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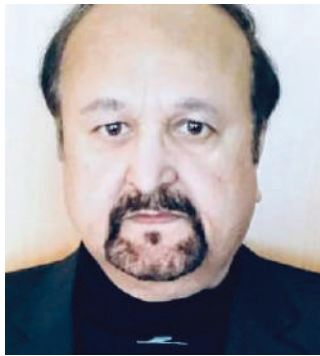
# Z I N G M A A R

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# Editorial



**Dr. Busharat Elahi Jamil**

The contemporary religious extremism in Pakistan is a result of fabricated religious practices and extra ordinary religious biasedness. In the recent scenario so-called democratic regimes are somehow responsible of the horrifying radicalization. Unfortunately the democracy in Pakistan is tainted; which is given by the authoritarian regimes of the past.

Islamist and political stratus have mutual socio-political interests. Religious assemblages are power seekers and the political classes are using the street power of the Mullahs. They are not willing to offer prayers behind each other but in political gains they are together and have no apprehensions. In simple meanings they are compromising over the religious ethos to live in mainstream.

Tragically, in Pakistan religious extremism is state supported. Pakistan's flag and particularly the Constitution are responsible for the social bifurcation. Flag and constitution are dividing the nation into majority and minority. People are not Pakistani they are Muslims and non-Muslims. According to the Constitution of 1973 no non-Muslim can become the Head of the State or Head of the Govt. in Pakistan, while since 1947 not a single Pakistani non-Muslim is found guilty ever in any anti-state activities.

4 Since 1950s political and religious nobilities are using Islam for own purposes and protecting each other's wellbeing. The anti-Pakistan forces like JUI, JI, Ithars etc. are now pro-Pakistan. The false interpretation and under-

standing of religious believes by the illiterate clerics benefiting the uncertainty and insecurity which is enough to weaken the integration and unity in the country.

The misuse of the Blasphemy laws particularly against the opponents is a common practise. By using the pledge of these laws the Muslims are killings each other's, non-Muslim and other tiny communities in the Country. In the misuse of these laws radicalized classes and law enforcement authorities are equally responsible. Still state is completely failed to contain the ill use of blasphemy laws.

According to the Centre for Social Justice (CSJ), under the sections 295-B and 298-C (blasphemy laws) more than 1850 people are accused and only in 2020 this number was around 200 in them Muslims were around 150. The other affected communities are Ahmadis, Christians and Hindus.

In Pakistan ignorant people usually consider blasphemy laws a shelter to implement their own interpretation of Islamic laws. In this radicalise version of Islam they take laws in their hands. This is the responsibility of religious clerics and political elite to provide a soft platform to the common people for the true interpretation of the Islamic teachings because Islamic actually is a religion of peace, equality and brotherhood. Unity and peace in contemporary Pakistan is the need of the time.



# PM Imran Inaugurates Karachi's Much-awaited Green Line Bus Service

*Prime Minister Imran Khan on Friday formally inaugurated the Green Line Bus Rapid Transit project in Karachi, with the city's residents seeing a ray of hope for their notorious public transport woes.*

The premier, who arrived in Karachi earlier in the day, was accompanied at the ceremony by senior officials, including Sindh Governor Imran Ismail and federal Planning Minister Asad Umar. Prime Minister Imran also visited a bus station, where he inspected the infrastructure and also received a briefing on how the ticketing system works. Addressing the inauguration ceremony, the premier congratulated Umar and the Sindh Infrastructure Development Company Limited (SIDCL) "for pursuing this project with utter determination". "No modern city can function without modern transport," he said, citing the example of hugely populated Chinese cities with effective public transport facilities. Terming Karachi "Pakistan's engine of growth", he said the metropolis' prosperity had a positive effect on the entire country. "Making Karachi functional and successful means we are helping Pakistan," he remarked, calling the Green Line transport system the first step towards building a modern city. Prime Minister Imran regretted that Karachi's transport issues were never paid heed to. "I have been seeing Karachi for 50 years. We have seen its transformation into a cave because we did not focus on its administration," he said. Quoting the example of the Iranian capital, he said even though the country was under US sanctions, Tehran had modern facilities because of its efficient management. "Tehran collects \$500 million [in revenue] and spends it through planning. In comparison, Karachi doesn't even collect \$30m," he noted, stressing the need to give Karachi autonomy for the local government system to succeed. The premier said he was also pursuing the Greater Karachi Water Supply Scheme project, also called K-IV,



through coordination with Wapda. The project will be approved by next month following which its groundbreaking will be performed, and it will be completed in 14-15 months.

"By Aug-Sept 2023, we will be supplying water to Karachi from Keenjhar lake," he said. Detailing other public welfare projects that the government is focusing on, the prime minister said the health card scheme was successfully being rolled out in PTI-ruled provinces. "I want to tell the Sindh government that provinces are contributing in it and they must also play their part," he added.

He also called upon the provincial government to reconsider its opposition to the federal government's plan to develop islands near Karachi into real-estate projects. "Our population is growing. We are building a modern city named Ravi City in Lahore and taking care of the environment there," Imran said. "Pollution levels are also high in Karachi and it is necessary to have a modern city like the Bundal Island project. When we undertake projects, it is better if we do it collectively with coordination."

**'We don't just make promises, we deliver' Earlier,**

Planning Minister Umar thanked the SIDCL and parliamentarians from Karachi for their



6 efforts for the project. He said the Sindh governor was "supervising" the project since the PTI came to power. In Dec 2020, he said, the SIDCL became a part of the planning ministry and the government started working on the project. The minister recalled that the project had been approved in 2016, and while the PML-N stayed in power for the next 28 months, the project's infrastructure was not built. "The order for the buses was also not placed and neither was the payment system designed; the operation and maintenance tender was also not placed," he said, adding that the PML-N only thought about building a track surrounded by grills "with no other facilities available". "Karachi's rights were not given to the city in the last three of their (PML-N and PPP's) governments," Umar remarked. Lashing out at the PPP, Umar said the party merely used the name of Sindh, while the PTI-led government actually worked for the province. Calling Bilawal Bhutto-Zardari an "innocent child", the minister said the PPP chairman had asked for "time" to work for Sindh. "Dear child, 50 years ago your grandfather was made the chief martial law administrator of the president of Pakistan. How much more time do you need?" He said the party had formed government in the province six times and four times in the Centre, but still had nothing to show for it. Commenting on the Karachi Transformation Plan announced by the prime minister last year, he said the scheme included five major projects, one of which — the Green Line project — was being inaugurated today. "Commercial operations will begin on December 25 and total operations will start by January 10," he announced. He said that the second project concerned the construction of stormwater drains in the city, adding that work on the Mehmoodabad nullah had been completed and it would be inaugurated in 10 days. The minister further said 50 per cent of the work on the Gujjar and Orangi nullahs had been completed. Umar said the federal government

had also taken responsibility for the K-IV water supply project after it was abandoned, adding that the PC-1 for the project had been submitted to the planning ministry and work would begin within two months. According to the minister, the Frontier Works Organisation had been mobilised for the Karachi Circular Railway (KCR) project and work had begun on the ground. "Not only local, but international companies are also showing interest in the project," he revealed. He remarked that the PTI government was making solid progress on all the projects announced under the transformation programme. "We don't just make promises, we deliver."

### **Green Line project**

Work on the Rs16.85 billion federal government-funded bus project had begun after then-prime minister Nawaz Sharif inaugurated it in February 2016 by performing the groundbreaking. Later, the project was extended by another 10 kilometres as initially sought by the Sindh government and the estimated cost crossed the figure of Rs24bn. The project was estimated to be completed by the end of 2017, but kept getting new deadlines. Since the launch of the scheme, the battered roads on either side of the route have turned into a great source of nuisance for commuters and for the shopkeepers doing their businesses. The second and final consignment of 40 buses for the Green Line project arrived in the city on Oct 21, raising the number of buses to 80 and rekindling citizens' hope that the Bus Rapid Transit System (BRTS) in the metropolis was set to be launched. It is supposed to facilitate the travel of approximately 300,000 passengers daily. The first batch of 40 buses had arrived in the city on Sept 19 which the planning minister had referred to as a "ray of hope" and "milestone", calling it the beginning of modern public transport service for Karachiites after a long gap of 40 years. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1663004/pm-imran-inaugurates-karachis-much-awaited-green-line-bus-service>



# The Mutawwa Are Coming

By: Pervez Hoodbhoy



***‘MUTAWWA’ is Arabic for the once-feared Saudi religious police. Tasked to implement behavioural standards set by oil-fuelled Wahabism, its wings have been clipped by the ongoing liberalisation sweeping the Middle East. But, under Imran Khan, Pakistan is flying elsewhere. To implement the government’s new Single National Curriculum (SNC), strict religious policing of public and private schools has begun. A Pakistani version of the mutawwa is emerging.***

Marked as ‘Court Case — Most Important’, in a letter dated Nov 10, 2021, the School Education Department of the Punjab Government issued a directive that, as per orders received from the Lahore High Court, all schools in the province must be rigorously checked for Quranic reading/nazra skills. Each school will be jointly inspected by the head of the district education authority and a district & sessions judge. Cellphone numbers of school principals and teachers, together with a list of several hundred schools targeted for inspection, have been provided. Reading the Quran under a maulvi’s supervision has been a normal, age-old practice in every Muslim household — including that of the writer.

But dispatching law-enforcers to enforce a tradition is new and bizarre. Preliminary reports suggest province-wide confusion and chaos, and a state of fear among children, teachers, and school principals. Magistrates accompanied by rifle-bearing policemen are pouncing upon schools, interrogating seven- to 12-year-old children. Their teachers are ordered out of the classroom or asked to stand silently in the corner. In some cases, school principals have been told to present themselves in person before authorities located in various parts of the province.

***Magistrates with armed police escorts are interrogating seven- to 12-year-olds on their Quran-reading skills.***

Punishments are being handed out. Last week, a sessions judge in Nankana Sahib recommended disciplinary action against three school principals. They were accused of paying insufficient attention to Quran teaching as a separate subject, a requirement of the SNC. Included in the charge sheet is that their schools had “students who had Paras of the Holy Quran and were keeping them in their school bags which is gross negligence”. This needs explanation. As the reader may know, no copy of the Quran can be kept together with ordinary books. Visiting magistrates accuse children of bringing Quran copies from home inside their backpacks together with their textbooks. But what else can the kids do? Carry two backpacks? Rudimentary schools, such as they exist in villages or poor urban areas, have barely enough sitting room and no storage space. Cupboards, if any, are few while those with locks are still fewer. Magistrates have also noted that backpacks are thrown around or placed on the floor. According to a school principal in his school



at least four accidental drops of the holy book have occurred in a sixth grade class. While these caused a stir subsequent developments could not be known. The severity of punishments — which could possibly include those for blasphemy — means that such incidents are generally hushed up unless they are to be wilfully used against rivals. These are not the only matters that school principals and teachers are worried about. Traditional respect requires that none can turn his/her back to the Quran. What is one to do in a classroom packed with kids? As for wuzu: a majority of schools have no proper toilets or clean water but, as is well known, none may touch the Quran without being properly cleansed. Using a disguised identity, a female teacher wrote that proper cleansing is particularly problematic for female schools — and even more for mixed schools. As per normal requirement no girl, or teacher, may touch the holy book while menstruating. But the topic is so tabooed that none dare mention it in front of students or higher ups. Could this — rather than laziness — be why some female Quran schoolteachers were unable to explain to the inspection teams their absence from class? Paradoxically, the squads going from school to school across Punjab are meant to check Quran-teaching standards but their own members are deficient in an important way. SNC prescribes Quran teaching with proper tajweed (pronunciation) of Arabic words. However, this is beyond the capacity of most Quran schoolteachers in the area because they are rarely able to pronounce the letters ‘Qaf’ and ‘A’in’ as in Arabic. Exceptions are madressah graduates who spend their lives honing the skill of accurate recitation. Thus, if the tajweed requirement is to be fulfilled, logically such persons will have to be inducted as regular teachers. This runs counter to emphatic denials made by the education minister, Shafqat Mahmood, who claims that the existing school system is not being madressah-is-

ed. What drove the Lahore High Court to issue its orders so speedily? What was the urgency given a thousand other pending complaints concerning property disputes, theft, fraud, child abuse, rape, and murder? The answer is before us: ideologues in government have seized the reins of power. As in Afghanistan, the population is now at their mercy. It was not supposed to be this way. Recall that Imran Khan’s SNC was initially advertised as means towards equal opportunities for the rich and poor, regular schools and madressahs. And — this is the most unbelievable part — also about raising the quality of education. So, are we about to see magistrates with armed guards inspecting school laboratories and frequency of science practicals? Checking if libraries are adequately stocked or that toilets are in working condition? Will these squads tell 25 million out-of-school children where to find schools and teachers? Hell is likely to freeze over before that happens. The fortunate among us will recall school days as being carefree and filled with joy, laughter, and play. This is how it is in much of the world, and this is what every child should have. Afghanistan’s children are not so fortunate and now the children of Naya Pakistan are beset with similar misfortune. Grim-faced magistrates swooping down upon schools, destroying the authority of teachers and school principals, and putting terror into the hearts of all is a disgrace to the notion of education. It may not end here. How we dress, speak, and think is going to be increasingly policed. Imran Khan’s Pakistan is racing down the path to Talibanisation.

<https://www.dawn.com/news/1661873?ref=whatsapp>



# Sialkot No Surprise

By: Zarrar Khuhro



**IT'S a hallmark of the times we live in that we must document everything we do; from vacations to functions and events — down to our breakfasts, lunches and dinners — everything must be videotaped and photographed and then tweeted, Facebooked or Instagrammed for the approval of others. The same apparently applies to murder by mob.**

Last week, Priyantha Kumara, a Sri Lankan manager at a local factory in Sialkot was murdered by a mob that had accused him of blasphemy. Kumara had been living and working in Pakistan for over a decade, a living embodiment of Prime Minister Imran Khan's dream of a Pakistan where foreign nationals flock to find work (his arrival predates the onset of the glorious tabdeeli revolution, but the point stands). First, he was stripped naked and beaten to death, with a crowd of hundreds gathering around and raining blows on his dying body. His mutilated corpse was then set on fire and, afterwards, the killers cheerfully admitted their crime in front of TV cameras, proudly claiming to have sent a blasphemer to hell. After that, it was selfie time, and one of these pictures stands out in particular. A young man, his face a picture of concentration, stands in front of Kumara's burning corpse. His eyes are narrowed and serious, possibly due to the solemnity of the occasion, or maybe as a reaction to the thick smoke — made oily by melting fat — of this righteous human bonfire. And on the back cover of his mobile phone are written the lyrics of a song from the Bollywood film Gully Boy: 'Apna Time Ayega' (my time will come). Nothing rings truer than that: this is indeed his time and the time of all those like him — people who will commit atrocity on the merest

rumour, who will eagerly join a murderous mob for the fleeting feeling of solidarity and the sense of being a soldier for righteousness in a greater, cosmic war.

***We do not have the right to be shocked.***

And while we get to be angered by what happened and are allowed to feel a sick nausea in the pit of our stomach and a despair that crushes whatever semblance of a soul we still have left ... we do not have the right to be shocked because even the most blissfully benighted of us could see this coming. There is no point repeating the long and well-documented tale of surrenders, co-opting and cruel cynicism that led us here. The official reaction was intense: the highest functionaries of the state all chimed in to condemn the murder, even if their choice of words was revealing. The terms 'vigilante' and 'extrajudicial' were used, along with calls for people to not 'take the law into their hands' which, interestingly enough, seem to imply that some form of crime was actually committed and that the real problem was that the mob passed sentence before the state could. I understand the compulsion and the need for guarded language — something which of course doesn't apply when heaping calumny on political opponents — because God forbid they themselves should be seen as (gasp) defending a



Wife of Engineer Priyantha Kumara



blasphemer and thus be labelled blasphemers themselves. Once that label sticks, no amount of performative state-sponsored religiosity and faux piety will peel it off. Nevertheless, the powers that be can now breathe a sigh of relief as it has — no surprise — emerged that Kumara's sin was that he removed a TLP sticker from factory machinery prior to a visit from international clients. There's also speculation that, like the case in Khushab where a bank guard killed his manager over a work dispute and belatedly claimed that the manager was a blasphemer, Kumara was killed because of a dispute he had with factory workers. With that out of the way, I'm sure the official condemnation will be even more vociferous now, due also in no small part to the fact that this time the blasphemy brigade has claimed the life of a foreign national from a friendly country. After all there's this geo-economic reset to think about. We'll see the truth of this soon enough when the next Pakistani — be he or she Muslim, Hindu, Christian or otherwise — is lynched in the name of blasphemy. Because that's going to keep happening no matter what becomes of those arrested in the Sialkot lynching. You know it, and I know it too. And if you believe otherwise, you may as well try to cure cancer with dispirin. Make no mistake; there will be several thousand more Kumaras and Mashals before this runs its course, if it ever will. And let's face another fact. It won't end. Why should it? Read more: The Sialkot lynching is another reminder that sanity and our blighted land have parted ways And in no time at all, we will revert to type. We will be treated to moralistic lectures on family values and the evils of khooni liberals (all 12 of them) who are working day and night to destroy this country. After all, we are experts in treating the symptoms while promoting the cause of the disease.

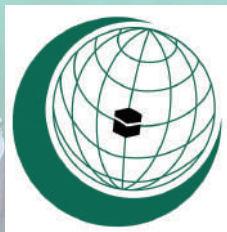
<https://www.dawn.com/news/1662149>

## UK air travel sees huge slump in 2021 due to Covid

The Covid pandemic triggered a 71% drop in international flights in and out of the UK in 2021, says a new report. About 406,060 international flights operated from the UK this year, compared with 1,399,170 in 2019 before travel was restricted. UK domestic flights also fell by nearly 60%, said aviation analytics firm Cirium. Budget airline Ryanair remained the largest carrier in the UK, with more than 100,000 UK flights in 2021. Rival airline easyJet followed closely behind, with more than 82,000 flights in total, according to data collected by Cirium. The busiest international route was between London's Heathrow and New York's JFK. This was despite the US only opening its borders to UK travellers in November. American travellers have been able to travel to the UK since 28 July. Short-haul flights proved to be the most popular, with eight out of the 10 most popular routes being to Europe. London Heathrow to Amsterdam, Paris Charles de Gaulle and Frankfurt came in third, fourth and fifth place respectively. Meanwhile, the UK's busiest domestic route was between Land's End to St Mary's in the Isles of Scilly. The 31-mile route saw about 2,330 one-way flights between January and December 2021. Following a sharp rise in Covid-19 cases throughout the UK due to the Omicron variant, the outlook for 2022 remains uncertain. The uncertainty has already sparked a rise in cancellations over the festive period because of concerns over potential further restrictions.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/business-59813143>





# Humanitarian Situation in Afghanistan, Session of the OIC Council Of Foreign Ministers



**By: Badaruddin Kalhoro - Bureau Chief Sindh Lahore International London**

OIC Summit Chair, for its administration, in meeting this Exceptional Afghanistan. It would like to warmly welcome Secretary General Taha among our family.

This is often his to begin with Remote ecclesiastical assembly after his arrangement as the Secretary General He and his team also deserve appreciation for their strong support and rapid mobilization of efforts for the Conference arrangement Your nearness here nowadays – at such brief take note – certifies the significance that the worldwide community as a entirety, and the OIC, in specific, agreement to the well-being Pakistan is additionally satisfied by the believe rested by the OIC Participation in Pakistan to have this Exceptional Session of the individuals of Afghanistan. As we talk, over half the Afghan populace – 22.8 million individuals – a number bigger than the complete populaces of over two-thirds of the UN part states – confront nourishment deficiencies. Millions of Afghan children are at chance of biting the dust from intense ailing health the circumstance has been brought to this pass by a multiplicity of variables – drawn out dry season, a long time of strife, destitute administration and Afghanistan's over the top reliance on foreign aid. You would review that Pakistan facilitated the primary Exceptional Session of the OIC Committee of Foreign Ministers in Islamabad, in January 1980. It has reliably upheld the proper of self-determination and political and financial liberation of the individuals of Palestine and of the Kashmir's enduring beneath illicit occupation. History is our witness that this Organization, indeed in the midst of major worldwide political turbulences and emergency, has not as it were reliably

backed the rights of individuals but moreover called upon rest of the worldwide community, to act and think past their residential and inside political and financial compulsions.

Afghan authorities to help advance the expectations of the international community, in particular, regarding political and social inclusivity; respect for human rights, especially the rights of women and girls; and combating terrorism.

## Prime Minister Imran Khan



Prime Minister Imran Khan: Addressing to the OIC summit, said that on the off chance that the world did not offer assistance Afghanistan on this event, we might see a memorable helpful emergency. On this event, Prime Serve Imran Khan too raised his voice for the rights of persecuted Kashmir's and Palestinians other than Afghanistan. At the same time, tending to the members, the Prime Serve said that it is our obligation to educate the West almost the reality of Islam and make them accept that fear mongering and radicalism have nothing to do with Islam. Pakistan's picture has "significantly moved forward at the worldwide level within the final three years", the prime serve said, two days after Islamabad facilitated the 17th exceptional session of the Chamber of Remote Priests



(CFM) of the OIC. Muslim countries, amid the session, settled to work with the Joined together Countries to undertake to open hundreds of millions of dollars in solidified Afghan resources in a offered to handle a developing helpful emergency.

“The nation encompasses a gigantic gifted populace of 220 million individuals together with 9 million abroad Pakistanis who are able of accomplishing anything as they have exceeded expectations in each field,” he expressed. “No nation tries advance sans run the show of law,” he said, including certain Western nations had accomplished advance and success in spite of meager assets, as they had presented a culture of run the show of law. The prime serve too lamented that within the past, the tip top had captured spaces as they were “pampered with all facilities”. He underscored that the government would have to be center to lift the destitute fragments of society and for this reason, the total country would ought to proceed this struggle. Citing the current account shortage, the prime serve said it had expanded weight on the rupee. The government had nearly overcome the challenge, but the expanding product costs at the worldwide level demonstrated as a choking point. Communicating his resolve, he said, in any case, it was a brief stage and the nation would overcome it. “I emphatically accept that Pakistan incorporates a awesome future and the country will gotten to be strong,” he said, recalling that amid the 60s, the country was taking after that path.

#### **Foreign Minister Makhdoom Shah**

Makhdoom shah Mehmood Qureshi chaired a high-level assembly at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to review the courses of action for the exceptional meeting of the OIC Council of Foreign Ministers. Special participation in the meeting of Federal Minister for Information Fawad Hussain Chaudhry, Foreign Secretary Sohail Mehmood, Foreign Ministry Spokesman Asim Iftikhar and senior Foreign

Ministry officials attended the meeting. PIO Sohail Ali Khan, Director General External Publicity Miss Amberin Jan, MD APP, Mubashir Hassan and other senior officials of the Ministry of Information were also present in the meeting. Foreign Minister Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi gave a detailed briefing to key TV anchors and news editors at the Foreign Ministry on the situation in Afghanistan and the extraordinary meeting of the OIC Council of Foreign Ministers. The Foreign Minister welcomed the TV anchors and news editors to the Foreign Ministry.

The purpose of today’s meeting was to inform you about the aims and objectives of the OIC Council of Foreign Ministers meeting. An extraordinary meeting of the OIC Council of Foreign Ministers is going to be held on December 19 in Pakistan after a long time. Our neighbor launched a media campaign of “Sanction Pakistan” to take advantage of this opportunity – by the grace of Allah his lie was exposed and our media played a very important role in exposing this lie. At present, the economic crisis in Afghanistan is intensifying. After August 15, it was feared that if the situation worsened, the risk of civil war and refugee invasion in Afghanistan would increase significantly. Thousands of people were waiting for evacuation at Kabul Airport. Pakistan provided full support to evacuation process which was appreciated internationally: Afghanto help them, Eleven prominent American figures, including former ambassadors and commanders, have jointly called on the Biden administration not to leave Afghanistan alone to save it from a humanitarian catastrophe. This is the position towards which Pakistan is continuing its efforts to draw the attention of the international community, I said that if the economic situation in Afghanistan continues to deteriorate then the migration of refugees from Afghanistan will be on economic grounds which will have the same implications for all including Europe.



## Ambassador Aftab Khokhar



Minister Aftab Khokhar Minister Aftab Khokhar gave a natty gritty briefing to the Remote Serve with respect to the courses of action made at the airplane terminal to encourage the visitors coming to go to the OIC Remote Ministers' Meeting. The Outside Serve checked on the offices given to the recognized visitors and designations going to the exceptional assembly of the OIC Chamber of Outside Priests at the airport. he Remote Serve gone by the State Relax and the visitor counters. The Outside Serve acknowledged the steps taken for the recognized visitors to go to the OIC Committee of Remote Priests assembly. Senior authorities from the Service of Remote Issues, Respectful Flying and the air terminal were moreover show on the occasion.

## Raza Bashir Tarar



Raza Bashir Tarar, Special outside Secretary Raza Bashir Tarar, Outside Service Representative Asim Iftikhar and other senior authorities went with the Outside Serve. Senior

Remote Service authorities gave a point by point briefing to the Remote Serve on the courses of action made for the exceptional assembly of the OIC Board of Remote Priests in Parliament. The Outside Serve reviewed the conference lobby, assignments, therapeutic center, media center and different assembly rooms. The Outside Serve communicated fulfillment over the courses of action OIC considers it a incredible honor to have an exceptional assembly of the Board of Remote Priests: Makhdoom Shah Mehmood Qureshi.

## Amir Khan Muttaqi



Amir Khan Muttaqi downplays Imran Khan's comments at OIC summit I don't see Imran Khan's comments as insulting, says Afghan outside minister KABUL: Acting Outside Serve Amir Khan Muttaqi said at a press conference in Kabul on Monday that he accepts comments made by the Pakistani prime serve at the Organization of Islamic Nations (OIC) summit in Islamabad were not an offended to Afghanistan. He moreover said Khan's comments were basic of the previous governments, which may have subsequently caused previous government authorities to feel compelled to appear a response. "It was a summit, everybody has an opinion," Muttaqi told correspondents in Kabul when inquired around his position toward Prime Serve Khan's comments. "Imran Khan criticized the previous (Afghan) governments. I think authorities of the previous governments felt committed to respond, I don't see (Khan's comments) as insulting." On Sunday, Khan, at the Organization of Islamic Participation (OIC) assembly



on Afghanistan, said Daesh undermines Pakistan from Afghanistan and so soundness in Afghanistan is vital. "We have had assaults from (the) Afghan border, from ISIL, into Pakistan," he said Khan moreover said that due to a long time of debasement within the Afghan government, destitution was far reaching in Afghanistan indeed some time recently the previous government's collapse. He too made social comments around Afghanistan. "We must understand... when we conversation approximately human rights, each society is distinctive. Each society's thought of human rights and women's rights are different," Khan said. "Culture in Kabul was continuously different to country regions similar to in Peshawar it is totally diverse (the culture) to the areas joining the Afghanistan border." Khan's comments started a reaction from previous Afghan President Hamid Karzai and Afghans on social media. Karzai called Khan's comments "an endeavor to sow strife among Afghans, and an offended to the Afghan people." "Allegations that ISIS is dynamic in Afghanistan, undermining Pakistan from Afghanistan, is obvious purposeful publicity and in reality the inverse is genuine. The risk of ISIS has been coordinated from Pakistan against Afghanistan from the exceptionally onset," Karzai included in a arrangement of tweets. Muttaqi said that in the event that the Pakistan PM implied that a powerless Afghan government would not be able to control the Daesh danger, that's another issue, and he trusts it'll never happen. Muttaqi talking to correspondents too underscored the significance of the OIC summit, saying that the Islamic Emirate called for the foundation of a believe support for Afghanistan and OIC individuals agreed.



on Wednesday said thanks to Pakistan for facilitating an Association of Islamic Participation (OIC) summit on Afghanistan, as the nation faces a extreme monetary crunch due to sanctions."The OIC Exceptional Session on Afghanistan may be a prime example of our collective assurance and activity to assist those most in need," US Secretary of State Antony Blinken said in a tweet. "We thank Pakistan for facilitating this crucial assembly and welcoming the worldwide community to proceed participating to bolster the Afghan people," Blinken included. Pakistan facilitated the 17th exceptional session of the Committee of Outside Priests (CFM) of the OIC last Sunday, where Muslim nations resolved to work with the Joined together Countries to undertake to open hundreds of millions of dollars in solidified Afghan resources in a offered to handle a developing compassionate crisis. At the uncommon assembly within the capital, the delegates said they would work "to open the budgetary and managing an account channels to continue liquidity and stream of budgetary and compassionate assistance". The assembly was the greatest conference on Afghanistan since the US-backed government fell in Eminent. Since at that point, billions of dollars in help and resources have been solidified by the worldwide community.

**14 Antony Blinken Secretary of State, USA**  
thanks Pakistan for hosting OIC summit on Afghanistan, US much appreciated Pakistan for facilitating OIC summit on Afghanistan  
WASHINGTON: The Joined together States



# Causes of Collapse of Afghan National Defence and Security Forces

By: Muhammad Suleman Meerani



## Introduction

After the September 11, 2001 attacks, early decisions pondered upon establishing a highly professional force that would be sustainable by the vulnerable Afghan government. The size and capabilities of ANDSF were made exclusively to counter violence and insecurity, with limited concern for Afghan government's ability to sustain the number of forces in short or long-term. Expediency overtook professionalization and U.S. military was unable to maintain gold standard training program. Significant stress was placed on ANDSF due to increased tempo of the violence and operational readiness of soldiers and police in the field.

The U.S. military and civilian surges were designed to reduce the insurgent threat and set conditions for Afghan forces with known limitations to be able to provide security post-transition. ANDSF assumed lead responsibility for nationwide security by 2014, but they faced far larger threats than they were trained to handle. The number of Afghan forces increase after Doha Peace Agreement 2020 on paper. The total police and military forces rose from 272,807 in October 2019 to 307,947 in January 2021, dropping to 300,699 in April 2021 before the beginning of collapse.

## Counterterrorism objectives and undermining the role of ANA and ANP

The United States partnered with independent militia leaders to conduct counterterrorism and counterinsurgency operations in the early years of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). The U.S. began training Afghan National

Army (ANA) in June 2002, the average militia fighter was being paid significant amount by U.S. Special Forces and CIA than what was offered by Afghan government to Afghan National Police. Moreover, militia fighters were allowed to station near homes, while ANA and ANP were stationed in Kabul. These incentives convinced local Afghan fighters to continue their partnership with aforementioned actors and not to join the national army. Initially, recruitment ratio for conventional forces was low and U.S. had to cut the number of militia fighters by half in 2003. The U.S. Special Forces and CIA objected to this action, but it turned out to be effective as the number of ANA recruits increased to 4,000 by the end of the year 2003. U.S. again turned to militia to address growing insecurity and providing security in areas with limited national security forces in 2006. These militias became part of auxiliary police forces that were independent of control of national government and partnered with the U.S. Special Forces in sensitive areas. These auxiliary police forces were reported to have engaged in drug trafficking, human rights abuses and corrupt activities with limited oversight from and accountability to the Afghan government.





## ANDSF lacking critical capabilities

Afghan forces faced problems due to getting over-complex systems and contractors support systems which made forces acutely vulnerable to U.S. withdrawals. It focused on the favorable outcome of direct military battles, emphasized Taliban's character as an extremist movement and ignored its development and success as a broad insurgency and its growing impact as an ideological and political movement. Subsequently, the allied forces never fully realized they were dealing with successful Taliban insurgency rather than a terrorist threat. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the U.S. and Afghanistan denied the critical problems in the organization, recruitment, training, equipment and leadership of Afghan forces from at least 2007 and onwards. The reported levels of success in both in force development and in combat in the open-source reporting were untrue.

### **Military leadership, non-technical troops and advanced weaponry**

The ANDSF were highly respected by majority of the Afghans as depicted in the annual survey of Asia Foundation. ANDSF constituted multiethnic forces showing strong commitment to the mission, which they see a patriotic cause and legitimate duty worth fighting for. However, ANDSF forces did not want to get killed due to poor military leadership, inadequate fighting equipment and advanced weaponry. The leadership command and control structure seemed good on paper, but the actual system was bureaucratically heavy at the top and weak at the bottom. In the words of senior Afghan general ANDSF force had an inflated head and skinny legs.

### **Corruption among ANDSF leaders**

16 The urgency to produce sufficient number of men and deployment of police across the country made it a difficult task to train recruits as a single unit like military battalion. Police force was needed to be recruited,



trained and deployed at the same time. Therefore, the process was limited into recruit-and-deploy practice. Furthermore, corrupt practices were embraced institutionally, for instance, local power brokers seized the opportunity from meritorious and got the title of military commanders, many of whom have had questionable backgrounds like drug trafficking and human rights abuses. Political decisions to reintegrate former demobilized military factions into police force that undermined Afghan National Police's (ANP) development. These untrained commanders loaded their offices with their unqualified supporters and corrupt associates. Former president Ashraf Ghani took few measures to implement reforms and crackdown on corruption. Though, his actions were aimed at the lower level, tactical in nature and failed to bring fundamental changes, improve efficiency and governance.

The fractured political structure affected the professional capacity of ANDSF. Interference of top government officials, politicians and power brokers in managing promotions within the ANDSF forces undermined the professional efficiency and effectiveness of police and army during brutal war and also the morale and motivation to fight. This situation encouraged corruption where incompetent commanders and officers can gain their posts through political influence and bribery. The most challenging issue was the rush of political elites to extend patronage links



through posting their combatants in key security positions at the expense of winning a war.

### **Major social and political imbalances**

U.S. officials should have expected from host-nation leaders to compete for control of police and military, including attempts to manipulate U.S. efforts to advance their personal and political agendas. The control of military and police is show of a political power in developing states. However, the United States ignored transitional security forces operating throughout the country, as well as political imbalances throughout the rank-and-file eroding security, both often supported by host-nation elites. Consequently, major social and political imbalances remained within ANDSF forces.

### **Conclusion**

The 'Long War' strategic approach to the Global War on Terror (GWOT) dominated U.S. military thinking since the September 11, 2001 attacks. This strategic approach promoted a comprehensive and enduring long-term military engagement in areas threatened by the transnational terror. Moreover, an open-ended presence of international forces in the country with the expectation of no strong-armed opposition tempered the pace of building indigenous security forces. Prevailing situation led to the chronic dependency of ANDSF on international forces for enablers fire support, air cover, air and ground mobility, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (ISR), logistics and command and control. Resultantly, dependency of ANDSF continued to limit its combat effectiveness. The accelerated development of ANDSF and rush to expand the number of units and manpower during the surge period overshadowed the need for their professional growth and institutional capacity building. Therefore, no measures were taken to strengthen ANDSF forces professionally and eliminate habitual dependency on international forces.

## **Whatsapp Working On Business Directory Feature**

*Popular messaging application WhatsApp is about to release a new feature that allows users to search for nearby businesses*



Facebook and other Meta-owned social media platforms have given their users vast opportunities to expand their businesses online. Popular messaging application WhatsApp is also working to be the best in the sector in order to provide the finest experience for its users, as it is about to release a new feature that allows users to search for nearby businesses, WABetaInfo reported. WhatsApp has recently added a new chat shortcut to the 'quick replies' feature and now it is working on similar new features to offer to its users. If you search for something on WhatsApp, the social app shows different categories, including Photos, Videos, Links, GIFs, Audio and Documents. Look above, for example. Another category 'Business Nearby' will now also appear along with the above-mentioned categories. If you select this category, all the business accounts near your location will appear on your screen. The feature will be released for both Android and iOS users. The platform has not announced any release date.

<https://www.thenews.com.pk/latest/920003-whatsapp-to>



# Politics in Utopia

By: Shozab Ali Halepoto Muet



The word Politics is considered a dirty game. It generally paints a picture of treachery and conspiracy all over the world, but more specifically by the people of Pakistan. The reasons behind the negative connotations of the word are mainly due to three things: Firstly, the activities of politicians; secondly, the lack of awareness; thirdly illiteracy about political science- a discipline taught in many universities of Pakistan. Finally, in some cases, youth is deterred to discern and to take part in it due to its egregious picture before them. Vastly, many remain unaware about the system of the government they are living in and the majority consider it useless to understand it so. For instance, democracy in Pakistan has transformed into a Russian salad, in which many mysterious ingredients are mixed to restrict common masses to question the stately matters, or simply put political conspiracies. Consequently, leaving common masses blind to the science behind politics- which, in Pakistan, takes a new turn, or either you turn, depending on the personal agendas of politicians. Besides, many politicians take the negative advantage of common people's concern by intervening in non-political matters, such as the detention of people without the proof of any criminal charges, in police stations upon the orders of MPAs or MNAs. This practice is common in Sindh, due to the mutual but illegal relationship of officials with politicians. Although, this relationship sometimes helps officials in solving dilemmas such as honor killing, early marriages, and blasphemous acts, yet some politicians take negative advantage of these associations for their nuisances and individual interests.



Clearly, the Oxford dictionary defines the word politics as: 'The activities associated with the governance of a country or area, especially the debate between parties having power.' A Politician in the dictionary is described as: 'A person who is professionally involved in politics, especially as a holder of an elected office.' Ambiguity creeps in if one endeavors to know the "activities" politicians are liable for, which appear inevitably, unlimited in the case of politics in Utopia. One famous joke of Punjab fits the situation of family politics in Pakistan. When the son of a farmer questions his father 'If Chaudhry dies, who will be the next Chaudhry?' The father responds: 'Certainly, his son.' Again the little child questions that if his son dies then who will be the next Chaudhry? The father hopelessly says: 'Even if his entire family dies, you won't be given a chance to be Chaudhry.' Identically, even if the entire family of politicians passes away, no-one else would be allowed to take the position of politician. Recently, some distinguished columnists were comparing the growth of former East Pakistan "The Bangladesh"- the saddest chapter in the history of Pakistan, with neighboring countries, and accordingly: One of many reasons behind the prosperity of Bangladesh is political stability.



The tensions between political parties have hindered the development projects. The huge delays in the Green Line Bus project are one of many examples which show the strain between Sindh and Centre. Unfortunately, during the inauguration of the project, not a single provincial minister or representative appeared. Afterwards, Chief Minister, Sindh Syed Murad Ali Shah, was heard in assembly saying that we are part of Pakistan and we should be treated as so. In addition, Sindh refused Centre to develop two islands along with Karachi's coastline and Sindh also abstained to be the part of the health card scheme of Centre. Ishrat Hussain in his article 'The Bangladesh story,' says: "Despite bitter political rivalries, there has been a continuity in economic policies, projects and programs." Unlike, in Pakistan, Centre either stops or interrupts ongoing provincial developmental programs. However, Pakistan took another major step towards strengthening provincial autonomy and streamlining the federal structure when it passed the 18th Amendment in 2010. Although further constitutional safeguards were built for the regulation of the federation, the smaller provinces still found reason to be dissatisfied. Writes Ahmed Bilal Mehboob in his article "The Sindh-Centre strain"- The political strains leave provinces with a feeling of being marginalized. On the whole, Politics in Pakistan is messier than in any other country. Every politician holds an agenda that is almost irrelevant to the interests of common people. Considering the unnumbered incidents of corruption by politicians, the miserable picture of politics in Pakistan can be examined. Consequently, their affiliation in common matters of the public has added insult to injury. The ongoing political chaos should be put to an end, or else detrimental situations are not far from the map of Pakistan. One can only hope to one day get rid of servitude, family politics, personal agendas of politicians and conspiracies

## Fault in submarine cable affects internet speed in Pakistan

Sources say repair work on SEA-ME-WE 4 will be completed in January 2022



A fault in the submarine cable Tuesday has affected the internet speed in the country after which the Pakistan Telecommunication Company Ltd (PTCL) started to shift internet traffic to other cables. South East Asia–Middle East–Western Europe 4 (SEA-ME-WE 4) is an optical fibre submarine communications cable system that carries telecommunications between Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Egypt, Italy, Tunisia, Algeria and France. According to industry sources, the fault in submarine cable has affected internet speed in the country that will create problems for users at peak hours. Sources added that the repair work on SEA-ME-WE 4 will be completed in January 2022. Meanwhile, PTCL issued a statement saying that arrangements had been made for "alternate bandwidth". "In the next few days, additional bandwidth will be added," the statement said. In this period, internet speeds will be "slightly affected", the statement warned users. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/latest/918592-fault-in-submarine-cable-affects-internet-speed-in-pakistan>



# US Wins Appeal Over Extradition Of Wikileaks Founder Assange

*Campaigners call the ruling a 'travesty' and Assange will seek a review by the UK Supreme Court, his lawyer said.*



The United States government has won an appeal at Britain's High Court over the extradition of WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange. Friday's ruling, which overturns an earlier decision, means 50-year-old Assange may now be closer to being sent from London's high-security Belmarsh prison to the US, where he would face spying charges over WikiLeaks' publication of secret military documents a decade ago. A UK judge said he was satisfied with a package of assurances given by the US about the conditions of the detention of Assange, who watched the proceedings via video link from Belmarsh prison. These included a pledge not to hold him in a so-called "ADX" maximum security prison and that he could be transferred to Australia, where he holds citizenship, to serve his sentence if convicted. The UK court said that US assurances were enough to guarantee Assange would be treated humanely and directed a lower court judge to send the extradition request to the home secretary, Priti Patel, for review. Patel, who oversees law enforcement in the United Kingdom, will make the final choice on whether to extradite Assange. Further hurdles remain before Assange could be sent to the US, and the legal wrangling will go to the Supreme Court, the United Kingdom's final court of appeal. "It is highly disturbing that a UK court has overturned a decision not to extradite Julian Assange, accepting vague assurances by the United States government," said Assange's lawyer, Barry Pollack. "Mr. Assange will seek review of this decision by the UK Supreme Court." The case could also end up before the European Court for Human Rights, said WikiLeaks editor Kristinn Hrafnsson. "That's the last stop," he told Al Jazeera.

## Concerns for Assange's mental health

Amnesty International called Friday's deci-

sion a "travesty", raising concerns that Assange could be subjected to "torture and other ill-treatment" in US detention. "If extradited to the US, Julian Assange could not only face trial on charges under the Espionage Act but also a real risk of serious human rights violations due to detention conditions that could amount to torture or other ill-treatment," the rights group's Europe director, Nils Muiznieks, said in a statement. A lower court in January this year had refused the US's extradition request, saying that Assange's mental health was too fragile to withstand the American judicial system. Such concerns had been raised before. In late 2019, a group of 60 doctors from several countries wrote to Patel to express their worries for his mental and physical health, and later claimed that they had failed to receive any response. In the January case, District Judge Vanessa Baraitser at the Old Bailey court in London said Assange was "a depressed and sometimes despairing man" who had the "intellect and determination" to circumvent any suicide prevention measures taken by prison authorities. The US appealed, challenging that notion. A lawyer working for the US, James Lewis, said Assange "has no history of serious and enduring mental illness" and does not meet the threshold of being so ill that he cannot resist harming himself. US authorities have told British judges that if they agree to





extradite Assange, he could serve any US prison sentence he receives in his native Australia. US prosecutors have indicted Assange on 17 espionage charges and one charge of computer misuse over WikiLeaks' publication of thousands of leaked military and diplomatic documents. The charges carry a maximum sentence of 175 years in prison, although Lewis said, "the longest sentence ever imposed for this offence is 63 months."

### **A cause celebre for free speech**

WikiLeaks came to prominence when it published a US military video in 2010 showing a 2007 attack by Apache helicopters in Baghdad that killed a dozen people, including two Reuters news staff. It then released thousands of secret classified files and diplomatic cables. The long-running case has seen Assange become a cause celebre for free speech, with his supporters arguing WikiLeaks has the same rights as other media to publish secret material in the public interest. US prosecutors and Western security officials regard Assange as a reckless and dangerous enemy of the state whose actions imperilled the lives of agents named in the leaked material. Pro-Assange supporters gathered outside the court on Friday, waving placards and demanding his immediate release from Belmarsh. Investigative journalist Stefania Maurizi told Al Jazeera the only way now left to "save Julian Assange" was with public pressure. Maurizi works for the Italian daily *Il Fatto Quotidiano* and has worked on all of WikiLeaks's secret documents, included the 2010 documents for which Assange has been charged. "This case will decide the future of journalism and the right of the public opinion to look at our governments' darkest corners," she said. Rebecca Vincent, who heads the UK branch of Reporters Without Borders, tweeted: "This is an utterly shameful development that has alarming implications not only for Assange's mental health, but also for journalism and press freedom around the world."

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/12/10/us-wins-appeal-over-extradition-of-wikileaks-founder-assange>

## **Global passport index 2021: Ghana pass Nigeria for world strongest passport; Japan be # 1**

Di latest global passport index don rank Nigeria 103 out of 116 kontris wey get di most powerful international passport for di world. Dis na according to di Henley Passport Index wey describe diasef as di original, authoritative ranking of all di world passports according to di number of destinations di holder fit enta without visa for bodi. Dem follow tok say di index dey based on exclusive data from di International Air Transport Association, Iata. For inside di 2021 report, Ghana dust Nigeria as dem be number 84. Nigeria passport holders only fit enta 45 kontris visa-free wey put dem for number 103; position wey dem dey share wit Ethiopia. Who be number one for Africa? Despite say na im be di smallest kontri for Africa, Seychelles get di strongest passport for di continent and dem be number 29 on list. If you get Seychelles passport, you fit enta 152 kontris witout visa. Botswana follow be 2nd and Namibia be 3rd wit access to 86 and 78 kontris respectively. Di strongest passport for di world Japan follow wit Singapore get di strongest passport for di world, as anibodi wit dia passport fit enta 192 kontris visa-free. Germany and South Korea tie leg for number two strongest passport as you fit enta 190 kontris witout visa if you get dem. United Kingdom and United States of America join chop 7th position wit 185 visa free kontris to enta. Canadian passports be di 8th strongest. Afghanistan passport holders fit only enta 26 kontris without visa and dis one put dem last for di 2021 Henley Passport Index rank at 116.

<https://www.bbc.com/pidgin/world-59568031>



# Iran Nuclear Deal Talks Resume In Vienna Amid Frictions

*The deal's remaining signatories meet as European countries urge Iran to bring 'realistic proposals' to ease negotiations.*



*Deputy Secretary General of the European External Action Service (EEAS) Enrique Mora and Iran's chief nuclear negotiator Ali Bagheri Kani wait for the start of a meeting of the JCPOA Joint Commission in Vienna, Austria, December 3, 2021 [EU Delegation in Vienna/Handout via Reuters]*

Negotiations between Iran and world powers aimed at salvaging a tattered 2015 nuclear deal have resumed in Vienna after a few days' pause, with tensions high after Tehran made demands last week that European countries strongly criticised. European Union diplomat Enrique Mora, who chaired Thursday's meeting of all the deal's remaining signatories – Iran, the UK, France, Germany, Russia and China – said afterwards that he felt “a renewed sense of purpose on the need to work and to reach an agreement on bringing the (agreement) back to life”. “Whether that will be confirmed and endorsed by negotiations on the details, we will see in the coming days,” Mora said, adding that the positive impression “has to be tested”. He said that it is becoming “more imperative” with time to reach an agreement quickly. Iran's top negotiator in nuclear talks said he had insisted Tehran was serious in the negotiations, underlining

that Iran was continuing talks based on its previous positions. “Iran is serious about reaching an agreement if the ground is paved .... The fact that all sides want the talks to continue shows that all parties want to narrow the gaps,” Ali Bagheri Kani told reporters after talks resumed in Vienna. The United States has participated indirectly in the talks because it withdrew from the accord in 2018 under then-President Donald Trump. President Joe Biden has signalled that he wants to rejoin the deal. Washington plans to send a delegation led by Robert Malley, the special US envoy for Iran, to Vienna over the weekend. Diplomats from the UK, France and Germany had urged Tehran to come back with “realistic proposals” after the Iranian delegation made numerous demands last week that other parties to the accord deemed unacceptable. US State Department spokesman Ned Price said this week that the US hopes the next round of talks “proceeds differently”. Al Jazeera's Dorsa Jabbari, reporting from Vienna as the talks were set to resume, said Iranian officials have warned that the comments from European officials could harm the talks. “The Iranian foreign minister himself had a phone conversation with the EU's top diplomat during which he stressed that the comments that have come from the EU are not constructive and they could really have a damaging effect on these talks,” she said. “There is a sense that the next 48 hours will be very crucial,” she added. Kani held a trilateral meeting with the Chinese and Russian delegations ahead of the talks with all the deal's signatories. Russia's top representative Mikhail Ulyanov at the Vienna talks expressed hope that an agreement could even-



tually be reached. He believes that contacts with the US and Iran “prove that both sides are very serious” about reviving the deal, though “their visions of relevant ways and means differ,” he said on Twitter. “The task of the negotiators is to overcome these differences. It’s feasible in the light of unity of purpose,” he said. Last week’s talks were the first in more than five months, a gap caused by a new conservative government assuming power in Tehran. The accord sealed in Vienna in 2015, formally known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, was meant to rein in Iran’s nuclear programme in return for loosened economic sanctions. Following the US decision to withdraw and reimpose sanctions against Iran, Tehran has ramped up its nuclear programme again by enriching uranium beyond the thresholds allowed in the agreement. Iran has also restricted monitors from the United Nations’ atomic watchdog from accessing its nuclear facilities, raising concerns about what the country is doing out of view. Meanwhile, the US State Department said on Thursday that the Biden administration is moving to tighten enforcement of sanctions against Iran with the dispatch of a senior delegation to the United Arab Emirates next week. The delegation, which will include the head of the US Treasury’s Office of Foreign Assets Control, Andrea Gacki, will issue a warning to companies in the UAE that are not in compliance with the sanctions, a State Department spokesperson was cited as saying by the Reuters news agency. The spokesperson said the US has evidence of non-compliance, and that the firms could later be sanctioned or penalised over their dealings – confirming a Wall Street Journal report.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/12/9/talks-on-iran-nuclear-deal-resume-in-vien-na-amid-disagreement>

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# US embassy nominates Islamabad Police's Amna Baig for 'International Women of Courage' award



**A female officer of Islamabad Police has been nominated by the United States embassy for an award which recognises women around the world for demonstrating exceptional courage and leadership in advocating for peace, justice, human rights, gender equality, and women empowerment.**

Assistant Superintendent of Police (ASP) Amna Baig's nomination for the International Women of Courage award was announced on Thursday at an event marking the 30th anniversary of the "16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence" campaign, hosted by US Embassy Charge d'affaires Angela PAggeler. ASP Baig is in charge of the law enforcement's Gender Protection Unit, a government initiative to facilitate women and transgender individuals in their fight against discrimination and injustice. The "16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence" campaign began in 1991. Today, over 6,000 organisations in approximately 187 countries have

participated in the campaign, reaching over 300 million people, according to a press release issued by the embassy. The spirit of the original campaign remains as relevant today as it did in 1991, as gender-based violence remains a threat to peace, stability, and economic growth worldwide, it added. "Even though gender-based violence is pervasive, it is not inevitable," Charge d'affaires Aggeler said at the event. "It can and must be prevented. This is why we take this time each year to reinvigorate our efforts against gender-based violence and to call for greater collective and individual action to prevent and respond to all forms of violence against women." She said that it was in this spirit that the embassy nominated ASP Baig for the award. In its nomination, the US embassy noted that the officer served as a role model for young Pakistani girls to pursue their dreams despite the obstacles they may face.

<https://www.dawn.com/news/1662841>





# "Global Paralysis" At U.N. Over Ethiopia War Allows Atrocities To Continue Unabated

By: Pamela Falk

United Nations — Ninety percent of the population in northern Ethiopia's Tigray region — or 5.2 million people — need urgent aid, the U.N.'s Deputy High Commissioner for Human Rights Nada al-Nashif told a virtual session of the U.N. Human Rights Council on Friday. "Only limited U.N.-organized humanitarian supplies have been able to enter Tigray since July, including food and vital medical supplies," said al-Nashif. While the U.N. has met on the Ethiopian war multiple times, divisions between world powers have stymied any action to stem the bloodshed. The war started more than a year ago, when Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's sent troops into Tigray to fight the rebels after an alleged attack on his forces. It snowballed over the course of a year, with the Tigrayans and allied militias advancing toward the capital city. Recently however, Abiy's forces have reclaimed towns north of Addis Ababa from the rebels, pushing the front line back toward Tigray. "The global paralysis on Ethiopia's armed conflict has emboldened human rights abusers to act with impunity and left communities at risk of feeling abandoned," Human Rights Watch's Laetitia Bader said in a report published jointly this week by the organization and Amnesty International. Famine has hit over 400,000 people, and fuel is still not making it into the embattled region, so aid that has been sent isn't getting to those who need it, U.N. spokesperson Farhan Haq told CBS News at a briefing. And as the war continues, so too do the atrocities it has brought with it. "Rape is being used systematically to terrorize and brutalize women and girls. Aid workers have been killed, interrogated, beaten, blocked from taking aid to the starving and suffering and told not to come back," U.N. Emergency Relief Coordinator Mark Lowcock told diplo-

rats in a closed briefing in June. Briefing the Human Rights Council on Friday, Costa Rican lawyer Victor Madrigal-Borloz, the U.N.'s independent expert on protection against violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, said the number of reported sexual assaults had quadrupled in Ethiopia since the conflict broke out more than a year ago. He said 90% of the reports in the last year were of violent acts against minors, many of them displaced Tigrayans or refugees from neighboring Eritrea. An estimated 5,000 to 7,000 people have been detained by Ethiopia, including nine U.N. staff, under a state of emergency and its "excessively broad provision," al-Nashif said. "Many are detained incommunicado or in unknown locations. This is tantamount to enforced disappearance, and a matter of very grave concern." Ethiopia's government lashed out during the emergency session of the Human Rights Council, with the country's ambassador to the U.N. in Geneva, Zenebe Kebede, accusing other members of having "singled out" Ethiopia and failing to condemn what he said were myriad abuses by the rebel Tigrayan forces. "Ethiopia is being targeted and singled out at the Human Rights Council for defending a democratically elected government, the peace and the future of its people," he said, accusing the council of being "hijacked by a neocolonialist mentality" and "being used as an instrument of political pressure." United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Michelle Bachelet said last month that there were "reasonable grounds" to believe "all parties to the Tigray conflict have committed violations of international human rights, humanitarian and refugee law. Some of these may amount to war crimes and crimes against humanity." President Biden's



U.N. Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield has been pressing for a diplomatic solution, warning recently that "tragedies of historic proportions" were taking place in Tigray. The U.N. says more than 1 million people have been displaced, trying to flee from the war-torn region since the war began in November 2020. Joanne Mariner, director of crisis response at Amnesty International, said the new onslaught of abuses against Tigrayan civilians "should ring alarm bells." Rights group call the stalemate among world powers on the United Nations Security Council tragic. "The U.N. Security Council reaction, if you can call it that, so far has been pathetic. A mere two press statements in over a year. Saying it's not commensurate with the scale of atrocities and violations in Tigray is a gross understatement," Louis Charbonneau, U.N. director at Human Rights Watch, told CBS News on Friday. There's plenty of blame to go around, he said. "It is not just Russia and China who are responsible. The three African members of the Security Council share the blame for this inaction. They haven't been pushing," Charbonneau says, adding that the U.N. should be considering "substantive action." During the virtual session on Friday, the Human Rights Council voted to adopt a resolution to establish an international commission of experts on Ethiopia to conduct an investigation into allegations of human rights violations and abuses by all parties to the conflict. Lucy McKernan, deputy director of advocacy in Geneva for Human Rights Watch, told CBS News that the vote sent "a message that impunity will no longer be tolerated." But while approval of the resolution may send a strong signal, U.N. diplomats told CBS News that creating and staffing the commission would take time. And time is another thing that millions of people in Tigray are desperately short on.

<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/ethiopia-war-tigray-global-paralysis-un-sexual-violence-atrocities/>

## The first look from Jemima Khan's What's Love Got to Do With It? is out



Jemima Khan is one of the most loved former bhabhis of Pakistan and if Pakistanis can stan a cross-cultural union in marriage, a cinematic view of that is something to look forward to. Directed by Shekhar Kapur and written by Khan, *What's Love Got to Do With It?* may be out in 2022 but its first look is out now. Studiocanal and Working Title released the first look of the cross-cultural British rom-com on December 9 and it showcases aspects of cultural mixing with a man in kurta and a woman in a leather jacket standing in what appears to be the inside of a desi wedding hall. The film has a diverse cast as well — it includes Pakistani actor Sajal Aly from *Mom and Zindagi Kitni Haseen Hay*, English actor Lily James from *Baby Driver* and *Darkest Hour*, Oscar winner Emma Thompson from *Beauty and the Beast* and Bridget Jones's *Baby* and British actor Shazad Latif from *Star Trek: Discovery* among others. The rom-com follows a filmmaker Zoe (James) and juxtaposes her journey to love (swiping on dating apps and bad dates) with that of her close friend Kazim's (Latif) who decides to opt for an arranged marriage. She records his journey from London to Lahore as he sets off to marry a stranger and starts questioning her own ideas of love. The soundtrack for the film features British-Pakistani record producer and musician Naughty Boy of 'Lalala' fame and Rahat Fateh Ali Khan, a maestro of qawaali, has also recorded two songs and will appear in the film. The movie is set to release in cinemas worldwide in 2022.

<https://images.dawn.com/news/1188983/the-first-look-of-jemima-khans-whats-love-got-to-do-with-it-is-out>



# Kate Middleton's Christmas 'sacrifice' as she puts 'duty before herself' for Queen

*A royal expert has revealed Kate Middleton puts herself second every year during the festive period, with her work as a senior royal taking priority over her personal life*



Katie Middleton goes above and beyond for the Royal Family at Christmas time, with a royal expert revealing she puts “duty before self”. As a senior royal, the festive season is extremely busy with numerous events but the Duchess of Cambridge, 39, rises to the occasion along with motherly duties. Expert Katie Nicholl says Kate often puts her work for the royal family above her personal life, as she continues to rise to the occasion for the family. Speaking to OK!, she said: "In the early years of being a family, they did try to alternate Christmas, one year with The Queen and the Royal Family and the next year with the Middletons, but Kate and William put duty before self and we can see that, more now than ever. "So there is a sacrifice on Kate's part because Christmas is a very big thing for the Middleton family, but they put The Queen first and make sure they are there on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day at Sandringham." Kate and her husband Prince William will be spending Christmas with the Queen, which will be the first without the late

Prince Philip. The royals will rally round the Queen with the Cambridge children, Prince George, Princess Charlotte and Prince Louis. The Cambridge children usually get to celebrate Christmas twice with one visiting the Queen and other members of the Royal Family and the other with Kate's family. Although the young royals may ask for the latest high-tech gadgets, expert Katie reveals the parents prefer “practical” presents over technology. Katie claims Prince George uses an iPad at school and Princess Charlotte is “tech-savvy”. She said that the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge are careful not to “spoil” their children with “extravagant gifting”. Katie added: "If it is something that happens to be a computer game or something like that then they are cautious of screen time so it could be a more practical gift." The Duchess of Cambridge will be preparing for a milestone birthday next years as she turns 40 in January.



<https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/kate-middle-ons-christmas-sacrifice-puts-25635203>



# The Greeks By Roderick Beaton Review – A Global History

*This survey reflects the depth and complexity of Greece, a small country with a world-conquering ethos.*

When the Greek poet George Seferis rose to give his speech on being awarded the 1963 Nobel prize for literature, he asserted that the Swedish Academy's honour was not so much for him as for the language in which he wrote: "A language famous through the centuries, but not widespread in its present form." The peoples who have spoken it in one version or another over the past 3,500 years are the subject of Roderick Beaton's magisterial new book. He writes: "The Greeks of the title and the pages that follow are to be understood as speakers of the Greek language." This language used to be very widespread indeed; and served as a lingua franca, so to speak as it were, across polities and cultures. At its peak, the Hellenistic world stretched from beyond the Hindu Kush mountains in today's Pakistan to the south of France, its scope revealed in place names that endure to this day. Alexandria, Naples, Nice – all are legacies of a world that used to be, in some sense, "Greek". Consider the Septuagint, the third and second-century BC Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. Done in Egypt, it met a need among Egyptian Jews, losing touch with Hebrew, for an intelligible version of the original text. And as in so many other times and places, intelligible meant Greek. Huge as the Hellenistic world was, the cultural influence of the Greeks over the millennia has been greater still. The world is littered with their architecture; university curricula and political structures, among other social forms, draw from their customs and institutions. "The Greeks have got just about everywhere," Beaton writes. His focus on language has us happily roaming beside Greek speakers across a vast geography and chronology, and plays to the author's strength as an expert in its many



forms and dialects. But the book's real engine is perhaps Seferis himself, on whose life and writings Beaton is the greatest living authority. The poet, who spent a lifetime pondering the meaning of the modern Greeks and their connection to the ancients, wrote the famous words: "Greece is travelling, always travelling." This image of constant wandering, but also of protean dynamism, is captured well by Beaton. His Greeks are constantly changing, debating and interacting with the worlds of which they have been a part. The Hittites of the second millennium BC; the countless peoples of the Hellenistic world; the varied cultures of the early Christian era; the Venetian and Ottoman Mediterranean of the Renaissance and Early Modern Periods; the modern Europe of today – all have been antagonists and neighbours, influencers of and influenced by the Greeks. Some, in adopting the language as their own, have themselves "become Greek". In this way, Beaton's language-based definition of the Greeks is far more than a narrative frame. It goes to the heart of a longstanding academic question, and one of the most charged debates among contemporary Greeks themselves: what "counts" as Greek? The current Greek nationalist answer – which generally invokes Orthodox Christianity alongside a relatively recent



ancestral connection to the lands that today constitute Greece – is distinctly modern, inflexible and constrained. Beaton’s work restores multiple identities to the Greeks, reflecting the depth and complexity of all that they have been over their long history. As Seferis put it in that Nobel speech, the Greece of today is “a small country, but its tradition is immense”. One of the greatest paradoxes of Greece, and arguably the trait most characteristic of it today, is this simultaneous humbleness and world-conquering ethos. Beaton is probably the only person alive who could manage with such subtlety and authority to convey it in one coherent volume. After decades as a diplomat, Seferis returned to his homeland in 1962. He was pained to see how the country had changed, largely as a result of having given itself over to tourism. The summer of his return, he had a vivid nightmare of a future in which he stood among a throng on the Acropolis. To his horror, he discerned that the crowd around him was there for an auction: the Greek government had given the Parthenon to the highest bidder, an American toothpaste mogul. The dream was prescient: in 2010, at the peak of the financial crisis, two German politicians set off a furore by proposing that Greece repay its debts by selling off its ancient buildings and its islands. The suggestion led to outrage, and a boycott of German goods. But on a more symbolic level, it touched on questions such as: who owns the Greek past? How is that past connected to the modern Greek present? And, most fundamentally, who are the Greeks? With this remarkable historical account, Beaton points us towards answers. This dazzling series of peoples with their many civilisations, identities and traditions have animated the world – and they continue, as always, to be on the move.

<https://amp.theguardian.com/books/2021/-dec/10/the-greeks-by-roderick-beaton-review-a-global-history>

## Japanese space tourists return to Earth after 12 days on ISS



ALMATY: A Japanese billionaire returned to Earth on Monday, after 12 days on the International Space Station where he made videos about performing mundane tasks including brushing teeth and going to the bathroom. Online fashion tycoon Yusaku Maezawa and his assistant Yozo Hirano parachuted onto Kazakhstan’s steppe at around the expected landing time of 0313 GMT on Monday, along with Russian cosmonaut Alexander Misurkin. Footage from the landing site, around 150 kilometres southeast of the central Kazakhstan town of Zhezkazgan, showed the trio smiling after being helped out of the Soyuz descent module and into evacuation vehicles in freezing, foggy conditions. “The crew is feeling good,” Russia’s space agency Roscosmos said. In his first tweet since returning to Earth, Maezawa posted a picture of himself eating instant noodles, saying he was on “Earth now”. The returned crew will spend two to three weeks reconditioning under the guidance of doctors as they reacclimate to Earth. They are due to hold a post-mission press conference on Wednesday. Their journey marked Russia’s return to space tourism after a decade-long pause that saw competition emerge from the United States. They spent 12 days on the orbiting laboratory where the tourists documented their daily life aboard the ISS for Maezawa’s popular YouTube channel. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1664942/>



# How the United States Can Break Putin's Hold on Ukraine

By: Alexander Vindman

Back then, Russian troops and tanks rolled into eastern Ukraine while the West, in shock, looked on. This year, Russia has once again raised the tenor of anti-Ukraine propaganda and assembled nearly 100,000 military personnel along Ukraine's border, plus tanks, artillery and equipment. All of this has raised alarms that Russia is preparing to launch the largest military offensive in Europe since World War II. In an attempt to ease the tension, President Biden spoke with Russia's president, Vladimir Putin, on Tuesday. Mr. Biden made progress in signaling the significant cost of an invasion of Ukraine: He explained the United States is prepared to impose punishing economic measures to protect Ukraine's sovereignty. But that may not be sufficient to deter Mr. Putin. Russia has amassed a \$620 billion war chest to weather the most crippling of sanctions — and Mr. Putin understands such penalties are unlikely to be enforced in the first place, since American allies in Europe would also be hurt.

Providing Ukraine with larger weapons such as anti-air and anti-ship missiles would be useful, but history suggests that the U.S. government is too risk-averse to take this step. To shift Mr. Putin's calculus, it is imperative that the Biden administration's policy toward Ukraine change both tactically and strategically to demonstrate a more active level of U.S. engagement but one that avoids crossing into military adventurism. There's a bigger issue at stake here: the vital role a free and sovereign Ukraine plays in advancing U.S. interests against those of Russia and China. The United States must support Ukraine by providing more extensive military assistance, deep and sustained diplomatic engagement and, most crucially, economic



cooperation. To date, U.S. foreign policy toward Ukraine has failed to keep the Kremlin in check. When it comes to Russia's neighbors, Washington has settled for a passive role and has been, at best, fickle in its friendship with Ukraine. Russia, on the other hand, has been committed to retaining and regaining a sphere of influence over its most important imperial holdings, Ukraine and Belarus. Mr. Putin — no doubt picking up on the decreased American appetite for foreign entanglements over the last few years — has seized his chances with encroachments on Ukrainian sovereignty including the annexation of Crimea and the invasion of the Donbas region. Even interference in Western elections is just another tactic to weaken the West and create a privileged sphere of Russian influence. Today's looming crisis in Ukraine is simply the continuation of Mr. Putin's ambitions. Statements like the one by Mr. Biden on Wednesday — that U.S. interests end at NATO's borders — have only emboldened Mr. Putin to ignore international norms. This American neglect must end. After all, the United States and Ukraine share both ideology and long-term geopolitical interests. Over the past 30 years, Ukraine has made major strides in its experiment with democracy. Despite worrying instances of government-backed corruption — undeniably, there is still more work to be done — Ukraine has made hard-fought prog-



ress on reform in the midst of war. Six presidents, two revolutions and many violent protests later, the people of Ukraine have sent a clear message that reflects the most fundamental of American values: They will fight for basic rights, and against authoritarian repression. A prosperous Ukraine buttressed by American support makes an authoritarian Russia unviable in the long term. Ukraine's success would upend Russia's irredentist aspirations for empire and highlight the Kremlin's failures, just as West Germany's achievements once did in comparison to the totalitarian East German state during the Cold War. It may even convince the Russian people — who share a culture, history and religion with Ukrainians — to eventually demand their own framework for democratic transition. To be sure, this doesn't happen overnight. A generational investment is necessary to realize such a vision. Nevertheless, the outlines of the stark contrast between a prosperous democratic Ukraine and a repressive and economically stagnant Russia are already evident. This is, in large part, why Mr. Putin needs Ukraine to be a failed state. U.S. support for Ukraine could also help drive a wedge between China and Russia. Preventing Mr. Putin from invading Ukraine demonstrates the strength of the West's commitment to opposing autocracy and makes Russia a less potent partner to China in their mutual efforts to undermine the Western rules-based international order. To that end, the United States should consider an out-of-cycle, division-level military deployment to Eastern Europe to reassure allies and bolster the defenses of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This kind of deployment would signal that Russia's aggression will result in the sort of NATO security posture Russia most wishes to avoid. And the United States cannot adequately support Ukraine without significant European involvement. The Kremlin wishes to make NATO membership for

Ukraine a central issue of any discussions. That's a distraction right now because an assurance that Ukraine won't be a part of NATO is unlikely on its own to stop Russia from still trying to bring Ukraine to heel.

The more important issue to consider is that negotiations with Russia should be dealt with at the level of European security. These talks should devise off ramps that alleviate both European and Russian security concerns: for Russia, NATO encroachment and ballistic missile defense, and for NATO, Russia's over-militarized western border. The Biden-Putin call on Tuesday opened the door to exactly this kind of discussion. The question that remains is whether Russia is prepared to walk through that door and reconsider its position on conventional arms control agreements such as the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty. The United States should also engage Ukraine in more long-term bilateral initiatives on security, reform and economic cooperation. This year, Washington has delivered approximately \$450 million in security assistance to Ukraine. While this is important, economic cooperation should go further to include backing American commercial investment through the Development Finance Corporation. Washington should also consider maintaining a more sustained high-level relationship with Ukraine that isn't defined by whether Kyiv is in crisis or not. There are irrefutable benefits to the existence of a strong, democratic and independent Ukraine as a powerhouse at the crossroads of Russia, Central Asia, the Middle East and Southern Europe. For that to happen, the United States has to be more assertive in the region. Our traditional halfhearted approach has already proven to be a dead end.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/10/opinion/international-world/putin-ukraine-biden.html>



# Rajan the last ocean-swimming elephant: Jody MacDonald's best photograph

*'He had been used for logging on the Andaman Islands. When I found him, he was 60, living in retirement – and loving his swims'. Interview by Graeme Green*

I lived at sea for 10 years. I co-owned and ran a global kiteboarding expedition business. We'd sail around the world on a 60-foot catamaran, following the trade winds, kiteboarding, surfing and paragliding in remote locations. One night, I watched a Hollywood movie called *The Fall*, which had a section where an elephant was swimming in tropical blue water. I didn't know if it was real or a fake Hollywood thing. But I thought: "Man, if that does exist, I'd love to photograph it." I searched the internet and found the elephant from the film was living in the Andaman Islands, an Indian territory in the Bay of Bengal. When we sailed into the capital, Port Blair, a few months later in 2010, I decided to hop off and try to find this elephant. I found Rajan on Havelock (now Swaraj) Island and spent two weeks with him, learning about his incredible story. Rajan was brought to the Andamans with nine other elephants in the 1970s to help log the islands. They needed a way to get the cut trees out to the barges just off the islands, so the elephants were forced to learn how to swim in the ocean. Elephants

"He'd totally immerse himself and use his trunk like a snorkel which was so cool" When logging was banned in 2002, Rajan was out of a job. He was the last elephant of the group to survive and lived out his days on Havelock Island until his death in 2016. When I found him, he was around 60 years old, living out his retirement with Nazroo, his caretaker, who in India is called a mahout. Every morning, Rajan would go into the jungle or walk down to the beach. He went swimming whenever he felt like it. He seemed to have adapted to swimming in salt water and even to enjoy it. I truly felt like he was having fun swimming in the ocean. I think that comes across in this picture. Many people tell me it looks like he's smiling. At times, he'd wade into the water a little bit and decide not to swim, and other times he'd submerge himself completely and swim out into deeper water, like someone doing laps in a pool. He'd totally immerse himself and use his trunk like a snorkel, which was so cool. It's surreal to swim with an elephant, especially in tropical blue water. I remember thinking, "Wow, this is crazy that

32 I don't like salt water because the salt stings their eyes and dries their skin. The elephants would drag the giant cut badak trees and swim them out to barges. Once an island was logged, the elephants would be made to swim to the next island. They'd sometimes swim miles, which was mind-blowing: a group of 10 elephants swimming in open ocean.





I'm here witnessing this." Often, Rajan was in shallower areas. But I really hoped to get a photo of him swimming weightlessly in deeper water, his legs kicking freely, in doggy paddle motion. It was challenging because I was always having to try to stay clear of him and his movements were unpredictable, which made it difficult to anticipate where he was going to swim. It all came down to whatever mood Rajan was in. On the day I took this photo, I was with him on one of his longer swims and I used a weight belt to freedive down to get the angle I wanted. "His previous caretaker, who had done all his brutal logging training, had died from a cobra bite. Rajan's mahout was always nearby. He felt so comfortable with Nazroo and didn't want to be far from him. His original mahout, who was the one who had done all the brutal training, had died from a cobra bite, and Nazroo came in after that. I've worked on human-elephant conflict for a few years in Asia and I've done stories on mahouts in India, so I've seen different levels of the relationship between humans and elephants, but I've never seen a bond as strong as Rajan and Nazroo's. It was like watching a mother and child – a caring, loving relationship. Spending time with Rajan was an amazing experience. Rajan was probably the last ocean-swimming elephant we'll ever see, which gives the image extra poignancy. As logging bans have increased, using elephants for logging has significantly diminished. I think it still happens in some Asian countries, but it's a practice that's thankfully fading. I've had incredible experiences as a photographer. I think it's important to share those experiences to encourage and inspire people to get out of their comfort zone and have their own adventures. It not only enriches their own lives but strengthens their relationship with nature and the environment, which means they'll be more inclined to protect them. Photography can make a real difference in people's lives.

## Jody MacDonald's CV



**Born:** Ottawa, Canada, 1978.

**Trained:** Self-taught.

**Influences:** Steve McCurry, Ami Vitale, George Steinmetz.

**High point:** "Never giving up on following my passion for photography."

**Low point:** "I got kicked in the face by a camel in Sudan two months ago."

**Top tip:** "Always try to improve your craft and don't quit."

*Jody MacDonald is one of 100 photographers supporting Vital Impacts, an international print sale fundraiser running until 31 December created by photographer Ami Vitale and journalist Eileen Mignoni to raise funds for Jane Goodall Institute's Roots and Shoots, Big Life Foundation, Great Plains Conservation's Project Ranger and SeaLegacy. See [vitalimpacts.org](http://vitalimpacts.org) and [@vital.impacts](https://twitter.com/vital.impacts). For more on Jody, see [jodymacdonaldphotography.com/](http://jodymacdonaldphotography.com/) and [@jodymacdonaldphoto](https://twitter.com/jodymacdonaldphoto)*

<https://amp.theguardian.com/artand-design/2021/dec/08/rajan-last-ocean-swimming-elephant-jody-macdonalds-best-photograph-andaman-retirement>



# UAE, Israel To Develop Unmanned Military, Commercial Vessels

*Emirati and Israeli state-owned weapons makers sign a deal to jointly design vessels on the final day of the Dubai Airshow.*

Emirati and Israeli state-owned weapons makers have signed a strategic agreement in Dubai to jointly design unmanned vessels capable of carrying out anti-submarine warfare. United Arab Emirates defence conglomerate EDGE and Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI) announced the partnership on the final day of the biennial Dubai Airshow on Thursday. In a joint statement, the firms said they would design the “170 M” advanced modular unmanned service vessels that would be usable for both military and commercial purposes. Aerospace and defence company IAI in March said it would jointly develop an advanced drone defence system with EDGE. The deal comes after the UAE and Israel last year established diplomatic ties under a deal brokered by former US President Donald Trump’s administration. The US later agreed to sell F-35 warplanes to Abu Dhabi.

Commenting on Thursday’s deal, EDGE CEO Faisal Al Bannai said: “In line with the Abraham Accords and the UAE’s newly-established cooperation with Israel, it is a defining moment for us to join forces with IAI. As EDGE invests extensively in autonomous capabilities, our co-development of a Counter-UAS will help strengthen our advanced technology portfolio.” IAI’s President Boaz Levy said the agreement serves as a “stepping-stone for further business and strategic alliances between our countries”. The UAE was the first among other Arab states that normalised ties with Israel last year – neighbouring Bahrain did so at the same time.

Palestinians view the normalisation agreements as weakening a longstanding pan-Arab position that calls for Israeli withdrawal from



occupied territories and acceptance of Palestinian statehood in return for normal relations with Arab countries. The Emirati-Israeli unmanned vessels would be able to operate semi and fully autonomously and carry out missions including submarine detection and anti-submarine warfare. “These developments will open many doors for us in local and global markets, military and commercial alike,” Bannai said in a statement. It would also be usable for intelligence, surveillance, reconnaissance, mine detection and sweeping, and as a deployment platform for certain types of aircraft. Commercially, it would be able to be customised for oil and gas exploration among several other capabilities. Abu Dhabi Ship Building (ADSB) will design the platform and integrate the control systems and payload, while IAI will develop the autonomous control system and integrate payloads into it. The statement did not say how much capital had been committed to the project, or when it would enter production.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/11/18/uae-israel-to-develop-unmanned-military-commercial-vessels>



# Dynamics of Power struggle within Afghan Taliban and challenge to achieve international legitimacy

By: Hifza Komal



## Introduction

Taliban announced interim government in September 2021 after withdrawal of United States forces from Afghanistan and collapse of western-supported Afghan government. New caretaker government selected Taliban movement's members from political and military factions. The interim government setup has created division between political and military factions of Taliban. There is a power void in Afghanistan as internal divisions between Taliban ministers are still settling disputes on power sharing. Internal competition between Taliban and extremist organization Islamic Invitation Alliance (IIA) or Karwan Abu Obaida (KaO) and Islamic State-Khorasan (IS-K) may lead Afghanistan to civil war.

## Power Vacuum

The United States' exit from the forever war has created power vacuum in Afghanistan. The growing security concerns of the last two years led to the spectacular collapse of Afghan government, including former Afghan President Ashraf Ghani fleeing the country on August 15, 2021. Amid the speculations of strength debate of Afghan security forces, the rapid takeover of Afghanistan by Taliban was beyond the expectations of main parties, including the Taliban themselves. Taliban face numerous immediate challenges, such as establishing the legitimacy of interim government before Afghans and international community and to address security risks stemming from their own internal division between military and political factions, reintegrating former combatants and the so-called Islamic State – Khorasan (IS-K). After the United States withdrawal, the absence of government in Afghanistan is a huge void to

fill. It was evident that during withdrawal chaos no national or international actors were prepared to handle crisis. Taliban took three weeks to coalesce movement's internal factions and announce interim appointees for national-level cabinet positions. Interim government do not understand the dynamics of new Afghanistan and faces long-term governance challenges.

## Interim set-up and intra-Taliban power struggle

There are several reports emerging regarding intra-Taliban power struggle after the United States withdrawal from Afghanistan. Taliban's military commanders are competing to hold decision-making positions, since they are the ones suffering war casualties. Power struggle and personal interests have led to rifts within military and political wings of Afghan Taliban. However, the Quetta and Peshawar Shura do not support the opinion of military faction. Extremist Taliban commanders rejected compromise and negotiations with the United States and former Afghan government. Military faction stated two decades war would be wasted if Taliban negotiate with aforementioned factions. According to several political analysts, military wing of Taliban is taking instructions from Russian and Iranian intelligence institutions. Taliban





announced the interim cabinet setup on September 7, 2021 followed by the visit of Lieutenant General Faiz Hameed, then Director General of Inter-services Intelligence (ISI) to Kabul. New Taliban regime has marginalized independent figures like Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar, that led to claims that Pakistan had asserted its control over regime. However, Pakistan's assistance to the United States in War on Terror (GWOt) and pressurizing Taliban at United States behest had created bad blood between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

### **Internal dissension within Taliban**

Taliban announced the interim government in September 2021 that included the movement's members. The members of notorious Haqqani network are placed in powerful positions and appointed several outsiders and ethnic minorities to some additional Cabinet positions. However, none of the outsiders were given important portfolios in the interim set up. The Cabinet formation led to the claims that Taliban has marginalized more independent figures like Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar, who has been bestowed with modest role of deputy prime minister. Further, there is a lack of consensus among leaders on the few broad decisions that Taliban leadership has made since the collapse of Ghani government on August 15, 2021. The lacking consensus reveals cracks within what has until been a highly cohesive insurgent movement. The situation after the arrival of Taliban was discussed in the webinar "Post-Taliban Take-over: Implications for the West" organized by the Regional Studies Institute, Islamabad. Taliban are facing challenge since they have not announced an inclusive government. International community and the neighbors have urged Afghan Taliban to include every section and ethnicity of Afghanistan to be a part of Afghan government. There is a need to resolve the issue of inclusivity with encouragement by the international community including the European Union. It was argued that the U.S. representative for Afghanistan

Zalmay Khalilzad portrayed Taliban as a unified political group, but this group includes different ethnicities from different backgrounds of Afghanistan speaking various languages. Taliban have acquired numerous political offices in different regions such as in Peshawar, Kandahar and Qatar and they cannot be declared as a unified group.

### **Conclusion**

Concluding, the two decades Global War on Terror came to an end in August 2021 after the United States withdrawal from Afghanistan. Western-supported government collapsed with Afghan President Ashraf Ghani fleeing country and finding shelter in Tajikistan. Taliban announced caretaker government after three weeks of negotiations in September 2021. Several leaders of Taliban movement were selected to lead various ministries. However, the interim government setup has created division between political and military factions of Taliban. According to the military faction, they need to be placed at influential places as they defeated western and Afghan forces on battlefield. But the political faction is also emphasizing for due credit and rewards for negotiating effectively in Doha Peace Process with national and international actors. The division between both groups is expected to get intense as the disillusioned fighters are leaving military group for not acting against political faction while negotiation process with national and international parties. Other than political and military groups lead by Baradar and Haqqani, respectively, Islamic Invitation Alliance (IIA) formerly known as Karwan Abu Obaida (KaO) and Islamic State – Khorasan (IS-K) are striving to fill power vacuum in Afghanistan. IIA and IS-K are recruiting disillusioned Taliban that can exacerbate political landscape in country and endanger Taliban rule. Further divisions between Taliban may have several implications for Afghanistan and there is a dangling threat of civil war, humanitarian and governance crises.





## Do Your Part Get Vaccinated

By: Masood Ashraf - USA

The American Revolution was a conflict in which 13 colonies established in North America revolted against the unjust rule of England. The battles that ensued during this 7 year long period is well known among many individuals, but what many are not aware of is the third power America was fighting against. This third power was arguably stronger than the English and was one that nearly caused America to cease to exist: smallpox. Smallpox was a highly contagious and infectious disease caused by the variola major virus that had wreaked havoc on millions of people from numerous different time periods. Those who were unfortunate enough to contract the virus had around a 1 in 3 chance of surviving and progressed through a series of different stages, each one more painful than the last. During the first incubation stage, the disease manifested itself through high fevers, headaches, body aches, and excessive vomiting. As the infected experienced these initial symptoms, small but irritating red dots would begin to appear in the person's mouth, coating their tongues and eventually spreading to cover their face, arms, legs, hands, and feet. In a mere 24 hours, these red spots would be found completely enveloping the individual's entire body. These itchy painful dots would slowly begin to fill up with a thick translucent liquid and form pustules, or large irregular bumps on the skin with a yellowish substance called pus. These pustules would continue to grow and if the person had not yet succumbed to the disease, they would eventually scab over and fall off, leaving them with deep scars all over their body. This infectious virus caused extreme discomfort and pain throughout all of its stages which made contracting it something to be very cautious of. However,

getting a handle on this virus proved to be difficult since outbreaks of it would often infect thousands, dissipate, and then reappear to infect more people multiple times throughout history. Its origin was difficult to pinpoint and it spread rapidly through trade routes stretching across continents and through the confrontations of individuals from different territories. One of these confrontations, and arguably the most important, was the one between the English and the colonials during the American Revolution. Due to the occasional smallpox outbreaks, the English had already been largely exposed to smallpox and developed some degree of immunity to the disease. Unfortunately, those residing within the colonies had never dealt with the virus before and thus had absolutely no immunity to it. During the revolution when the English sailed over to North America, they brought smallpox with them and spread the infectious disease to the Americans, adding an entirely new conflict for them to deal with while fighting for their independence. However, just as Britain's smallpox spread, so did their idea of variolation. Variolation refers to a process used to eradicate smallpox, originating from the virus's name variola major. This method of inoculation involved taking the substance from pustules on individuals with a much milder version of smallpox, known as variola minor, and injecting it into someone who desired immunity. The small injection would cause far milder and manageable symptoms of smallpox and would allow the individual's immune system to build up antibodies that could fight off the disease. These inoculated individuals became immune to variola major and were able to continue to fight in the revolution healthy and unscarred after a short



recovery period. Although this method of extracting viruses was not as sanitary during the 18th century as it would be now with our advanced technology, the idea of using a mild version of a disease to combat a more severe version is exactly how modern-day live-attenuated vaccines function. And it was because of this that America had a chance in winning the revolutionary war. Word of this method had spread across the colonies and upon discovering the concept of vaccinations through live-attenuated viruses, American general George Washington eventually mandated his soldiers to receive the procedure. He ensured new troops coming into the war would receive the inoculation and timed it so that the period of time in which new recruits would usually wait for their materials was used as a recovery period. Through this well strategized plan, more and more soldiers were becoming immune to smallpox and the colonials finally got a firm hold on the incredibly infectious disease, allowing them to focus on fighting actual British troops and to continue to do so until they were officially recognized as an independent nation on September 3rd, 1783. The American Revolution consisted of numerous bloody battles between the colonials and the English, but the battle that took the most lives from both sides was the fight against smallpox. This infectious disease had ravaged civilizations for centuries and if variolation had not been discovered when it was, the painful virus would have caused the colonies to lose their country and their independence. Getting vaccinated was a significant reason why America didn't fall prey to the English during the revolution and if people had refused the inoculations, this disease would have taken our country and then evolved to take another. Smallpox would have continued its cycle of infecting people, dissipating, and reappearing for centuries to come just as it had been doing for centuries past. Through variolation and a more

advanced method of inoculation for smallpox discovered by Edward Jenner involving cowpox in the near future, the world was able to completely eradicate the disease. The only reason why this infectious disease never survived long enough to torment another generation was because people had gotten these inoculations. Smallpox and countless other diseases like polio, measles, cholera, and even covid-19 would have claimed the lives of many more if vaccinations had not been developed for them. The more people who had taken the vaccines, the safer the general public was. Through time and scientific advancement of vaccines, we no longer have to consider smallpox, cholera, measles or several other diseases as a worldwide epidemic. All that's left now, is covid. If we want to eradicate covid-19 as a pandemic just as we did with countless previous diseases, getting vaccinated is the best step that needs to be taken.

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For your co-workers.**



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# Quel avenir pour les personnes âgées dans la société occidentale.



Par: Dr Idrissa KONE

Dans une interview sur la chaîne radio France-Inter, Claire Hédon, chargée de défendre les droits des citoyens français, dénonçait la maltraitance des personnes âgées. Elle a tenu des propos à même de glacer tout citoyen soucieux du bien-être des personnes du troisième âge dans la société. On s'attendrait à une levée de bouclier pour dénoncer cette maltraitance des plus abjects désignée par l'euphémisme « atteinte aux droits fondamentaux des personnes âgées ». Mais silence radio. Ces faits sont passés quasiment inaperçus dans l'actualité. Pire : aucune autorité de l'État n'a osé prendre des décisions courageuses suite aux recommandations de la défenseure des droits. Les adultes âgés, en particulier ceux résidant dans les établissements d'hébergements de personnes dépendantes (EHPAD), n'intéressent pas grand monde. Ayant du mal à se déplacer, ils ne votent plus : en somme ils ne pèsent pas dans aucune élection et sont un fardeau. Comment en sommes-nous arrivés là ? Il ne faut pas être devin : la faute incombe en premier aux enfants de ces personnes. Ils ont un plan simple : nos parents nous mettent au monde, s'occupent de nous, nous hébergent, nous scolarisent. Lorsque nous trouvons du travail et nous sentons qu'ils ne sont plus autonomes et de surcroît nous empêchent de vivre selon nos désirs, nous les envoyons dans des EHPAD. Tel est mon constat. Feu le 4<sup>e</sup> Calife de la communauté musulmane Ahmadiyya avait fait un constat amer du traitement dont souffrent les seniors en Occident. Il écrivait « *De nos jours, la société se tourne de plus en plus vers l'État pour prendre en charge des personnes âgées. Cette responsabilité représente un fardeau très lourd pour l'économie nationale. Quelle que soit la somme déboursée par l'État, il ne pourra jamais offrir aux personnes âgées la satisfaction et la paix. [...] Aujourd'hui, il est très difficile*

*d'imaginer qu'une famille veuille bien s'occuper d'un parent éloigné. Dans ces sociétés, le besoin de foyers pour personnes âgées augmente avec le temps. Pourtant, il n'est pas toujours possible que l'État puisse leur fournir le minimum nécessaire pour une vie décente. Dans la société moderne il est plus facile de soigner les maladies physiques, que les traumatismes psychologiques dont souffre un grand nombre de personnes âgées. »* [Problèmes des temps modernes : solutions de l'Islam, pages 84 à 85]. Plus de 15 siècles de cela, l'Islam avait souligné l'importance du bon traitement à l'égard des aînés de la société afin que ces derniers puissent aborder paisiblement la dernière phase de leur vie. Dieu déclare dans le Saint Coran : « *Ton Seigneur a ordonné que vous n'adoriez nul autre que Lui, et que vous montriez de la bonté aux parents. Si l'un d'entre eux, ou tous deux, atteignent la vieillesse auprès de toi, ne leur dis jamais aucune parole exprimant le dégoût, ni ne leur fais aucun reproche, mais adresse-toi à eux avec douceur et respect. Et, animé de tendresse, abaisse pour eux l'aile de ton humilité. Et dis : "Mon Seigneur, aie pitié d'eux tout comme ils m'ont élevé dans mon enfance."* » [St Coran, chapitre 17, versets 24 à 25]. Selon ces versets les personnes âgées sont un bien sacré qui mérite d'être chéri. Leur environnement affectif, et non quelque considération financière, doit être la priorité. L'Islam nous enjoint d'être bienveillant envers elles, de nous adresser à elles avec tendresse, de ne pas les blesser, de ne pas les faire souffrir moralement. Les termes « *atteignent la vieillesse avec toi* » démontrent qu'on doit être auprès d'elles, à leurs petits soins au lieu de chercher des solutions pour se débarrasser d'elles. En ce qui concerne leur prise en charge financière, Dieu dit dans le Saint Coran : « *La vertu ne consiste pas à ce que vous tourniez vos visages vers l'Est ou vers*



*l'Ouest, mais la vraie vertu est que l'on croit en Allah et au Jour Dernier et aux anges et au Livre et aux Prophètes, et que, pour l'amour d'Allah, l'on dépense de l'argent sur les proches parents et sur les orphelins et sur les nécessiteux et sur le voyageur et sur ceux qui demandent de l'aumône et pour rançonner les captifs [...] » [St Coran, chapitre 2, verset 178]. L'analyse de ces versets démontre que toute dépense financière doit être rattachée à des notions d'amour, d'affectivité et de générosité. Le Saint Prophète Muhammad (sa) – la personnification même du Saint Coran – avait amplement souligné l'importance du bon traitement envers les parents.*

Abou Houraira (ra) rapporte : *« Un homme vint voir le Saint Prophète Muhammad et lui demanda qui méritait le meilleur traitement de sa part. Il lui répondit : « Ta mère. » L'homme demanda encore : « Et qui après elle ? » Le Saint Prophète Muhammad répéta : « Ta mère. » L'homme demanda une troisième fois : « Et après ma mère ? » et le Saint Prophète Muhammad répondit de nouveau : « Toujours ta mère. » Et quand l'homme lui eut demandé une quatrième fois, il dit : « Après elle, ton père, et après lui tes plus proches parents, et après eux tes parents éloignés. » [Sahih Al-Boukhari] Abou Houraira (ra) rapporte que le Saint Prophète Muhammad (sa) a dit : « Misérable est cette personne ! Misérable est cette personne ! Misérable est cette personne ! On lui a demandé : « Qui est-ce, ô Messenger d'Allah ? » Il a répondu : « Celle qui trouve ses deux parents ou l'un d'entre eux dans leur vieillesse sans pour autant mériter dans le Paradis (en les servant). » [Mouslim]. Ces sages paroles ne nécessitent aucun commentaire. Elles doivent être mises en application, d'autant plus que les analyses démographiques de l'Union Européenne prévoient une augmentation exponentielle du nombre de personnes âgées au cours des prochaines décennies. Les jeunes et les adultes de notre époque seront les personnes âgées de demain. Évitions d'être à l'image de ce fils indigne du récit relaté par feu le 4e Calife de la commu-*

*nauté musulmane Ahmadiyya : « Ceci est une histoire qui pourra faire rire certains et pleurer d'autres. C'est celle d'un enfant qui regarde d'un œil mécontent le mauvais traitement que son père fait subir à son grand-père. Ce dernier est forcé de déménager dans des chambres de moins en moins confortables, pour être finalement relégué dans le quartier des serviteurs. Pendant un hiver très glacial, le grand-père se plaignit que sa chambre était froide et sa couverture pas assez épaisse. Son fils, c'est-à-dire le père de l'enfant, se mit à chercher une autre couverture dans une boîte de vieux chiffons. En voyant ce que faisait son père, l'enfant lui dit : « S'il te plaît, ne donne pas tous ces chiffons à grand-père. Gardes-en quelques-uns, pour que je t'en offre quand tu seras vieux ! » [Problèmes des temps modernes : solutions de l'Islam, pages 87-86].*

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# Pakistans größte Niederlage bleibt tabu

*1971 spaltete sich Bangladesch nach einem blutigen Bürgerkrieg von Pakistan ab und wurde unabhängig. Doch die Ereignisse von damals sind bis heute weitgehend tabu. Eine Aufarbeitung dieses zentralen Kapitels in der Geschichte Pakistans findet nicht statt. Eine Analyse von Mohammad Luqman*

By:  
**Mohammad Luqman**  
Germany

"So viel Herzenswärme - und doch sind wir heute für dich bloß Fremde. Wie viele Begegnungen wird es brauchen, um wieder Genossen zu sein?" So fängt das oft gesungene melancholische Gedicht des bekannten pakistanischen Poeten Faiz Ahmad Faiz an. 1974 hatte Faiz die Hauptstadt Dhaka zum ersten Mal nach dem Bürgerkrieg besucht. Seine Eindrücke und das Trauma des Krieges, der zur Abspaltung und Unabhängigkeit Bangladeschs geführt hatte, inspirierten ihn zu diesen Zeilen. Am 16. Dezember 1971 hatte der pakistanische General Abdullah Khan Niazi vor laufenden Kameras die Kapitulation unterschrieben und fast 90.000 pakistanische Soldaten in die indische Kriegsgefangenschaft überführt. Ende 2021 wird Bangladesch an diesem Tag den 50. Jahrestag seiner Unabhängigkeit feiern. Was den Bengalis als die Geburtsstunde ihrer Nation gilt, stellt für Pakistan die größte militärische Niederlage seiner Geschichte dar. Abseits des nationalistischen Narratives beider Staaten und jenseits des Streits um die tatsächliche Anzahl der zivilen Opfer, ist die menschliche Tragödie dieser Epoche wenig aufgearbeitet worden. In Pakistan wird das Thema bis heute tabuisiert. Bezeichnend dafür ist die erzwungene Absage einer Konferenz der renommierten Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) im März 2021, die einen kritischen Blick auf die Geschehnisse werfen wollte. Nur wenige Tage nach der offiziellen Ankündigung musste die Universität die akademische Veranstaltung auf mysteriösen Druck hin absagen.

**Widerstand in Ostpakistan gegen Nationalsprache Urdu**

Pakistan entstand nach der Teilung britisch-Indiens im Jahre 1947 als ein Nationalstaat der indischen Muslime. Provinzen mit einer mehrheitlich muslimischen Bevölkerung wurden zum neuen Staat Pakistan zusammengefasst. Da Ost-Bengalen überwiegend muslimisch war, gehörte es nun zum pakistanischen Staatsgebiet, war jedoch fast 1500 Kilometer vom westlichen Teil des Landes entfernt. Zwischen den beiden Staatsgebieten bestand keine Landverbindung. Zudem war Ost-Bengalen der bevölkerungsreichste Teil des neuen Staates und ethnisch bengalisch geprägt. Vor diesem Hintergrund beschwor die Zentralregierung in Karachi eine Einheit beider Landesteile. Ein Mittel für die nationale Einheit schien anfangs die Idee einer einheitlichen Nationalsprache, Urdu, zu sein. Womit die überwiegend westpakistanischen Politiker der Zentralregierung aber nicht rechneten, war der starke Widerstand in Ostpakistan gegen ein solches Vorhaben. Die Bengalis befürchteten mit der Idee einer einheitlichen Nationalsprache den Verlust ihrer Muttersprache und Identität. 1952 formierte sich studentischer Protest in Dhaka gegen die unpopuläre Politik. Das rabiante Vorgehen der Sicherheitskräfte gegen die Studenten forderte Tote und Verletzte und führte zu Unruhen in der ganzen Provinz. Auch wenn einige Jahre später Bengalisch als eine offizielle Nationalsprache anerkannt wurde, hatte die unglückliche Handhabung der Kontroverse bereits den Grundstein für eine Entfremdung Ost-Bengalens von Pakistan gelegt. Die im Zuge des Streits entstandene neue Partei Awami League gewann 1954 bei den Wahlen in Ost-Bengalen die absolute Mehrheit und stell-



te nun die neue Provinzregierung. Ihre Forderungen nach mehr Autonomie und paritätischer Teilhabe an den Staatsausgaben führten immer wieder zu starken Spannungen mit der Zentralregierung. Ende 1954 löste Karachi die Provinzregierung in Ost-Bengalen auf und ließ Kader der Awami League wegen Landesverrat inhaftieren.

### Ein Komplott Indiens?

Der repressive Umgang folgender Zentralregierungen in den nächsten Jahren verursachte nur noch mehr Unmut in der Bevölkerung Ostpakistans. 1966 übernahm der charismatische Mujibur Rahman (1920-1975) den Parteivorsitz in der Awami League und schlug in einem sogenannten Sechs-Punkte-Plan eine sehr weitreichende Autonomie für Ostpakistan vor. In der neuen Hauptstadt Islamabad sah die Militärregierung in dem Plan den Versuch einer De-facto-Abspaltung der Ostprovinz und einige vermuteten sogar ein indisches Komplott, um Pakistan zu spalten. Vermutlich nicht ganz zu Unrecht, denn wie der indische Topdiplomate Sashanka S. Banerjee 2020 in einem Beitrag bestätigte, hatte Mujibur Rahman bereits 1962 Neu-Delhi um Unterstützung für eine Unabhängigkeitsbewegung in Ostpakistan gebeten. Nach eigenem Bekunden entwickelte Rahman bereits 1958 die Idee für ein unabhängiges Bangladesch. Die Parlamentswahlen von 1970 brachten Mujibur Rahmans Partei in Ostpakistan wieder die absolute Mehrheit, so dass sie auch im gesamt-pakistanischen Ergebnis als stärkste politische Kraft aus den Wahlen hervorging. Die Militärdiktatur unter General Yahya Khan (1969-1971) zögerte zunächst mit einem Regierungsauftrag an ihn und drang die Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) von Zulifkar Ali Bhutto, die in Westpakistan gesiegt hatte, mit Rahman über die Bildung einer Einheitsregierung zu verhandeln. Obwohl nach Bekunden mehrerer Verhandlungsführer die meisten Forderungen der Awami League akzeptiert worden waren, hatten die Kader der Partei



*[Mujibur Rahman bei einer Kundgebung mit seinen Anhängern. Der charismatische Politiker gilt in Bangladesch als "Vater der Nation". Allerdings steht am Beginn des neuen Staates ein blutiger Bürgerkrieg. Am 26. März 1971 rief Rahman die Unabhängigkeit des Landes von Pakistan aus. Daraufhin gab der Oberbefehlshaber der pakistanischen Truppen im damaligen Ostpakistan den unsäglichen Befehl für die Operation Search Light. Sie bedeutete den Auftakt zum Bürgerkrieg, der vermutlich bis zu drei Millionen Menschen das Leben gekostet hat. Rahman selbst wurde vier Jahre nach der Unabhängigkeit bei einem Militärputsch ermordet.]*

sich anscheinend bereits für eine Unabhängigkeit entschieden, sodass die Verhandlungen ergebnislos abgebrochen wurden.

### Die Operation Search Light ist der Auftakt zum Bürgerkrieg

Parallel zu den offiziellen Verhandlungen hatten die Generäle im Geheimen Pläne zur gewaltsamen Unterdrückung der bengalischen Opposition geschmiedet. Als die offiziellen Verhandlungen scheiterten, verkündete Mujibur Rahman am 26. März 1971 die Unabhängigkeit Bangladeschs, worauf der Oberbefehlshaber der pakistanischen Truppen in Ostpakistan den unsäglichen Befehl für die Operation Search Light gab, die den Auftakt zum Bürgerkrieg bedeutete. Was folgte, ist eines der dunkelsten Kapitel der pakistanischen Geschichte. In



Ost-Bengalen wurden Hunderttausende Opfer von Folter, Exekutionen, Vergewaltigungen und Vertreibungen. Neben den Soldaten beteiligten sich auch islamistische Milizen aktiv an den Gräueltaten. In einem dramatischen Appell schrieb der amerikanische Konsul in Dhaka Archer Blood nach Washington: "Here in Dacca we are mute and horrified witnesses to a reign of terror by the PAK military. Evidence continues to mount that the Martial Law Authorities have a list of Awami League supporters whom they are systematically eliminating by seeking them out in their homes and shooting them down." ("Hier in Dakka sind wir die stummen und entsetzten Zeugen der Terrorherrschaft der pakistanischen Armee. Es gibt Indizien dafür, dass die militärischen Autoritäten (unter Kriegsrecht) eine Liste mit Awami League-Unterstützern angelegt haben und diese systematisch eliminieren, indem sie sie in ihren Häusern aufsuchen und niederschießen.") In weiteren Telegrammen dokumentierten die Diplomaten systematische Massaker und Vertreibungen. Ihre Appelle an die eigene Regierung, der Gewalt Einhalt zu gewähren, stießen in Washington auf taube Ohren. Kissinger rügte die Diplomaten und rief Blood zurück. Für Washington waren die strategischen Beziehungen zum pakistanischen Establishment wichtiger als die zivilen Opfer des Krieges. Auf der anderen Seite bewaffnete und trainierte Indien Mujibur Rahmans Miliz, die Mukhti Bahini, um Anschläge und Sabotageakte gegen das pakistanische Militär zu führen. In einem aussichtslosen Versuch, Indien von einer weiteren Einmischung in den Bürgerkrieg zu stoppen, flog die pakistanische Luftwaffe Anfang Dezember 1971 einen Überraschungsangriff an der indischen Westgrenze. Islamabad's Militärstrategen erhofften so, den Druck an der Ostfront vermindern zu können. Doch die Eskalation resultierte in einer offiziellen Kriegserklärung und dem Einmarsch

indischer Truppen in Ostpakistan. Nur wenige Wochen später unterschrieb der pakistanische General Niazi die Kapitulation seines Landes in Dhaka. In ihrem Siegesrausch gingen nun Mitglieder der Mukhti Bahini-Milizen gegen tatsächliche und vermeintliche Kollaborateure der pakistanischen Armee vor. Racheakte, außergerichtliche Exekutionen und Vertreibungen waren die Folge. Besonders bekam das die Urdu sprechende Minderheit der Biharis zu spüren, die bis heute in Bangladesch stark diskriminiert wird.

### **Keine Aufarbeitung der Ereignisse in Sicht**

Eine Aufarbeitung der Ereignisse im Bürgerkrieg ist in Pakistan weitgehend ausgeblieben. Die Ende 1971 von Staatspräsident Zulifkar Ali Bhutto eingesetzte Hamoodur Rahman Commission legte zwar einen umfangreichen Bericht vor, in dem Kriegsverbrechen dokumentiert und die Verantwortlichen aufgezeigt worden waren, jedoch bleibt der Hauptteil des Berichts - auch nach fast 50 Jahren - noch immer unter Verschluss. Erst im Jahre 2000 gelangten Teile des Berichts an die Presse. In Pakistan wurde kein Verantwortlicher ernsthaft zur Rechenschaft gezogen oder bestraft. Selbst General Niazi, dem alle Beobachter eine Mitschuld an dem Desaster geben, wurde bis auf eine kurze Inhaftierung und spätere unehrenhafte Entlassung aus dem Militär nie für seine Rolle zur Rechenschaft gezogen. Es ist vielleicht eine Ironie des Schicksals, dass ausgerechnet der damalige Militärmachthaber Pervez Musharraf im Jahr 2002 am weitesten auf Bangladesch zuing und offiziell der Toten beider Seiten gedachte. Das Schicksalsjahr 1971 hat wie kein anderes den Lauf der pakistanischen Geschichte verändert und dennoch tut sich das Land schwer mit der Vergangenheitsbewältigung. Aber eine ehrliche Aufarbeitung der Ereignisse wäre zentral, um die Traumata von damals zu heilen.

<https://de.qantara.de/inhalt/50-jahre-bangladesch-pakistans-groesste-niederlage-bleibt-tabu>



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