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# **PATHWAYS TO CHANGE**

## **Pakistan Policy Symposium**

***Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars***

**Washington, D.C.**

**October 17-18, 2018**

Pakistan has enjoyed a series of recent achievements in economic, political, and foreign affairs. Yet it continues to suffer from major challenges that threaten to squander the progress of recent years. What can Pakistan do to capitalize on its opportunities and address its challenges? This symposium, jointly organized by the Wilson Center and INDUS, seeks to answer this question and others with an emphasis on identifying practical, innovative, and actionable policy solutions.

### **PANELS**

#### **US-Pakistan Relations**

How can the two sides arrive at a realistic and workable relationship?

#### **Afghanistan**

How if at all can Washington, Islamabad, and Kabul work together to achieve a desirable endgame?

#### **Economic Futures**

How can Pakistan escape from its decades-long economic malaise?

#### **Society, the State, and Extremism**

How can Pakistani society and the state make real and lasting progress in tackling radicalization and extremism?

### **Women's Entrepreneurship**

What is the future of the startup and innovation economy in Pakistan, and how can it help strengthen job growth and the status of women?

### **The Diaspora**

What role can the 500,000-strong Pakistani-American community play in strengthening Pakistan's economy and the U.S.-Pakistan relationship?

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## **Amb. Siddiqui joins INDUS Dinner in His Honor**



The INDUS Team and the INDUS Academic Panel organized an evening dinner in honor of Pakistan Ambassador to the United States Ali Jehangir Siddiqui on Thursday, August 2, at the home of Mr. Shezad Habib, INDUS Special Advisor. Amb. Siddiqui addressed guests and questions about international and regional affairs affecting Pakistan and the U.S.-Pakistan relationship. Dinner and soft drinks were served.



# Pakistan Day: Will "Naya Pakistan" Be Truly Free?



**Riaz Haq**

Pakistan's Independence Day celebrations this year coincide with a momentous change in leadership. It has been brought about by the triumph of the insurgent Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf (PTI) over Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN) and Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), both regarded as dynastic political parties. PMLN and PPP are controlled by a family. Pakistan's Prime Minister Elect Imran Khan is part of a generation that he has says "grew up at a time when colonial hang up was at its peak." How will the acknowledgement of this upbringing affect Imran Khan's leadership of "Naya Pakistan"? Let's examine the answers to this question.

## **Colonial Era Education:**

Imran Khan attended Aitchison College, an elite school established in Lahore by South Asia's colonial rulers to produce faithful civil servants during the British Raj. He then went on to graduate from Oxford University in England. Here's an excerpt of what he wrote in an article published by the Arab Newson January 14, 2002:

"My generation grew up at a time when colonial hang up was at its peak. Our older generation had been slaves and had a huge inferiority complex of the British. The school I went to was similar to all elite schools in Pakistan. Despite gaining independent, they were, and still are, producing replicas of public schoolboys rather than Pakistanis.

I read Shakespeare, which was fine, but no Allama Iqbal — the national poet of Pakistan. The class on Islamic studies was not taken seriously, and when I left school I was considered among the elite of the country because I could speak English and wore Western clothes.

Despite periodically shouting 'Pakistan Zindabad' in school functions, I considered my own culture backward and religion outdated. Among our group if any one talked about religion, prayed or kept a beard he was immediately branded a Mullah.

Because of the power of the Western media, our heroes were Western movie stars or pop stars.

When I went to Oxford already burdened with this hang up, things didn't get any easier. At Oxford, not just Islam, but all religions were considered anachronism."

### **Colonized Minds:**

It is refreshing to see Imran Khan's acknowledgement that Pakistan's elite schools are "producing replicas of public schoolboys rather than Pakistanis". Pakistan achieved independence from the British colonial rule 70 years ago. However, the minds of most of Pakistan's elites remain colonized to this day. This seems to be particularly true of the nation's western-educated "liberals" who dominate much of the intellectual discourse in the country. They continue to look at their fellow countrymen through the eyes of the Orientalists who served as tools for western colonization of Asia, Middle East and Africa. The work of these "native" Orientalists available in their books, op ed columns and other publications reflects their utter contempt for Pakistan and Pakistanis. Their colonized minds uncritically accept all things western. They often seem to think that the Pakistanis can do nothing right while the West can do no wrong. Far from being constructive, these colonized minds promote lack of confidence in the ability of their fellow "natives" to solve their own problems and contribute to hopelessness. The way out of it is to encourage more inquiry based learning and critical thinking.

### **Orientalism As Tool of Colonialism:**

Dr. Edward Said (1935-2003), Palestine-born Columbia University professor and the author of "Orientalism", described it as the ethnocentric study of non-Europeans by Europeans. Dr. Said wrote that the Orientalists see the people of Asia, Africa and the Middle East as "gullible" and "devoid of energy and initiative." European colonization led to the decline and destruction of the prosperity of every nation they ruled. India is a prime example of it. India was the world's largest economy producing over a quarter of the world's GDP when the British arrived. At the end of the British Raj, India's contribution was reduced to less than 2% of the world GDP.

### **Education to Colonize Minds:**

In his "Prison Notebooks", Antonio Gramsci, an Italian Marxist theorist and politician, says that a class can exercise its power not merely by the use of force but by an institutionalized system of moral and intellectual leadership that promotes certain ideas and beliefs favorable to it. For Gramsci "cultural hegemony" is maintained through the consent of the dominated class which assures the intellectual and material supremacy of the dominant class.

In "Masks of Conquest", author Gauri Viswanathan says that the British curriculum was introduced in India to "mask" the economic exploitation of the colonized. Its main purpose was to colonize the minds of the natives to sustain colonial rule.

### **Cambridge Curriculum in Pakistan:**

The colonial discourse of the superiority of English language and western education continues with a system of elite schools that uses Cambridge curriculum in Pakistan.

Over 270,000 Pakistani students from elite schools participated in Cambridge O-level and A-level International (CIE) exams in 2016, an increase of seven per cent over the prior year.

Cambridge IGCSE exams is also growing in popularity in Pakistan, with enrollment increasing by 16% from 10,364 in 2014-15 to 12,019 in 2015-16. Globally there has been 10% growth in entries across all Cambridge qualifications in 2016, including 11% growth in entries for Cambridge International A Levels and 8 per cent for Cambridge IGCSE, according to Express Tribune newspaper.

The United Kingdom remains the top source of international education for Pakistanis. 46,640 students, the largest number of Pakistani students receiving international education anywhere, are doing so at Pakistani universities in joint degree programs established with British universities, according to UK Council for International Student Affairs.

At the higher education level, the number of students enrolled in British-Pakistani joint degree programs in Pakistan (46,640) makes it the fourth largest effort behind Malaysia (78,850), China (64,560) and Singapore (49,970).

### **Teach Critical Thinking:**

Pakistani educators need to see the western colonial influences and their detrimental effects on the minds of youngsters. They need to improve learning by helping students learn to think for themselves critically. Such reforms will require students to ask more questions and to find answers for themselves through their own research rather than taking the words of their textbook authors and teachers as the ultimate truth.

**Summary:**

It is refreshing to see Imran Khan's acknowledgement that Pakistan's elite schools are "producing replicas of public schoolboys rather than Pakistanis". The minds of most of Pakistan's elite remain colonized 70 years after the British rule of Pakistan ended in 1947. They uncritically accept all things western. A quick scan of Pakistan's English media shows the disdain the nation's western educated elites have for their fellow countryman. Far from being constructive, they promote lack of confidence in their fellow "natives" ability to solve their own problems and contribute to hopelessness. Their colonized minds uncritically accept all things western. They often seem to think that the Pakistanis can do nothing right while the West can do no wrong. Unless these colonized minds are freed, it will be difficult for the people of Pakistan to believe in themselves, have the confidence in their capabilities and develop the national pride to lay the foundation of a bright future. The best way to help free these colonized minds is through curriculum reform that helps build real critical thinking.

Here's an interesting discussion of the legacy of the British Raj in India as seen by writer-diplomat Shashi Tharoor: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dN2Owcwq6\\_M](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dN2Owcwq6_M)

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# China and US Battle For Influence in Pakistan



**Riaz Haq**

Top US and Chinese diplomats have visited Pakistan to meet with the country's new prime minister Mr. Imran Khan within days of his assuming office. The US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo was the first to call on Prime Minister Imran Khan in Islamabad. Pompeo's visit was soon followed by a three-day visit by Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi. What is at stake in the battle between China and the United States in Pakistan is the prize of global superpower status, according to the US-based Wall Street Journal.

There is a lot of speculation in the western media about the objectives of Pakistan policies being pursued by the two great powers and their impact on the US-China competition for world dominance. Such speculations have centered on the debt related to China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and the US leverage in potential IMF bailout of Pakistan.

American business publication Wall Street Journal has produced a short video explaining how its staff sees what it describes as "US-China conflict brewing in Pakistan". What is at stake in the battle between China and the United States in Pakistan is the prize of global superpower status. Here are the key points it makes:

1. The US-China conflict brewing in Pakistan is about global dominance sought by the two great powers.
2. If China succeeds, it could become the new center of global trade. If the US wins, it could frustrate China's push to become a global power. The impact of it will be felt around the world for

decades.

3. China has already surpassed the United States as the world's biggest exporter of goods and services.
4. The biggest project in China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) in which China is investing heavily and providing massive loans.
5. China could use the infrastructure built in Pakistan under CPEC to gain access to the Indian Ocean and supplant the United States in Pakistan.
6. CPEC-related spending is sinking Pakistan deeper in debt to China. It could force Pakistan to seek \$8 billion to \$12 billion bailout by IMF where US is the biggest shareholder with veto power.
7. US does not want the IMF bailout money to be used to repay Chinese debt. Not bailing out Pakistan is not an option because it could cost US an important ally in the region.
8. US could, however, use IMF bailout to limit what Pakistan can borrow from China. Such a condition will achieve the US objective of significantly slowing down CPEC and BRI.
9. Pakistan's dilemma is that it needs both the infrastructure improvements financed by China and the IMF bailout to ease pressure on its dwindling foreign exchange reserves.
10. Whoever wins in Pakistan will become the number one global superpower.

Here's the Wall Street Journal video: <https://youtu.be/www-85CC1t4>

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## OUR FOCUS

### **Youth Leadership Development**

Creating campus-based, strictly nonpolitical Student Government Associations that offer Executive, Legislative & Judiciary functions experience within the campus environment. Elected student representatives, as Members of Parliament, Senators and judges manage all aspects of student affairs, in conjunction with campus administration.

### **Pakistan Civil Liberties Union**

Civil liberties are personal guarantees and freedoms that the government cannot abridge, either by law or by judicial interpretation. However in today's Pakistan, rising violence, intolerance, weak rule of law, endemic corruption, lack of social and economic justice, and religious freedom, social exclusion of the vulnerable and the marginalized are a common phenomenon that the people of Pakistan face on a daily basis. Pakistan Civil Liberties Union – PCLU is a watchdog organization intended to combat all the above issues at every cross section of our society.

### **Community Integration & Civic Promotion**

When successful, the processes of community integration and civic promotion begin with the individual and, alongside support from Federal, State, and municipal programs, advance collectively, often through socialization with informal groups and professional and

cultural associations. However, due to regional, organizational, and programmatic differences, the catalytic potential of civil society organizations is underutilized. Partnerships with local, regional, and national civil society organizations will advance community integration, promote the concept of citizenship, and highlight pathways to achieve the “American Dream.”

### **Policy Research – As It Happens**

Campus-based political and social sciences research. Graduate Student and Faculty focusing on policy issues for possible social, cultural, and political reform, followed by advocacy action and awareness creation by the same researchers for the purposes of legislative reform as appropriate.

### **Cultivating Early Awareness**

Aimed at increasing youngsters’ awareness of rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and building a national bond at a very impressionable age, leading to real benefits to the nation in evolving future leadership.

## **MEDIA REVIEW**

### **CPEC remains a burning bone of contention in Pakistan**

F.M. Shakil

Beijing reportedly agreed to take a closer look at some of the agreements finalized by Nawaz Sharif’s administration after Abdul Razak Dawood, adviser to Prime Minister Khan on commerce and investment, said CPEC would be on hold to renegotiate its terms and conditions. China’s Belt and Road Initiative has run into trouble in Malaysia, Sri Lanka, and Myanmar from its often onerous projects terms. [[Asia Times](#)]

### **The Man Steering Pakistan’s Economy Isn’t Afraid to Take Risks**

Faseeh Mangi, Chris Kay

This profile suggests Asad Umar, Pakistan’s new Finance Minister, is capable and savvy enough to be successful, as he was when the CEO of Engro. Yet, he’s already run into controversy for staying silent when religious conservatives forced a prominent economist from a Muslim minority sect to resign from one of the advisory councils he helped form. [[Bloomberg](#)]

### **Jinnah’s Pakistan?**

Editorial

Pakistan has strayed from the inclusive, progressive path Jinnah envisioned. Princeton’s Prof Atif Mian stepped down from the Economic Advisory Council after a campaign by far-right religious elements threatened to engulf the new PTI government. “The PTI has clearly erred in both strategy and political will, but none of the mainstream political parties in the country have emerged from the episode with any credit.” [[Dawn](#)]

### **Choppy waters ahead as US seeks to ramp up Pakistan pressure**

Asad Hashim

Pundits expect a tougher road ahead for US-Pakistan relations. US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo’s visit to Islamabad followed the decision by the Pentagon to cancel \$300 million in Coalition Support Funds to Pakistan due to the latter’s lack of decisive action against certain armed groups, the Haqqani Network and the leaders of the Afghan Taliban. [[Al Jazeera](#)]

### **Pak seeks reset bilateral ties with US, Qureshi tells Pompeo**

Sec. Pompeo and Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Quereshi looked to reset bilateral relations and make progress on security topics during their early September meeting in Islamabad. [[Daily Times](#)]

### **Russia rejects Indian concerns over supplying Pakistan with most high tech Radar system for nuclear safety**

In a glowing article about their growing ties, Pakistan is reportedly acquiring a Russian radar system and displacing India as Moscow's closest partner in South Asia. [[Times of Islamabad](#)]

### **Russia tilting towards Pakistan irks close friend India**

Sumit Kumar

Despite the protests of Indian diplomats, Russia is pursuing closer ties with Pakistan to balance the U.S.-India relationship. Moscow recently signed an MOU with Pakistan's chief of naval staff and is planning joint military exercises, and Russia lifted an arms sales ban to Pakistan in 2014. India has contracted Russian arms to "help cool the waters" with Moscow, and Russo-Indian ties may rebound as the Trump administration is preoccupied with domestic politics. [[DNA](#)]

### **Pakistan's finest years?**

Ashraf Jehangir Qazi

Of the many predictions for Imran Khan's tenure, "the only certainty is that he will be besieged by entrenched institutions, a dismal politics, and dubious people." The elite will prove to be either barriers to Khan's agenda or false allies. The U.S. won't help unless Khan complies with its South Asia strategy. But, should Khan "demonstrate through statements, decisions and accomplishments" that Pakistan is an inclusive and participatory democracy, he can become an "unstoppable force." [[Dawn](#)]

### **Understanding extremism in Pakistan**

Abdullah Malik

The article provides evidence, some compelling and some less so, debunking the modern theories of the origins of extremism, including the following myths: lack of education, poverty, revenge for drone strikes, and disenfranchisement in FATA. Notably, KP police revealed that, out of 1000 militants arrested in last several years, 72 persons belonged to well-off families and 36 had master's degrees while the rest of them were graduates. [[Daily Times](#)]

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