sharia law formally incorporated into legal code.



Nuclear tests

1996

President Leghari dismisses Bhutto government amid corruption allegations.

1997

Nawaz Sharif returns as prime minister after Muslim League wins elections.

1998

Pakistan conducts its own nuclear tests after India explodes several nuclear devices.

1999 April

Benazir Bhutto and husband convicted of corruption and given jail sentences. Ms Bhutto stays out of the country.

1999 May

Kargil conflict: Pakistan-backed forces clash with the Indian military in the icy heights around Kargil in Indian-held Kashmir. More than 1,000 people are killed on both sides.



1999 October

General Pervez Musharraf seizes power in coup.

2000 April

Nawaz Sharif sentenced to life imprisonment on hijacking and terrorism charges over his actions to prevent the 1999 coup. Goes into exile in Saudi Arabia later in the year after being pardoned by military authorities.



2001 June

Gen Musharraf names himself president while remaining head of the army.

2001 September

President Musharraf backs the US in its fight against terrorism and supports attacks on the Taliban and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. US lifts some sanctions imposed after Pakistan's nuclear tests in 1998.

2002 April

President Musharraf wins another five years in office in a controversial referendum.

2003 November

Pakistan declares a Kashmir ceasefire; India follows suit.

2003 December

Pakistan and India agree to resume direct air links and to allow overflights of each other's planes from beginning of 2004, after a two-year ban.

2004 June

Pakistan mounts first military offensive against suspected al-Qaeda militants and their supporters in tribal areas near Afghan border. US begins using drone strikes to target al-Qaeda leaders in the area.



2005 August

Pakistan tests its first nuclear-capable cruise missile.

Kashmir quake

2005 October

Earthquake kills tens of thousands of people in Pakistani-administered Kashmir.



2007 February

Pakistan and India sign an agreement aimed at reducing the risk of accidental nuclear war.

Musharraf targets judiciary

2007 March

President Musharraf suspends Chief Justice Iftikhar Mohammed Chaudhry, triggering a wave of protests across the country.

2007 July

Security forces storm the jihadist-occupied Red Mosque complex in Islamabad following a week-long siege.

2007 October

Ex-prime minister Benazir Bhutto returns from exile. Dozens of people die in a suicide bomb targeting her homecoming parade in Karachi.

2007 October-November

Musharraf wins presidential election but is challenged by Supreme Court. He declares emergency rule, dismisses Chief Justice Chaudhry and appoints new Supreme Court, which confirms his re-election.



2007 November

Former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif returns from exile.

Bhutto killed

2007 December

Benazir Bhutto assassinated at political rally in Rawalpindi.

2008 February-March

Pakistan People's Party (PPP) nominee Yusuf Raza Gilani becomes PM at head of coalition with Nawaz Sharif's Muslim League party following parliamentary elections in February.

2008 August

President Musharraf resigns after the two main governing parties agree to launch impeachment proceedings against him. Nawaz Sharif pulls his PML-N out of the coalition, accusing the PPP of breaking its promise to reinstate all judges sacked by President Musharraf.

2008 September

MPs elect Pakistan People's Party's (PPP) Asif Ali Zardari the widower of assassinated former PM Benazir Bhutto president.



2008 December

India blames Mumbai attacks in November on Pakistani-based militants, and demands Pakistan take action. Islamabad denies involvement but promises to co-operate with the Indian investigation.

2009 March

After days of protests, government yields to demands for reinstatement of judges dismissed by former President Musharraf.

2009 August

The leader of Pakistan's Taliban, Baitullah Mehsud, is killed in US drone attack in South Waziristan. He is succeeded by Hakimullah Mehsud. Suicide bombing in northwestern city of Peshawar kills 120 people.

2010 April

Parliament approves package of wide-ranging constitutional reforms. Measures include transferring key powers from president to prime minister.

2010 August

Worst floods in 80 years kill at least 1,600 people and affect more than 20 million. Government response widely criticised.

2011 January

A campaign to reform Pakistan's blasphemy law leads to the killing of two prominent supporters, Punjab Governor Salman Taseer in January, and Minorities Minister Shahbaz Bhatti in March.



2011 May

The founder of al-Qaeda, Osama bin Laden, is killed by American special forces in Abbottabad.

2011 December

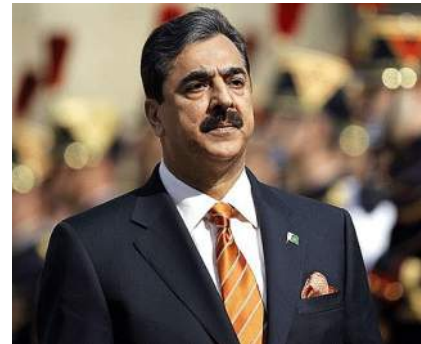
Government comes under pressure over a leaked memo alleging senior officials sought US aid against a military coup after the killing of Osama bin Laden in April.

2012 May

A US Senate panel cuts \$33m in aid to Pakistan over the jailing of Pakistani doctor Shakil Afridi who helped the CIA find Osama Bin Laden.

2012 June

Supreme Court disqualifies Prime Minister Gilani from holding office after he declines to appeal against a token sentence in President Zardari corruption row. Parliament approves Water and Power Minister Raja Pervez Ashraf as his successor.



2012 October

Taliban gunmen seriously injure 14-year-old campaigner for girls' rights Malala Yousafzai, whom they accused of "promoting secularism". The shooting sparked a brief upsurge of anger in Pakistan against the militants.



2013 June

Parliament approves Nawaz Sharif as prime minister after his Muslim League-N wins parliamentary elections in May.

2014 June

A deadly assault on Karachi's international airport leaves dozens dead. Uzbek militants fighting with the Pakistani Taliban say they carried out the attack. Peace talks with the Taliban collapse and the army launches a major offensive on Islamist hideouts in north-west Pakistan.

2014 October

Teenager Malala Yousafzai, who was shot in the head by the Taliban but survived to become a campaigner for girls' education, becomes the youngest person ever to win the Nobel Peace Prize.

Musharraf targets judiciary

Sunni extremist violence increases

2014 December

Taliban kills nearly 150 people - mostly children - in an attack on a school in Peshawar. Government responds to the massacre by lifting a moratorium on the death penalty and launching round-up of terror suspects, although critics complain major terror organisers are left alone.



2016 November

Gen Qamar Javed Bajwa is named as new army chief. The position is arguably the most powerful in the country.



2017 August

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is forced to resign after being disqualified by the Supreme Court over corruption charges. He is convicted and given a jail sentence.

2018 August

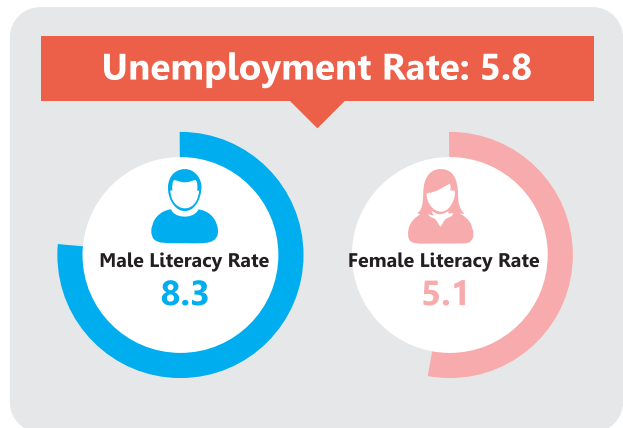
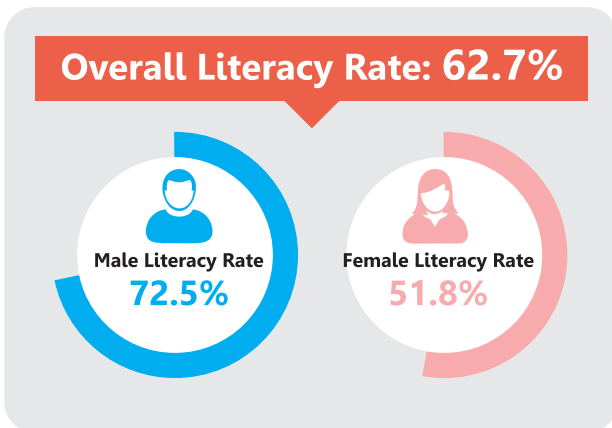
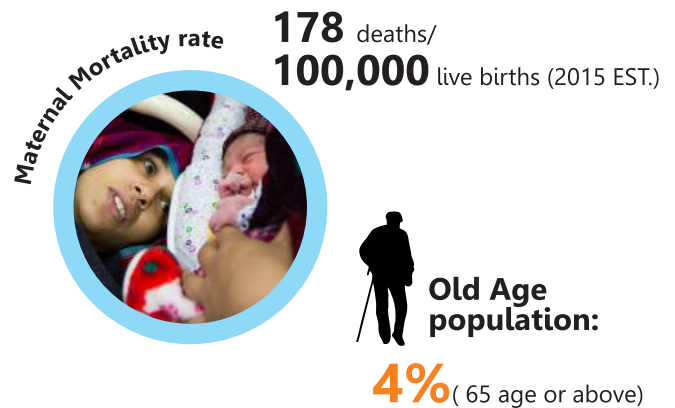
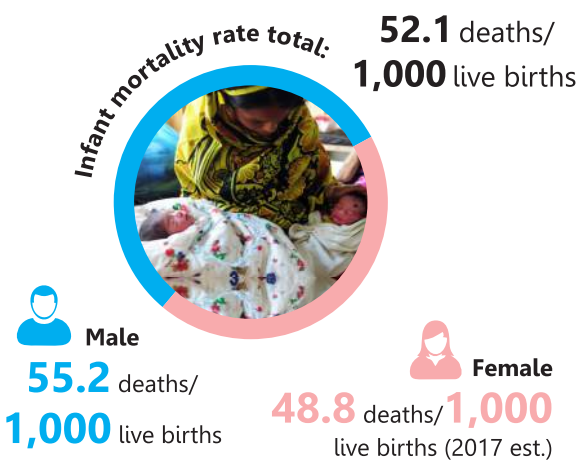
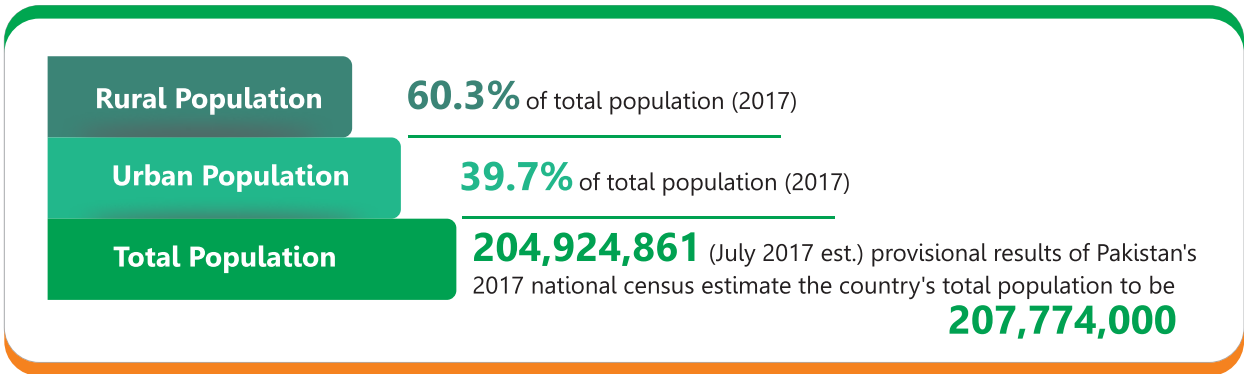
Former international cricket star Imran Khan becomes prime minister on a pledge to end corruption and dynastic politics, after his Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) becomes the largest party in the July general election.



2018 November

Asia Bibi, a Christian woman acquitted of blasphemy after eight years on death row, is freed from prison, prompting violent protests by Islamists.

FACTS YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT PAKISTAN



Global Competitiveness Index:

122 out of **138**

Ease of doing business Index:

136th place out of **188**

Infrastructure Ranking:

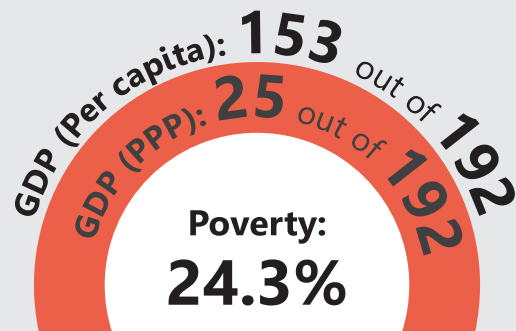
110th out of **146**

Efficiency of Train services:

52nd out of **137**

Women holding
Parliamentary seats: **21%**

Female Labor force
participation rate: **24%**



Sanitation facility
access:
63.5 % (overall)



Urban Sanitation
Facility:
83.1%



Rural Sanitation
Facility:
51.1%

Freelance Market:

4th out of **175**

Internet users:

10th out of **192**

Milk producing:

4th largest

Beef production:

9th largest

WE ARE INFINITELY POWERFUL!

Naeem Zamindar is a results-driven venture capitalist with over 27 years of experience in building and scaling successful businesses. He has also served as Chairman of the Pakistan Board of Investment (BOI). He is passionate about enabling an IT revolution as well as enlightening humanity by helping people achieve inner transformation. For this reason, he has become an influential thought leader and one of the most sought after speakers at events such as TEDx, GSMA World Congress, Stanford Business School, Harvard Kennedy School, Wilson Center, etc. In this episode, Saad Gul, Associate Editor Matrix Mag and Naeem Zamindar discuss topics like leadership, motivation, spirituality and life.

Matrix Mag (MM): For everyone who is reading, who is Naeem Zamindar?

Naeem Zamindar: That's a hard question. All of us are on this planet for a purpose and I feel that my purpose is to hopefully make this world a happier place - and in the process, find my own happiness and purpose.

What is purpose? Purpose is simply whatever lights your fire. I make sure I'm a person who lives on purpose. In the process, I've done multiple things. I've taken major risks in my life. I remember when used to be a venture capitalist in Silicon Valley and there was a huge downturn, I was feeling a lot of stress so I learned meditation and got really inspired by it. It helped changed my life so much that I gave up my life in Silicon Valley to come back to Pakistan to become a teacher. From driving a BMW to going in a bus - just because I felt it was my purpose. It was my calling that I wanted to give back in a bigger way.

Many years ago when I was a kid, I survived a bomb blast and I had carried the trauma with me for many years - which would get triggered. So when I learned meditation, I realized that we can let go of things.

Then, I ran a socially backed fund, which was also a great experience. Finally, when I got a chance to join the government, I met former Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi, who is a



good friend and we have a relationship of trust. When he became the PM, I sent him a congratulatory message so he called me over in the middle of the night and he offered me a job to become the Chairman of the Board of Investment - given that I fulfill three requirements: Cut my hair, do it pro bono and do it from tomorrow onwards.

Most people in these situations would say 'let me think about it'. But I jumped on it. I took a huge risk. It was great fun and we made a big difference. One of the things we worked on was ease of doing business. Pakistan's challenge is not that it's not a great investment opportunity. The real challenge is that investors find it hard to do business in Pakistan. So if a thousand people come to look at Pakistan as an investment opportunity, only maybe ten, twenty or thirty percent of them will actually ever invest here. That's why we wanted to focus on ease of doing business - not only for new investors but also existing investors. They need an environment which is conducive to business - that's how businesses will scale. We are a very dynamic nation with a lot of entrepreneurial energy but we have actually stifled it.

MM: What is leadership to you? And how can someone start cultivating some tools, tactics and strategies if they want to inspire others to do what

inspires them?

NZ: The first thing is to bring energy to whatever you do. Because if you don't bring energy, how will things move? To move things you need energy. Similarly, if you're a leader, you must bring energy to the place.

Secondly, you have to be able to bring people together. Old models of command and control are gone. It's a collaborative economy so that people can come together. Specially 'millennials' - they want purpose. In order to inspire them, you need to allow people to work together - create space for them.

Thirdly, you need to be able to help shape a practical vision. For example, in shaping a vision for Pakistan, Imran Khan, or any leader can try his best but he has to really feel the aspirations of people to be able to come up with a vision that actually moves things. This is where miracles happen.

Taking small steps starts building confidence of teams. For instance at Acumen, we did 100 day sprints. We asked ourselves, what can we accomplish in 100 days? Let's get some small successes and build upon them.

MM: You bring a high level of passion and intelligence to anything that you

do. Do you think passion is something that is found while we are working or does our passion find us?

NZ: Again, i'll relate it to purpose. Whatever lights you up, that becomes your passion. Nobody gives it to you. You've got to find out whatever lights you up. Whether it's writing or being a mountain climber - because that's where the energy comes from.

I came from an upper-middle class family, both my parents were professionals. They felt that if I succeeded in the professional world, I would be a 'success'. On my path, I became a teacher for a while and they were very unhappy. They're very good parents, I love them. It's just the whole society at large. I had a lot of pressure on me to go back and I really love teaching because that's where I get lit up the most.

But then I had to go back to work and I started becoming a teacher at work - working with people, teaching them, enabling them. I found a way to channel my energy into business because I'm a creative person and I want to create.

MM: To achieve the level of clarity that you have, how important is it to self-analyze and self-reflect?

NZ: You have to take out some time every day. Firstly, review what is going on in your life. Be quiet and just listen to your own inner self. I teach people how to quieten the mind. It's part of what I used to teach - self-realization, through being able to let go of the mind. The mind is very busy all the time. It's affected by the news, society, expectation of other people etc. But when you're in a quiet space, then you can really listen to your inner voice. And we need to be able to retrain ourselves to find time and space to be able to quieten our mind, look inside ourselves and find that strength and purpose within ourselves.

MM: How important is it to achieve harmony between our personal and professional lives?

NZ: Professional lives and personal lives are not separate. They are one and the same. Your work should be an expression of who you are. Purpose is given by ourselves. Changing our paradigms is the way forward.

MM: Being a conscious thought leader, you bring drive, positivity and infectious energy with you anywhere you go. How are you able to sustain this mindset, specially during dark and turbulent times?

NZ: I take out time every day to do my practices which allow me to quieten my mind. We are infinitely powerful - we just don't realize it. The day we start to realize the infinite potential that lies within all of us, anything is

possible. Challenges are there to make us stronger. Again, it's about changing the perspective - changing the paradigm. Everything that I see is difficult, I see it as an opportunity to find more strength within myself.

Sometimes when you enter a room, everyone is talking negatively and the energy is just off. It is your responsibility to lift it up. Once you take responsibility and commit to lifting up the energy - which is not a difficult thing - you can start playing your game at a different level. It's a matter of building perspective.

I am a venture capitalist and I have invested in entrepreneurs. The entrepreneurs that we invest in have the right mindset, not the most experience. Sometimes you take the younger guys. When Microsoft started, the founders were all young people with not much experience. They had an idea, they believed in it, they had energy and they weren't willing to take a no. They were willing to do whatever it took to make the impossible, possible.

MM: Having worked in the US, Europe and Asia, as a result-driven venture capitalist, who has built and scaled businesses for over twenty seven years, what have you learnt about life?

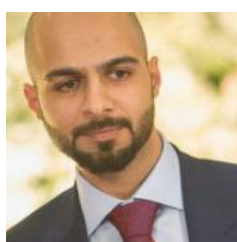
NZ: That life is a journey. You've got to enjoy every moment that you have - doing whatever you're doing. There's no destination and it's about giving your best. When I was younger, I thought one day i'll become a CEO and it'll be the best thing in the world. I became a CEO. It was great for the first week or so, then I realized it is not easy, it's a lot of responsibility. So I realized there's no destination. You just have to follow your heart, and give it your best and enjoy the process.

Secondly, it's about responsibility - one of the most important insights I've learnt from spirituality. In spirituality, there's a saying that you are responsible for everything. The more you grow as a human being, the more you evolve, the more responsibility you take on.

If you look at our Prophet (PBUH), he not only took responsibility not only for himself but the entire universe. The more responsibility you take, the more power you get.



TIME TRAVEL IS POSSIBLE



Saad Gul
Associate Editor
MATRIX MAG

Time travel has long been a portal into fantasy and fiction. Classic movies like *Back to the Future*, *Star Trek* and *Interstellar* make intergalactic life seem very normal – interplanetary travel in super-fast spaceships, cyborgs having integrated into humans’ lives and asteroids zooming past humans like cars on a busy highway.

Fiction is rapidly turning into reality. Exorbitant strides have been made in the past three decades in the world of science and today we can now see an actual picture of a black hole! A pretty impressive show by humans. Scientists have been exploring and developing time travel for a long time - trying to make it a success - but research and development in this area requires a lot of time and resources.

Time and space have been studied for thousands of years. Time, according to Albert Einstein’s theory of relativity, is relative and it is an illusion - it can be perceived differently by objects that are travelling at different speeds through space. He believed it is the ‘fourth dimension’.

Space, contrarily, is described as a three-dimensional arena, which provides a traveler with coordinates such as length, width and height, showing location. Time provides another coordinate, direction — although conventionally, it only moves forward.

Time travel into the future (or past) is possible by travelling at the speed of light in space, as first theorized by Einstein.

According to physics, gravity cannot change the flow of time but it can bend it. The impact time travel can have, for instance, on identical twins can be different. Travelling through space, in a spaceship at the speed of light, one twin would age much slower than his twin at home.



Astronauts that are sent on missions to the International Space Station or the moon, are technically racing ahead of time - for them time is moving slower than for people on Earth. This means that when the astronauts return home after three months, for instance, they are younger. To put all of this into perspective, a 15 year old who leaves earth in a spacecraft that travels at 99.5% of the speed of light (which is much faster than we can achieve now) and spends five birthdays in space, would return home to 65 years old age fellows.

The basic idea of time travel is to move back or forward in time. But the question remains whether or not it is possible to change events of the past if time machines are invented?

Throughout history, scientists have been working on inventing various models of time machines. According to Gaurav Khanna, a professor of physics at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth 'over the past few decades, well-known physicists like Kip Thorne and Stephen Hawking produced seminal work on models related to time machines.' But since time machines are still not real, are there other possibilities of travelling through time and space? Maybe if we can understand blackholes more fully.

On the edge of a black hole, according to Einstein, time would pass more slowly. Black holes are like gravitational sinks or loops, where no mass or particles or even electromagnetic radiation such as light - can escape from it.

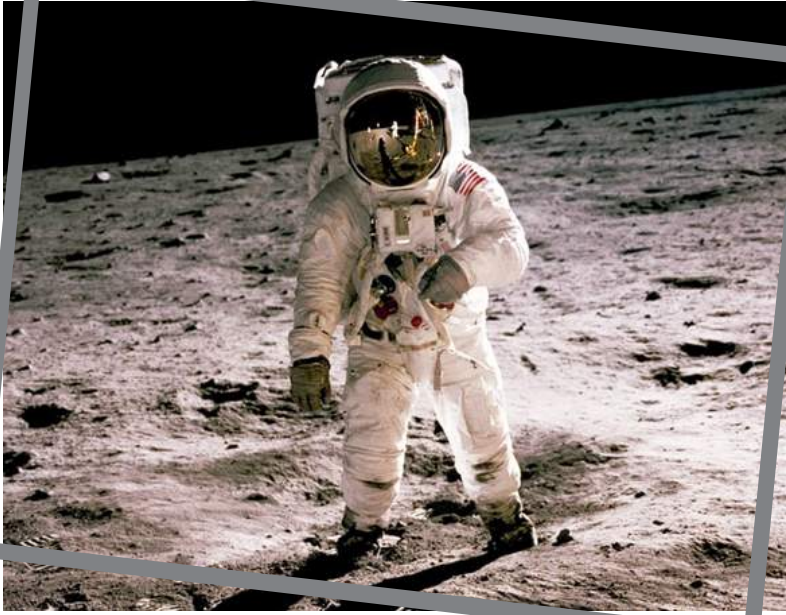
There are all kinds of space and time distortions near black holes because gravity can be very intense. So time would pass much slower near a blackhole. This begs the question, are there other such loopholes in our cosmos which can be exploited to make time travel possible? How deeply do we understand worm holes as a gateway into time travel?

NASA believes that wormholes can act as a bridge between two extremely distant points. A few years ago, scientists developed a model of a wormhole. The model created a portal for magnetic fields which would make teleportation possible. This important milestone towards creating a simplified wormhole that would allow us to send electromagnetic waves through an invisible tunnel is impressive. What can we expect in the future?

Stephen Hawking, the legendary theoretical physicist and cosmologist, was quite optimistic about time machines and time travel. Hawking recognized that the undiscovered laws of physics would, one day, unlock the future in a way that humans would be able to teleport to parallel universes where intelligent life exists.

Even though humans have just started to scratch the surface of space exploration, phenomenal successes have been experienced in the past five decades and solid foundations have been laid for the generations to come.

Pakistan's first astronaut to space?



The Federal Minister for Science and Technology Fawad Chaudhry has promised that "In 2022 we will send our first person to space." This will be the "biggest space event of our history."

In order to make Pakistan's space position better, the selection process to send Pakistan's first astronaut to space will begin in February 2020. Out of total 50 people will be shortlisted and then the list of potential astronauts will be further cut down to 25 individuals.

Since the country does not have its own satellite launching facility, a Chinese facility will be used as an agreement between Pakistan and China.

Man's quest for immortality!

The rise of super intelligence, the Utopians believe, is expression of human self-actualization. Humans will stay relevant and always flourish alongside machines. The rise of super intelligence, the Utopians believe, is expression of human self-actualization. As AI enabled technologies become more advanced, humans are eager to develop healthcare tech to help them live longer – or even become immortal. In a cosmos, where the earth is only a grain of sand on the beach, will humans ever be able to unlock all the mysteries of the universe? Or will we ever even leave our own backyard, the Milky Way Galaxy? Expressing love and a yearning to be loved is a superpower that robots will never have – rather it would be a gateway to establish new synergies of compassion and coexistence between the two species. Immediately framing some ethical boundaries, which are designed to foster love and compassion, is necessary to create a future where both machines and human beings can coexist and thrive.



Planting trees can reverse climate change!



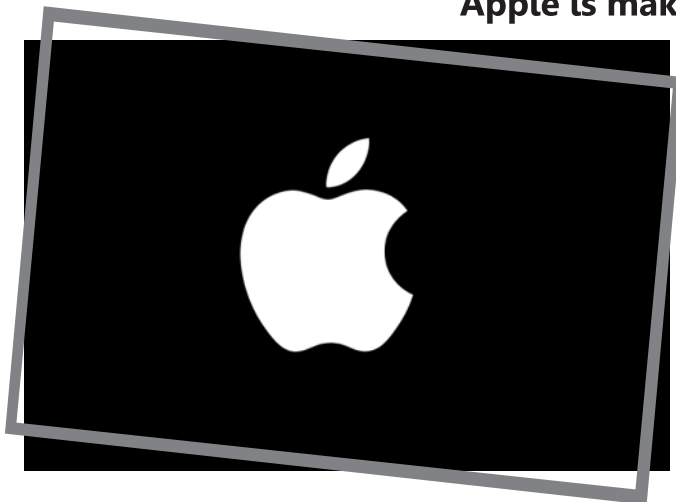
Climate change is impacting everyone. From fuelling stronger hurricanes and forest fires, drying up water resources, diminishing food security, accelerating global warming and displacing large populations. It is unfortunate how irresponsible humans have been in accelerating climate change. Since the problem has gone mainstream, we are seeing more and more solutions to reverse the damage that has been done to the environment already. In August 2017, Pakistan prematurely hit its target of planting one billion trees to combat the effects of climate change. In 2018, they decided to launch a new target – planting 10 billion trees in the next five years.

Electric planes soon to be commercialized

Within the next 15 years, the first electric aircraft is expected to be introduced in the commercial flight industry. Exciting times are ahead of us. This Slovenia-manufactured aircraft was launched in 2016 by Pipistrel. The world's first commercially produced ultra-light aircraft has an electric motor. The plane can fly for one hour carrying up to two passengers and can cover almost 160 kilometers on an hour's charge. The introduced electricity run jets are roughly estimated to cost \$4-6 as per the requirement of electricity. If the techniques to surmount the hurdles regarding batteries and their efficiencies are taken care of in the given time, the electric planes would come standard before 2040.



Apple is making a big expansion into Seattle



Apple plans to put 2,000 employees in two towers just blocks away from Amazon's HQ. Apple is significantly expanding its presence in Seattle, announcing plans to open a 650,000-square-foot office in the city this year, and expanding its headcount in the city to 2,000 employees over the next five years. Two hundred of those employees will be added by the end of the year. In December 2018, Apple announced that it would be building a \$1 billion campus in Austin, Texas with room for 15,000 staff. In the same press release, the company focused on Seattle, pledging to build a new site and reach 1,000 total employees in the city before 2022.

HOW WILL CLIMATE CHANGE IMPACT THE WAY WE EAT?

Matrix Report



Do you think that the future holds a better or worse standard of nutrition due to alterations in climate?

Food is one of society's key sensitivities to climate. The total world population is expected to grow to nearly 10 billion by 2050. With 3.4 billion additional mouths to sustain, and the developing desire of the working class for meat and dairy in emerging nations, worldwide interest for sustenance could increment by somewhere in the range of 59 and 98 percent.

This implies that agribusiness around the globe needs to undergo innovation in food production methods in order to see incremental yields. Scientists state that the impacts of higher temperatures, extreme weather, drought, increasing levels of carbon dioxide and rising sea levels threatens to diminish the quantity of food produced as well as jeopardize the quality of our food supplies.

While modern farming technologies and advances in cultivating techniques have decreased vulnerabilities and increased production, the effect of the latest droughts in the USA, China and Russia impacted worldwide cereal production.

According to an ongoing investigation, worldwide vegetable and legume production yields could fall by 35 percent if greenhouse gas emissions keep proceeding at this rate. Moreover, by 2100, water scarcity would have increased salinity and accelerated ozone thinning.

But climate change will not only affect crops, it will also impact meat production, fisheries and other fundamental aspects of our food supply.

Amongst the looming vulnerabilities are the world's fisheries, which are already stressed by overexploitation and pollution. Warming surface waters in the oceans, rivers and lakes, as well as rising sea levels and melting ice will adversely affect many fish species.

Eighty percent of the world's yields are rain fed and thus most farmers rely upon the predictable weather patterns in order to deliver their harvests. However, climate change is altering rainfall patterns around the world.

Flooding, resulting from the growing intensity of tropical storms and rising sea levels, can drown and suffocate crops.



Since floodwaters can transport sewage, manure or pollutants from roads, ranches and gardens, more pathogens and poisons could find their way into the food we eat.

Furthermore, warmer weather will lead to faster evaporation, resulting in more droughts and less water available for irrigation. Climate change will not only affect food production and the way people consume food, but as optimal growing conditions shift, communities that depend on fishing or farming for their livelihoods will also be disrupted.

According to Peter de Menocal, Dean of Science at Columbia University and director of the Center for Climate and Life—“Food security is going to be one of the most pressing climate related issues, mainly because most of the world is relatively poor and food is going to become increasingly scarce and expensive”.

Global warming may profit certain crops, such as potatoes in Northern Europe and rice in West Africa, and empower some farmers to develop new harvests

that just flourish in hotter areas.

Environmental change could make it outlandish for farmers to raise their customary crops – perfect growing conditions may shift to higher altitudes, where the terrain or soil may not be as fertile – shrinking the land area as well as profits in the agribusiness.

Columbia’s International Research Institute for Climate and Society is leading a project called Adapting Agriculture to Climate Today, for Tomorrow, or ACToday. Part of Columbia World Projects, ACToday will help to maximize food production and reduce crop losses by more precisely predicting and managing flood and drought risks, improving financial practices, and when a food crisis unfolds, identifying the need for relief efforts.

At the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research in Germany, they are building quantitative economic models to examine vulnerabilities in the food system under different scenarios; they will use the tool to explore how altering certain policies might reduce the vulnerabilities of the food system to disruptions.



Soch Band fuses two very brilliant artists, Adnan Dhool and Rabi Ahmed. The dynamic duo is eminent for their enthralling music, production and compositions. While Adnan flares the magic on the mic, Rabi electrifies the environment with his talents on the guitar. They are making a tremendous contribution in the industry by their spectacular spadework. Both run a production house; also render songs and music for serial OSTs and jingles for corporate world. They too made their Bollywood debut with the famous song 'Awari' and also had rocked the grounds of Nescafe Basement twice.

Matriz Mag (MM): How would you introduce the kind of music you play?

Soch: Our music is a fusion of Sufi and Rock.

MM: Who or what has been your inspiration?

Soch: Pakistan's traditional music has always been our inspiration. From Abida Parveen to Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, Rahat Fateh Ali have been inspiring us. From west we have been following Tommy Emmanuel and John Mayer.



MM: Where do you see yourself in the next five years?

Soch: We don't believe in too much planning. We believe in letting the future unfold itself. We just try to put our best in the music we make.

MM: Do you both have any plans on working in a movie?

Soch: Yes, but as music directors not as actors.

MM: How does it feel to be a famous band?

Soch: It feels great when your work is acknowledged; nothing can be more motivational than our fans telling us how much they love us and our work.

MM: How was your experience working with Nescafe Basement?

Soch: The experience was full of learning since our very own mentor is at the lead and we both feel extremely comfortable with Zulfiqar Jabbar Khan, as he exactly knows what and how to haul our talent.

MM: What do you think Pakistan has given you so far?

Soch: Pakistan is our home, whatever we are today is because of

the love this country has given us and what could be more respectful than performing abroad as a Pakistani band considering that our (Pakistani) Music is know all over the world.

MM: What are your plans for the Independence Day? How do you celebrate it?

Soch: We always celebrate Independence day by hoisting the flag early morning, and try to relax; a family dinner works the best.

MM: What is your idea of patriotism?

Soch: The first and foremost thing is to keep our country clean. We must abide by the law, and most importantly not leaving your land and not to forget your roots even in the toughest times.

MM: What is in your project pipeline next?

Soch: Wait and watch!

MM: One message you would like to give to your fans?

Soch: Thank you for making us who we are today.



GROW OLD ALONG WITH ME

John Lennon and Mary Chapain Carpenter have borrowed heavily from Robert Browning's timeless poem on love. Making this prayer of love an eternal favorite among lovers; an anthem of love, giving them hope and solace for the trying times ahead. Love - the very word evokes images of youth, freshness and vivacity. Yet, 'Grow old along with me', is a more mature take on the feeling. It is like looking beyond, 'two branches of a tree facing the setting sun'.



Aliya Naseer
Farooq

Content Editor

The hills, the setting sun and the two of you together till the blonde or brunette head of hair turns ash grey and the fair brow is lined, the supple cheeks are sallow and the bright eyes are not so bright, anymore.

Puppy love, young love, love at first sight: the common denominator here is love - but there is nothing common about it. Love is God's miracle. Love is what makes the world go round. Take away love and the world might veer off its axis and go crashing into another planet or something. Love keeps it in place. Love keeps us in place. Love gives us roots and plants us in the heart of the beloved from whence to grow and prosper. Our branches reaching high into the sky, the flowers and fruits adorning the home and giving shade to the tired homecomers. We all (almost/mostly) fall in love at some point in our lives. The intensity and angle being as varied and diverse as God's plenty! Some fall deep, some head over heels while others fall sick - love sick. The variety is endless. Romeo - crowned by some as the prince of romance - the pining poetic lover wandering aimlessly in the woods all night; crying and moping. In another's

opinion, he is a hormone crazed, 'short-sighted twirp' who kills himself four days after meeting his lady love. Standing beneath the balcony, he gazes up at Juliet, 'But, soft! What light through yonder window breaks...?' and goes on to scale the heavens and stars to compare her beauty to celestial objects; the sun, the moon and the stars.

Love makes fools out of sane men, they say. In Romeo's case, no effort was needed in that area!

Being a perennial student of literature, I have had the privilege of studying the lives and loves of poets, writers and other creative geniuses. To my shock and surprise, I found out that those who string words in verses like roses in a garland - in real life they are such bozos...for want of a stronger word! Take Percy Bysshe Shelley, for one,

**'I have drunken deep of joy,
And I will taste no other wine tonight...'**

&

**A poet is a nightingale who sits in the
darkness, and sings to cheer its own solitude
with sweet sound...'**

Like Mary Wollstonecraft, who would not get besotted with a young man who writes like this? Only to learn the extent of moral depravity, complete disregard for any emotions except his own.

In her book, 'The Mad, the Bad and the Dangerous', Catherine M. Adronik highlights 'the scandalous lives', 'the drugs, delusions and debauchery' of the worlds' favorite Romantics.

Poets fill our heads with crazy ideas and make our hearts leap with the wizardry of their words. Youth is their focus and the young follow like mice do the pied piper.

Movies and stars are the new age poets, they lead and the young follow. It has always been and always will be. The young will leap before they look, fall head over heels in love, act in haste and repent at leisure. That is the fascinating passion and pathos of young love.

**Browning's words are more ripe -
'Grow old along with me!'**

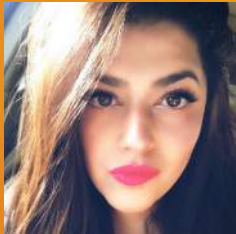
**The best is yet to be, the last of life, for which
the first was made. Our times are in his
hand...'**

When you do grow old with the love of your life, take it as a privilege, a gift and a blessing. I am not going to tell you golden lies about coming of age. It is not very pretty! I must add that by the time you are halfway through life's journey, your head kind of becomes more firmly placed on your shoulders and your eyes wander less. You learn to look beyond the surface. See the unseen and hear the unsaid. Wild love songs and bouquets of red roses make your heart beat faster in the youth - love shifts and changes form over the years. Through the ups and downs you learn to love the idiosyncrasies of your beloved. When my husband goes to three shops looking for my favorite detergent, it seems that my laundry smells of a hundred roses. There are fewer bouquets now but lots more love.

*Grow old along with me
The best is yet to be
When our time has come
We will be as one
God bless our love*



THE LION KING RETURNS



Mawara Tahir
Content Writer

The Lion King, Disney's latest effort in its quest to remake many of its animated classics. It just became the biggest July opener of all-time and weekend's top 10 represented one of the best July weekends in box office history. Oscar-winning blockbuster, it is the second-highest grossing feature film of its calendar year. It has spellbound its fans worldwide with its magic, taking them on the enchanted journey of childhood and nostalgia.

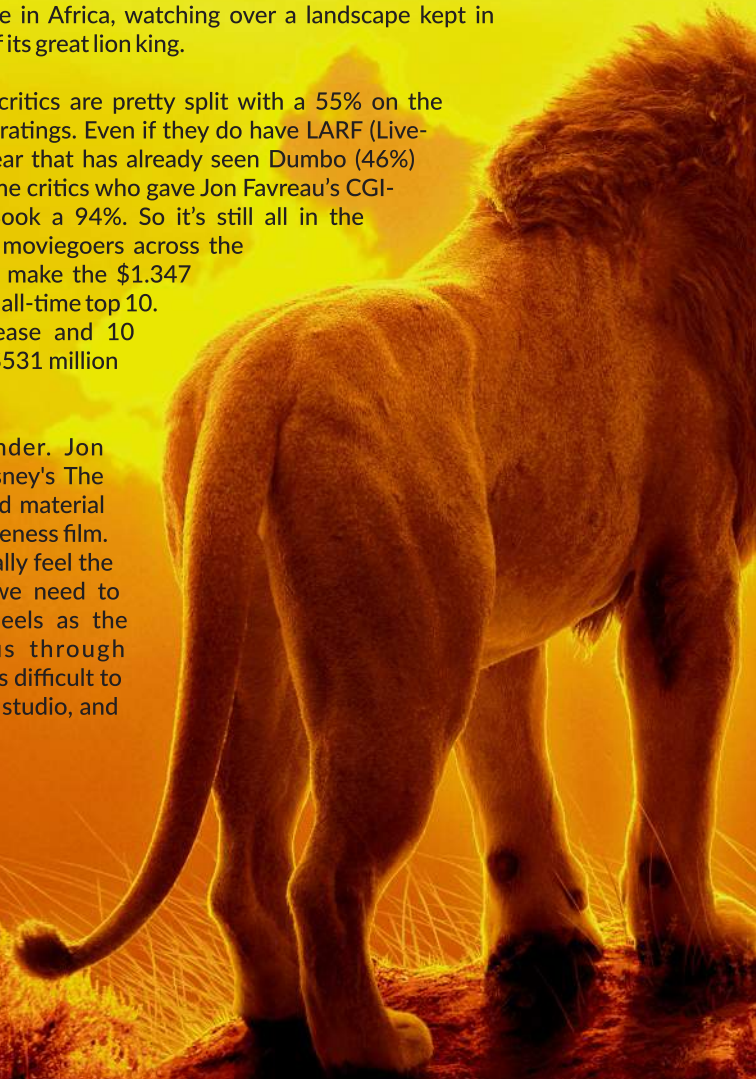
The battle for Pride Rock has been ravaged with betrayal, tragedy and ultimate drama. Cinemas' has experienced a great number of adults as well as children to retrospect and to relive their childhood memories.


The Lion King is a photorealistic computer-animated remake of Disney's traditionally animated 1994 film. An American musical drama from the makers of The Jungle Book directed and produced by Jon Favreau, with a screenplay written by Jeff Nathanson, and produced by Walt Disney Pictures. The film stars the voices of Donald Glover, Seth Rogen, Chiwetel Ejiofor, Alfre Woodard, Billy Eichner, John Kani, John Oliver and Beyoncé Knowles, as well as James Earl Jones reprising his original role as Mufasa.

It's trailers and teasers had already received mixed reviews, with praise for its visual effects, score and vocal performances, re-imagining, vibrant and dramatic scenes depicting life like characters and way more brimful of emotions, every hair and whisker is in the place, with every footprint raises a puff of dust. Pride Rock is depicted as a real place somewhere in Africa, watching over a landscape kept in careful balance by the stewardship of its great lion king.

Audiences appear to love it while critics are pretty split with a 55% on the Tomato meter at 'Rotten Tomatoes' ratings. Even if they do have LARF (Live-Action-Reimagining-Fatigue) in a year that has already seen Dumbo (46%) and Aladdin (56%), these are the same critics who gave Jon Favreau's CGI-enhanced remake of The Jungle Book a 94%. So it's still all in the execution. But it will be left up to moviegoers across the world to determine whether it can make the \$1.347 billion necessary to earn a spot in the all-time top 10. After three days of domestic release and 10 globally, The Lion King has grossed \$531 million so far, the 7th best total of 2019.

Technically speaking, it's a wonder. Jon Favreau's "live activity" redo of Disney's The Lion King has all the vivid detail and material promptness of a surprisingly amicableness film. It transports us where we can basically feel the softness of these creatures, and we need to dodge away from their roaring heels as the camera energetically surges us through trembling grass and rocky gorges. It's difficult to envision this has all been made in a studio, and that practically none of it is real.



A lion and a lion cub are shown in profile against a vibrant sunset sky. The lion is on the left, looking towards the right, and the cub is on the right, looking towards the left. The background is a warm, golden-orange glow with soft clouds.

Favreau's film was always going to face an uphill struggle of living up to the legacy of the original *Lion King*, considered by many to be the best Disney animated film ever made. Directed by Roger Allers and Rob Minkoff, the 1994 version of *The Lion King* won two Oscars and two Golden Globes, and came close to grossing a billion dollars worldwide. The remake features new versions of classic songs like "Hakuna Matata" and "Can You Feel the Love Tonight?" - but these critics weren't feeling the love. Critics have been less than welcoming to the return of "The Lion King" 25 years after the original's release.

While it is received criticism for being derivative of the original also the critics added that the sequel is indeed beautiful but it lacks magic. Where the critics adored the anthropomorphic singing cartoons of the original; they felt the nature documentary look drove a wedge between viewers and the beloved characters. Some critics praised the fidelity to the original, while others bemoaned the lack of originality.

"At no point in Jon Favreau's *The Lion King* does it seem like it was a good idea to remake Disney's 1994 African wilderness parable, apart from the financial windfall it is sure to accrue" - Peter Howell (Top Critic)

"Where the animated original had an endearingly cheery anthropomorphism, with wide eyes and cute expressions, this lacks that. You're marveling at the beauty of the animals, but it just doesn't work with the material"- Claudia Puig

"Joyless, artless, and maybe soulless, it transforms one of the most striking titles from the Mouse House vault into a very expensive, star-studded Disney Nature film. It's as if every creative decision was subordinate to the film's misguided insistence on realism, on keeping the mannerisms and movements of these magically intelligent creatures "believable." - AV Club's A.A. Dowd

However, people around the world are completely mesmerized about the remake also they're having nostalgic spasms by listening to the melodious songs as well as watching the evocative scenes of the movie, which made them reminisce and will surely last their minds for a long time. The magic of the songs like "The Gift", the unbridled expressionism of "Hakuna Matata" and the hyper-realistic animals have filled the cinema screens with charm and glory.

Numerous film industry experts said at the Cinema Con in Las Vegas this week, that the biggest blockbuster of 2019 probably won't be "Avengers: Endgame" or "Star Wars: Episode IX," but it'll be "The Lion King."

"If a movie could be judged solely on technique, 'The Lion King' might qualify as a great one," A.O. Scott of the New York Times said.

It's all beautifully crafted and carefully conceived, without ever entirely justifying its existence. A few new songs has increased the splendor and chances of an Oscar, yet mean it sometimes drags before the lost prince returns to reclaim his throne. So, feel the love once more and stay tuned to relish the flavor of nonage.

HEALTHY LIVING

Dr. Nosheen Abbas is a renowned nutritionist running her private medicinal services as Nutradvice in Islamabad. She has done MBBS, MSPH, and SNHS Dip. (Holistic Nutrition) UK and has 12 years of experience. Dr. Nosheen has a very concerned approach towards the problems and nourishing needs of her clients while upgrading their own well-being.

Matrix Mag (MM): What would you suggest for healthy mornings?

Nosheen Abbas (NA): For healthy mornings, one should first drink at least two to three glasses of plain water right after you wake up and then if you intend to detoxify or loose weight take your detox fluids. I generally suggest two kinds of detox, first is apple cider vinegar- one tablespoon in one glass of lukewarm water, 15 to 20 minutes before your breakfast. Secondly, you can have one lemon in lukewarm water. If you want to add honey, you can add it. But always remember that not to add honey in very hot water because the properties of honey.

MM: What are the common health problems that your clients often complain about?

NA: The major complaint these days from my patients is obesity. It is the biggest problem because of the lifestyle we have now. Lacks physical and healthy activities and inclination towards gadgets and electronic toys is causing early young age diabetes. People who are between 18 to 20 years of age. And have diabetes are pre-diabetic. It is because of overweight, consumption of processed food and inactivity. Also, within this two years of practice, I have seen a lot of patients being under-weight.

MM: What according to you is a recipe of a balanced and healthy diet?

NA: It's basically a lifestyle change. If you are determined to follow a healthy lifestyle then you are certainly deciding to be healthy and maintained. Moreover, if you are unable to follow any specific diet plan, do portion control. In our field there is a concept known as "my plate". So in my plate, we have should have 20% of carbs and 30% of proteins. What are carbs? Carbs are rice, bread, chapati, and proteins are found in meat, chicken, fish,



mutton, beef, lentils and pulses. And then a major portion of your plate should be salads or vegetables. Also there should be a small portion of dairy and a fruit in my plate. Trust me, portion control really helps maintain, gain or loose weight.

MM: How important are micro-nutrients? What is the best ways of consuming them?

NA: People these days are more frequently using medicines off the counter like multi-vitamins and supplements. They think that by taking these supplements, they are fulfilling the body's need but the micronutrients which are present in the food, fruits and vegetables are the best for health. In case if you have a severe deficiency of any of the micro-nutrients like minerals, vitamins etc. only then I would suggest to take supplements. Otherwise, my first line of intervention is always through diet and different foods. If you are deficient in iron, you can have iron rich vegetables like spinach, broccoli and vice versa.

MM: Why do people think that only obese people need to exercise?

NA: Well, there's unfortunately a big misconception. The patients who come to me for weight loss, I always recommend them a half an hour walk every day. First thing, what happens when you work out? It improves the circulation of blood, your brain starts working

actively and oxygenation improves. It also helps you maintain good skin. Secondly, by walking or exercising, you release hormones, which are known as endorphins. In a layman term, you can call them happy hormones. When people go through depression or are stressed they are recommended to either go for a walk or workout. The endorphins, they really help you elevate your mood and motivate and help you. So exercise and physical activities is really important in any form. Also do not start following random exercises because you don't know the exact positions, you can end up injuring your knee, ankle or elbow joint etc. So, a little guidance would be helpful.

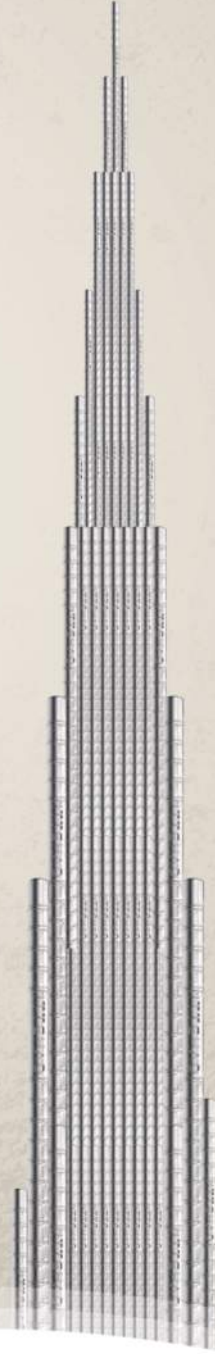
MM: Any special tips or advice you'd like to give to the people?

NA: First always remember, you are what you eat. If you eat healthy, you will look healthy and you will feel healthy. Secondly, do not jump onto random medicines till you have been diagnosed with any of the major diseases or deficiency. The first line of treatment other than in severe cases, try like diabetes or hypertension or thyroid, issues is your diet. Try to bring some changes in your diet plan and try to observe yourself, keep yourself hydrated and believe in eating fresh food rather than processed food.

Interview by: Mawara Tahir



EXCEPTIONAL
STRENGTH
UNRIVALLED
QUALITY



GRADE 40 & GRADE 60 STEEL BARS

ISLAMABAD - FAISALABAD

UAN: 111-500-300



417, off 9th Avenue, Sector I-9/3
Islamabad, Pakistan

M-3 Industrial City, Faisalabad,
Pakistan



info@ittehad.com.pk



www.ittehad.com.pk



UAN: 111-500-300

Ph: 443 5500, 5600, 5700



MURREE BREWERY

Pakistani Bun Kay Jiyo PAKISTANI PIYO!



Available in
750ml & 330ml
Glass Bottles



PAKISTAN'S NO. 1 BOTTLED WATER

FOR 19LTR HOME DELIVERY IN RAWALPINDI &
ISLAMABAD (051) 111-389-389



UKRS is a member of Register of Standards (Peshawar) Ltd.



www.murreebrewery.com



www.facebook.com/murreebrewerycompany