



IPRI
Building Consensus



**Islamabad Policy
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GUEST LECTURE

Feasibility of Granting Transit Facility to India for Afghanistan and CARs

Dr. Kamal Monnoo, Member BOG IPRI and Director Samira Fabrics delivered a lecture on “Feasibility of Granting Transit Facility to India for Afghanistan and CARs” on April 17, 2014 at IPRI Conference Hall.

He said the question of granting trade facility to India was not limited to a mere bilateral arrangement between Pakistan and India, but carried much wider regional implications. Dr. Monnoo said that there were lessons to be learnt from successful examples of regional trade, Free Trade Areas (FTAs) and common currency zones.

However, in the context of South Asia and especially in the case of Pakistan and India, there were some serious security concerns. India had never shown any concern about creating long term linkages such as

technology transfer, joint resource management mechanism, cross border investments, financial connectivity, regional anti-trust treaties, equal opportunity among SAARC nations, and devising



joint rules of doing business. India was eager to gain direct access to Central Asia and Europe via Pakistan, but not willing to offer any such reciprocal accessibility to Pakistan on its eastern and northern sides.

He said that China was an inspiring example of how disputes with neighbours should be dealt with. Its handling of East China Sea with Japan and South China Sea with the Philippines should serve us an example.

Dr. Monnoo suggested some recommendations to improve Pak-India trade relations:

- A bilateral commission should be set up to oversee Pakistan-India economic relationship, with a focus on addressing non-tariff barriers, opening up more land routes for trade and promoting frequent cross-border travel.
- A regional trade forum (comprising members of the private sector, academia, and the media) should be formed to monitor the above mentioned bilateral commission.
- A dispute resolution/grievance redressal mechanism should also

April Highlights

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be established to accommodate inevitable disagreements.

Composite dialogue process must be kept alive to avoid criticism that political and territorial issues have been compromised for the sake of
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IPRI REVIEW MEETING

Indian Elections 2014



Mr. Asghar Ali Shad, Research Fellow, IPRI gave a talk on Indian Elections 2014 during IPRI Review meeting on April 3rd, 2014 and explained the historical trend of Indian Lok Sabha elections, analysed the current political situation in India and

possible implications of the poll results for Pakistan at IPRI conference room.

The **Salient Points** of his talk were:

- Change in Indian leadership would not affect its foreign policy, even BJP would not change it.
- India would not give any strategic space to Pakistan whatsoever the poll outcome.
- Some Indian circles oppose dialogue with Pakistan and want things to stand the way they are, at least for a decade. It is believed that BJP also believes in this thinking.
- Given the not-very-good economic situation of India, BJP may maintain mutually beneficial trade relations with Pakistan.
- India and US may come closer to contain China, however, this time not with that old warmth and vigour

as during Congress government.

- The BJP success will matter more to India than Pakistan vis-a-vis Pak-India relations. Given Mr. Modi’s extremist views, it is sensed, he may adopt an aggressive and harsh approach to Pakistan.
 - The Congress failed to deliver in its two consecutive terms. Corruption, economic sluggishness and sufferings of religious minorities are the main indicators of its poor performance.
 - Pakistan should continue to pursue its policy of keeping engaged with India through dialogue at all levels.
- Implications for Pakistan if BJP comes to Power:** According to poll trends and the current situation, there are bright chances that BJP will form the government with Narendra Modi as Prime Minister

whose claims to India’s leadership on the development model of Gujrat remain disputed. Mr. Shad said that Congress had caused more damage to Pakistan than the BJP. Congress sabotaged normalization of Pak-India relations. During BJP’s last tenure in government some positive initiatives took place like the ‘Dosti Bus Service’, visit of the then Indian Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee to Pakistan and his acceptance of Pakistan as a reality at the Minar-e-Pakistan.

However, it was also suspected that strong and cordial relations between Akali Dal, a Sikh political party led by Parkash Singh Badal, and the current government of PML-N could be utilized for normalization of Pak-India relations by BJP, he said.

IPRI Scholars' Publications in April

- “Bangladesh: Public & Concocted History“ by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, April 02, 2014, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=238274>
- “Bangladeshi's Sentiments toward Pakistan” by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *The Frontier Post*, April 02, 2014, <http://thefrontierpost.com/article/86244/Bangladeshis-sentiments-toward-Pakistan/>
- “Challenges For Afghanistan” by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *The Nation*, April 07, 2014, <http://www.nation.com.pk/columns/07-Apr-2014/challenges-for-afghanistan>
- “Afghanistan: Beyond Elections” by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *The Frontier Post*, April 08, 2014, <http://thefrontierpost.com/article/87580/Afghanistan-Beyond-elections/>
- “Afghanistan: Beyond Elections” by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, April 09, 2014, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=239093>
- “Revisiting Pakistan-Bangladesh Relations” by Saman Zulfqar, Assistant Research Officer IPRI was published in *Daily Times*, April 12, 2014, <http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/12-Apr-2014/revisiting-pakistan-bangladesh-relations>
- “Political Outlook of Balochistan” by Muhammad Munir, Research Fellow IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, April 13, 2014, *online link not available*.
- “Democracy or Corruption: The Case of Mukhtar Ablyazov” by Muhammad Munir, Research Fellow IPRI was published in *The Frontier Post*, April 13, 2014, <http://thefrontierpost.com/article/88732/Democracy-or-corruption-The-case-of-Mukhtar-Ablyazov/>
- “Parameters for Talks” by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *The Nation*, April 14, 2014, <http://www.nation.com.pk/columns/14-Apr-2014/parameters-for-talks>
- “TTP Govt. Engagement” by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *The Frontier Post*, April 15, 2014 <http://thefrontierpost.com/article/89178/TTP-govt-engagement/>
- “TTP Govt. Engagement” by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, April 16, 2014, *online link not available*.
- “Pak - China Corridor” by Brig (R) Dr. Noor ul Haq, Senior Research Fellow IPRI was published in *The Frontier Post*, April 17, 2014, <http://thefrontierpost.com/article/89900/Pak-China-corridor/>
- “Expo -2017: Vision for Energy” by Muhammad Munir, Research Fellow IPRI was published in *The Frontier Post*, April 17, 2014, <http://thefrontierpost.com/article/89898/EXPO-2017-Vision-for-energy/>
- “Evolving Neighbourhood” by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *The Nation*, April 21, 2014, <http://www.nation.com.pk/columns/21-Apr-2014/evolving-neighbourhood>
- “Managing Regional Strategic Environment” by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, April 23, 2014, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=240316>
- “The US Approach to Regional Security” by Khalid Hussain Chandio, Research Officer IPRI was published in *OpEdNews*, April 23, 2014, http://www.opednews.com/articles/The-US-Approach-to-Regiona-by-Khalid-Chandio-War-Conflicts-Regional_War-Regional-140423-517.html
- “Pak - China Corridor” by Brig (R) Dr. Noor ul Haq, Senior Research Fellow IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, April 24, 2014, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=240407>
- “Sham Trials in Bangladesh” by Col (R) Muhammad Hanif, Research Fellow IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, April 26, 2014, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=240608>
- “Managing Our Regional Strategic Environment” by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *The Frontier Post*, April 27, 2014, <http://thefrontierpost.com/article/91897/Managing-our-regional-strategic-environment/>
- “Afghanistan: Post Election Politics” by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *The Nation*, April 28, 2014, <http://www.nation.com.pk/columns/28-Apr-2014/afghanistan-post-election-politics>
- “Back to Square One!” by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, April 30, 2014, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=240803>

IPRI's PARTICIPATION IN CONFERENCES

Challenges to China's Peaceful Rise



Air Commodore (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant Policy and Strategic Response, IPRI read a paper on “Challenges to China's Peaceful Rise” at an International Conference organized by Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad, on April 28, 2014. The theme of the conference was “Pakistan and China: Bilateral and beyond Bilateral Exchanges”.

Mr. Khalid Iqbal highlighted in his paper that China adhered to a strict policy of strategic self-restraint. While continuing to signal its territorial and economic claims in the East and South China Seas, Beijing had concluded agreements with 12 neighbouring countries over the demarcation of its disputed land borders.

He also said that China's stunning economic growth had convinced the West that it was just a matter of time until China became a superpower.

There are competing narratives and counter narratives to portray the “China threat” thesis: first, the

ideological and cultural factors; Samuel Huntington has added a cultural factor to rise of China. In his book *The Clash of Civilizations*, he constructed an “unholy alliance between Islamic and Confucian civilizations”. Secondly, the geopolitical and geo-economic perspective: even if China sheds off its ideological straitjacket, nationalism may still drive China into a course of clash with the US, especially if the US refuses to accommodate or share the leadership with China as a rising power.

China had persistently played a positive role during numerous international conflicts and crisis, and had earned the repute of a peace loving nation, he said. It pioneered a new style of constructive diplomacy at the UN, resulting in slashing down the frequency of veto usage. It also played a positive and reconciliatory role during the Arab spring, in the Syrian crisis, the Crimean conflict, the Iranian nuclear deal and Afghanistan etc.

Granting Transit Facility to India

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bilateral trade normalization.

- To ensure that security and political tensions are not derailed and that trade diplomacy continues.

- Empowerment and engagement with the private sector and keeping media as a watch dog is necessary for free and fair trade.

- Putting numerical value on cross border facilitations and acknowledgement of accreditations by the trade agencies on both sides should be done.

Dr. Monno concluded the

discussion by saying that the delay in granting MFN status to India would politicize the issue. The implementation was more important than the announcement of the MFN status. There was a need for formulating rules of trade, anti-trust trade laws and management of trade mechanisms as well as non-tariff barriers. Kashmir and other core issues must not be linked with trade. Only then trade normalization between Pakistan and India be used as a springboard for wider trade normalization in South Asia.

Austrian Delegation

Austrian scholars: Dr. Werner Fassalabend, President of the Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy (AIES), Brigadier General Walter Feichtinger, Director of the Institute for Peace Support and Conflict Management, Austrian National Defence Academy and Nasra Hussan visited IPRI on April 2, 2014 and had



an insightful exchange of perspectives during discussion over current issues concerning Pakistan, Pak-India relations, security situation in Afghanistan.

Explaining the situation in Pakistan, IPRI President, Amb (R) Sohail Amin remarked that Pakistan was not correctly understood in

the Western countries. The reality was different: in respect of Pakistan's potential, which was developing with 180 million people, nearly half of which was under 22 years age. Pakistan had a democratic system, a vibrant civil society, an independent judiciary and a free media. Its location between the Middle East and East Asia gave it a unique geo-strategic importance.

- Austrian scholars appreciating Pakistan's resilience noted the way Pakistan faced the difficult situation during the last decade maintaining its stability. Undoubtedly, the biggest potential of Pakistan was its fast growing population as well as its major challenge in the coming years.
- Idea of wider economic collaboration with Iran and Turkey was also discussed as outreach to the European market, and in connecting Central Asia and Europe with South Asia. This required long-term holistic plan to achieve regional connectivity.
- On Pakistan-India relations, Austrian delegation was told that Pakistan would like to normalize relations with India but on the basis of equality. Regarding Indian role in Afghan affairs, the Austrian delegation was told that India's involvement in Afghanistan was a cause



of worry for Pakistan as India's hand in the mischief in Balochistan is no secret.

- Austrian delegation asked IPRI scholars to comment on major changes which had occurred in Afghanistan since 2001. They were informed that over the years some positive changes had also occurred in Afghanistan: For instance: there were only 90,000 students in the Taliban era but now there were 8.4 million Afghan students and among them more than 40% were girls; there was a vibrant Afghan civil society and Afghan women were participating in different walks of life, etc. It was also suggested that the international community should continue its assistance to Afghanistan after 2014.

IPRI REVIEW MEETING

Increasing Role of Media in Pakistan

Saira Rehman, Assistant Editor IPRI gave a presentation on "Increasing Role of Media in Pakistan" on April 21st, 2014 at IPRI Conference Hall. Ms. Rehman highlighted the role and influence of the media, its relationship with the state and how it develops people's perceptions.

She said that people's perceptions were based on the media's perceptions and the media's perceptions were based mostly on non-investigated assumptions. More information than ever was being produced on more subjects/themes and consumed now than ever in Pakistan's history. In 2002, there was only one TV channel and one radio station in the country. Now there were nearly 100 TV channels with 42 being 24/7 current affairs channels (14 of them in regional languages), she said. There were about 120m TV consumers, of them 60m consumed private TV channels. There were about 140m radio consumers and the newspaper circulation figure was barely 6m with about 5 readers to a paper, making about 30m daily newspaper readers.

However, it was not the media's but

the state's responsibility to deal with issues like terrorism, security, law and order and citizen's rights.

While highlighting the strengths of the electronic media she said that media could make it difficult for governments and authorities when it takes up issues like mis-governance and abuse of power. It could also mobilize public opinion quickly in favour of reformist initiatives.

But its real-time operations did not allow it the filtration process of verifying



information. As a result misinformation was rampant in the private TV channels.

Her recommendations to improve the media's role were i) Strengthen investigative journalism ii) Establish a self-regulatory mechanism to improve journalistic standards iii) Media needs to work as a watchdog of public interest iv) Media should focus on the economically backward areas.

She concluded by saying that an informed citizenry and an enlightened society cannot be brought about in the absence of a professional media.

The Concept of Moral Economy



Professor, **Hartmut Elsenhans** a German scholar, who is with Quaid-e-Azam University these days, visited IPRI on April 15, 2014 to deliver a lecture on the topics of extremist political movements, Cultural Identitarian Movements and Moral Economy and how these three concepts are interconnected and can be made part of the international system.

He said that extremist political movements including Islamic political movements were irreversible and not a new phenomenon. They dated back to early 19th century when fascism and Christian democracy were contending trends. He said that the BJP, the Algerian nationalist struggle, the Arab Spring were all based on moral economy and identity issues.

The Islamic political movements correspond to long term changes in the respective societies. They reflect identities

shaped in structural crises. The Iranian revolution and the Turkish Islamists are politically the most advanced of these movements in the Islamic world. They both have come under the direction of relatively moderate elements. These moderate elements will lose their influence if they cannot achieve fair compromises with the external world.

While highlighting cultural identitarian movements, he said that new cultural identitarian movements attracted traditional and newly emerging middle classes. For all those movements development became a central issue. In those countries, where they fail, secular nationalists turn to identity issues, he explained.

Explaining the less-known term of ‘Moral Economy’, he said that it allowed pragmatic strategies without theoretical purity in respect of the market or the state. It corresponded with the need to overcome underdevelopment through capitalist development, by intelligent use of rent and not profitable investment. Also, moral economy was superior to the international economic system, he said.

The following points were made by the German scholar during the question-answer session.

- The main problem of Pakistan was that there was no clear support for nationalist movements and Islamic political movements in the country.
- The only solution is, therefore, to engage Islamist organisations in dialogue.
- Islamist ideology was based in the belief that

Islamic laws and Shariah should be applied to organize society.

- Anti-colonial liberation wars played an important role in promoting Islamic movements particularly in case of Nigeria.
- For identitarian organisations, local cultural values were more important than universal norms.
- Ethnic identities have a stronghold in Asia.
- The International System was all about elites who were interested only in retaining power.
- Discussing the movement in Kashmir, the



scholar said that the issue of Kashmir could not be solved through dialogue and war. The majority in Kashmir should decide about its fate. The West did not want to disturb the status quo in Kashmir because the cost for them was too high.

- Iran, Pakistan, India and China will have an important role to play in Afghanistan in post-2014 scenario.

FOREIGN DELEGATION

Afghanistan Strategic Environment Post-2014

A Russian delegation comprising Dr. Vladimir Petrovich Kozin, Ms. Anna Yulevna Doudar and Mr. Boris Volkhonsky visited IPRI to discuss “Afghanistan Strategic Environment Post-2014” with IPRI scholars. The discussion was held on April 10, 2014. The salient points are as follows:

- Russia wants Taliban to sever ties with Al Qaeda; cease arms movement and recognize Afghan Constitution. A prosperous Afghanistan is in Russian interest and Russia does not consider the option of sending its troops or establishing military bases there.
- They said that Russia believed in positive neutrality and it would allow the transit of non-lethal equipment to reach Afghanistan through the northern distribution lines but the Ukrainian crisis has created a gulf between NATO and the Russian federation which could hamper this work.
- Russia is concerned about drug trafficking



and increasing number of drug addicted population. The United States had not been able to control the menace which required joint efforts.

- Russia wants commercial ties with Afghanistan especially in the field of humanitarian aid, discovering natural resources, infrastructure development and building energy corridors like CASA-1000 and

TAPI.

- IPRI scholars explained that political, economic and security transitions in Afghanistan would take place in a phased manner. Economic transition was more important and depended on the security situation. International community had pledged to support Afghanistan till 2016. There was no certainty that Afghan security forces would be able to provide security.



Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI)

House No.6, Street No. 63, Ismail Zabeeh Road, Sector F-8/4, Islamabad Ph: +92 51 9261348-50 Email: iprinewsletter@gmail.com; Website: www.ipripak.org
Editor-in-Chief: Ambassador (R) Sohail Amin, Editor: Saira Rehman, Composer: Noreen Hameed