



IPRI
Building Consensus



**Islamabad Policy
Research Institute**



Monthly IPRI Newsletter Vol. 2, No. 1

June 2014

GUEST LECTURE

American Journalist Mr. Steve Coll Visits IPRI

American Journalist, Steve Coll, Professor of Journalism, Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, visited IPRI on June 20, 2014 and had an insightful exchange of perspectives during discussion



on Obama's counterterrorism policy, Afghan war, ISAF withdrawal from Afghanistan and Indo-US relations. Following are the main points discussed by Mr. Steve Coll.

- Explaining Obama's policy on counterterrorism, war on terror, Afghanistan and Taliban, Mr. Steve said that during the election campaign the US President had declared to fix the Afghan war by taking some concrete policy decisions. Afterwards, on the recommendation of US military generals and cabinet, he followed the policy of

troops' surge in Afghanistan in 2009.

- The reason for the announcement of withdrawal was to allow the Afghan government and security apparatus to act together to strengthen political leadership and the security forces. It was argued that in the absence of any withdrawal timetable, the Afghan government and its security forces would have remained dependent on the US.
- The US military and State Department had the Soviet model in their minds, while planning the US surge and later on the withdrawal strategy. The Soviets had followed a surge policy in Afghanistan from 1985 onward, later on diverting it to a policy of withdrawal in 1989.



- Discussing the accomplishments of the US surge in Afghanistan during the five-year phase spanning 2009 to 2014, Mr. Coll said that since 2007 the CIA had regularly been releasing an Afghan district-wise map after every six months, assessing whether these districts were being controlled by the ISAF, Afghan National Forces or the Taliban.
- Mr. Coll highlighted the political and diplomatic tracks in its Afghanistan policy. Obama had the support of his administration and the US Congress on his policy regarding political transition in Afghanistan through electoral process. The biggest challenge that Washington confronted was President Karzai's irritating behaviour toward the US.
- Initially China was somewhat reluctant to get involved in the Afghan issue. Now Beijing seems concerned over the terrorism

issue because of the situation in the Xinjiang region.

- Regarding Iran, there was a possibility of a grand deal on the nuclear issue. If that was concluded, the US and Iran would start talking about Afghanistan.
- Moscow also favours a stable Afghanistan as long as its influence in Central Asia remained secured.
- Commenting on the possibility of disintegration of the Afghan National Army (ANA), Mr. Coll highlighted that composition of ANA which was overwhelmingly dominated by the Uzbeks, Tajiks, Hazaras and eastern Pushtuns, while the southern Pushtuns were heavily under-represented. The Afghans considered the ANA as their sacred institution. However, the ANA was not as professional a body as the Pakistan Army. If the forthcoming Afghan government, whether led by Abdullah Abdullah or Ashraf Ghani, had substantial support from the eastern Pushtun belt as well as from the northern Afghanistan, then the ANA could be loyal to Kabul. But if there were allegations of fraud in the Afghan presidential elections, then the possibility of disintegration of ANA could not be ruled out.



- Explaining the Indo-US relations under the Modi administration, Mr. Coll stated that there was great enthusiasm about Indo-US alliance that started during the Bush administration but there was disillusion
- Continued on p. 2*

June Highlights

Guest Lecture

- **American Journalist Mr. Steve Coll**
- **Pakistan-Bangladesh Relations: Malicious Campaign of Awami League against Pakistan**

Foreign Delegation

Chinese Media Delegation

IPRI Review Meeting

Indian Elections and its Impact on South Asia

IPRI Scholars' Publications in June

- "Evolving Pakistan-India Relations" by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *The Nation*, June 1, 2014, <http://www.nation.com.pk/columns/01-Jun-2014/evolving-pakistan-india-relations>
- "Kashmir is Still Smouldering" by Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Assistant Research Officer IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, June 1, 2014, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=243159>
- "Peaceful Neighbourhood: a Pipedream" Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *The Nation*, June 4, 2014, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=243479>
- "Anatomy of the Budget" Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *The Nation*, June 8, 2014, <http://www.nation.com.pk/columns/08-Jun-2014/anatomy-of-the-budget>
- "Hinduvta Ideology Wins" by Amna Ejaz Rafi, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, June 10, 2014, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=244003>
- "Deconstructing 2014-15 budget" Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, June 11, 2014, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=244095>
- "Is Bangladesh A Threat To India?" by Asghar Ali Shad, Research Fellow IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, June 12, 2014, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=244192>
- "Fighting Terror: Back to Square One" by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *The Nation*, June 16, 2014, <http://www.nation.com.pk/columns/16-Jun-2014/fighting-terror-back-to-square-one>
- "India's Footprints in Karachi Airport Attack" by Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Assistant Research Officer IPRI was published in *The London Post*, June 17, 2014, <http://thelondonpost.net/indias-footprints-in-karachi-airport-attack/>
- "Military Marches into North Waziristan" by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, June 18, 2014, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=245400>
- "India's Footprints in Karachi Airport Attack" by Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Assistant Research Officer IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, June 19, 2014, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=244855>
- "Armed Forces of Pakistan & Security" by Khalid Hussain Chandio, Research Officer IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, June 22, 2014, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=245143>
- "Zarb-e-Azb: The Loose Ends" by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *The Nation*, June 23, 2014, <http://www.nation.com.pk/columns/23-Jun-2014/zarb-e-azb-the-loose-ends>
- "Dynamics of Military Operation" by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *The Nation*, June 25, 2014, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=245400>
- "South Asian Countries Turn to China to Balance Indian Ambitions" by Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Assistant Research Officer IPRI was published in *Global Times*, June 25, 2014, <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/867272.shtml>
- "Determined to Fight Terrorism" by Amna Ejaz Rafi, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, June 26, 2014, (Link not found)
- "Changing Security Complex And ISIS-TTP similarities" by Khurram Abbas, Assistant Research Officer, IPRI was published in *The Patriot*, June 26, 2014, (Link not found)
- "Zarb-e-Azb for Peace" by Muhammad Munir, Research Fellow IPRI was published in *Pakistan Observer*, June 28, 2014, <http://pakobserver.net/detailnews.asp?id=245653>
- "Conjoint-Disjoint Syndrome" by Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal, Consultant IPRI was published in *The Nation*, June 30, 2014, <http://www.nation.com.pk/columns/30-Jun-2014/conjoint-disjoint-syndrome>

Urdu News Articles

- "Pakistan Strategic Environment" by Asghar Ali Shad, Research Fellow IPRI was published in *Sada e Chanar*, June 2, 2014, (Link not found)
- "RSS Ki Jeet Lamha e Fiqriya" by Asghar Ali Shad, Research Fellow IPRI was published in *Nawa e Waqt*, June 6, 2014, (Link not found)
- "Warfare Ka Jadeed Tassawar Aur Bharat" by Asghar Ali Shad, Research Fellow IPRI was published in *Daily Pakistan*, June 12, 2014, (Link not found)
- "Khawateen Ki Bay Hurmati, Do Qaumi Nazriya Aur Bharat" by Asghar Ali Shad, Research Fellow IPRI was published in *Nawa e Waqt*, June 15, 2014, (Link not found)
- "IDP's, Qaumi Fariza Aur Dehshat Ghard Anasar" by Asghar Ali Shad, Research Fellow IPRI was published in *Daily Pakistan*, June 30, 2014, (Link not found)

IX Shanghai Cooperation Organisation Forum

The IX Shanghai cooperation Forum was held in Kyrgyzstan, Bishkek from June 23-24, 2014 by the National Institute of Strategic Studies which works under the patronage of the Prime Minister of Kyrgyzstan. The Forum was attended by the Secretary General of SCO Dmitry Mezentsev, Ministers for Economy, Education and Science and also the Deputy Ministers of Industry and Energy of Kyrgyzstan. Deputy Head of the Kyrgyz President's Office attended the inaugural session. All the think tanks of SCO member states, Associate members, dialogue partners and Observer countries attended the Forum. The theme of the Forum was 'Contemporary Challenges of Economic Development of the SCO Region'. On the invitation of Mr Talant Sultanov, Director, NISS. President IPRI Ambassador (R) Sohail Amin attended the Forum.

The Secretary General SCO in his opening remarks said that his objective was to make SCO a valid and vital organisation with a modern outlook. He said that during one of the meetings of the SCO last month, the Observer states had expressed their determination to work closely with the SCO. Identifying a role for each individual member state for making contribution towards collective economic development was essential.

President IPRI presented a paper titled 'Role of Pakistan in the SCO' in which he said that the agenda of the SCO is exactly similar to the agenda being pursued by Pakistan. The SCO's policies and programmes are in conformity with Pakistan's long term objectives of promoting peace and stability in the region, containing and eradicating the menace of terrorism from the region and working with members to build stronger and more productive relationship in the future. Due to this similarity in the aims and objectives and commonalities of views, Pakistan enjoys excellent ties with all the members of the SCO. Geographical proximity and shared historical bonds add meaningful substance to this relationship.

Pakistan had been welcomed by the member states as an Observer at the SCO in 2005. As an Observer, Pakistan has been playing its role very seriously and has been making sincere efforts to contribute to the objectives of the Organisation. Pakistan's bid to have its status as observer changed to a full member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) represents its quest for peace, security and progress within the region. Pakistan's membership will help the entire region to realize its full natural and economic potential. Trade and economic cooperation are the key areas of interest for Pakistan, as members of SCO are blessed with a strong development and business potential based on the availability of energy, natural resource and work force.

Mr. Steve Coll Visits IPRI

Continued from p. 1

now about the potential of Indo-US ties on a day-to-day tactical level. US-India alliance was strategic and natural in the face of rising China. Both the US and India shared democratic values, commitment to fight extremism, while being threatened by some extremist networks. But in the day-to-day dealing, India was a tough partner compared to Pakistan. Its bureaucracy was quite strict with strong nationalistic tendencies. Hence, it was difficult for the US to deal with India on complicated day-to-day tactical questions.

- In terms of Pak-US versus Indo-US relations, by and large, the US found the Pakistani establishment much easier to deal with whenever there was anger, mistrust, etc.

Indian Elections and its Impact on South Asia



Mr. Asghar Ali Shad, Research Fellow IPRI gave a presentation on “Indian Elections and its Impact on South Asia” on June 9th, 2014. He highlighted the possible implications for the neighbouring countries of India after the formation of BJP government under the leadership of Narendra Modi in India.

The salient points of the presentation were as under:

- Modi gives much importance to SAARC as can be seen from his invitation to the SAARC countries to attend his swearing in.
- BJP is fully aware of the fact that the secular status of India cannot be disturbed.

- In that case, India would be disintegrated.
- Main challenge for BJP is economic revival of India.
- Senior leaders like L. K Advani now have no practical role in decision making, they just hold ceremonial positions within BJP.
- One of the main problems for Mr. Modi would be to deal with the hardliners and to maintain the soft image of India.
- Energy is a big issue for India which is going to help the building of regional pipelines.
- BJP has greater tilt towards Japan in comparison to China.
- US role in Indian foreign policy could be that of a spoiler.
- Indian National Security Advisor, Ajit Kumar Doval enjoys Mr. Modi's confidence and he relies on his input in handling security issues.

Mr. Asghar Ali Shad also analysed the current challenges for Modi government. He said that most of the analysts were of the view that though Mr. Modi had bagged a majority but his real test would lie in the field of Indian foreign policy. His main challenge would be to satisfy the hard liners who supported him with objective of making India “Akhand Bharat”

and “Ram Rajya”. However, Mr. Modi said that he wanted to follow Mr. Vajpayee in the realm of foreign policy. It was too early to say that how he would maintain a balance and secure his foreign policy goal of “Peace with Power”.

In practical terms, Mr. Modi's biggest challenge would be to maintain good neighbourly relations in the face of issues India had with almost all its neighbours. The Indian government in general and BJP in particular feel that neighbouring countries did not give India the importance given its size, population and military strength. On the other hand, they seemed to contest what they think was India's hegemonic approach, he said.



Chinese Media Delegation

Continued from p. 4

beneficial for both the countries. Similarly, Beijing is also taking full interest in its completion. However, there are some challenges, like the financing of the project for which China was expected to lend a helping hand. There are some factors that favour EC, i.e., existing motorways and highways in Pakistan, Gwadar Port and rail link upto Havelian. The EC project would also facilitate yet another proposed project of China, i.e., “New Silk Route” by connecting Central and West Asia to China. Also, the trade and energy pipelines can be routed through Pakistan to China.

- China has already invested in the energy sector however, there are other areas like coal, wind, solar and renewable energy projects in which China can further invest in Pakistan. Another area can be

agriculture since Pakistan's economy is predominantly agro-based. Provision of technology for efficient



agriculture by China can be of valuable help to Pakistan.

- Pakistan has launched an operation in North Waziristan as it was left with no option to weed out the menace of terrorism because Pakistan among all regional states has paid the heaviest price. In the

same context, safe borders of Pakistan and China are crucial for both the states as infiltration of terrorists from Afghanistan

border into Pakistan and China would create security issues for both the countries. Moreover, stable Afghanistan is not only necessary for both the countries but for the stability and security of the entire region.

- The propaganda that the Gwadar Port would be used as a naval

base by China is a Western perception. Like all ports of the world, the Gwadar Port has strategic value attached to it. The vast majority of China's oil imports passes through the Straits of Malacca, Lombok and Sunda. Essentially, whoever controls these Straits will have the ability to disrupt the oil supply to China. Therefore, China equally evaluates the importance of Gwadar Port in the future being the shortest and a secure route for its oil supplies.

- Cultural and people-to-people contacts are required to be strengthened. Although both states have had excellent relations on government to government level, yet there is a need to focus on people-to-people contacts as well. Primarily, there was a language barrier between the two states but the Chinese initiative of “Confucius Centres” in Pakistan is a useful step in that direction.

GUEST LECTURE

Pakistan-Bangladesh Relations: Malicious Campaign of Awami League against Pakistan

Mr. Ahmer Bilal Soofi, President Research Society of International Law (RSIL) visited IPRI on June 5, 2014 to deliver a guest lecture on strained Pak-Bangladesh relations.



Mr. Soofi refuted David Kennedy's Doctrine of Lawfare and asserted that states could not be blamed for some act of its citizen committed abroad. Mr. Soofi said that the anti-Pakistan propaganda by Bangladesh was very intriguing. It seemed that Bangladesh was using legal instruments to put pressure on the state of Pakistan and proved that it was an irresponsible state.

Mr. Soofi said that under the spirit of the 1974 Tripartite Agreement, Bangladesh could not hold trials against Pakistan nationals and the current trials of some Bengalis of Jamat-i-Islami (JI) were in violation of the Treaty, and any violation of that treaty was a violation of international

law.

He stressed that it was to be understood that any excess which might have been committed during the 1971 civil strife were excesses by individuals and not the state. That matter was resolved through article 15 of the 1974 Tripartite Agreement which says "the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh stated that the government of Bangladesh had decided not to proceed with the trials as an act of clemency, it was agreed that the 195 prisoners of war might be repatriated to Pakistan along with other prisoners of war now in the process of repatriation under the Delhi agreement." Two important points of the treaty were:

- It was a unilateral act, done freely and voluntarily on behalf of Government of Bangladesh.
- It was documented in a treaty.

The decision of Bangladeshi government was irreversible because it was documented in a treaty and it could be reversed only with the consent of the parties to the treaty. For initiating and conducting trials, Bangladesh government enacted domestic laws, established a special tribunal to prosecute people of Jamat-i-Islami (JI) Bangladesh (BD) by superseding the provisions of 1974 Tripartite Agreement. This entire process is a violation of international law since provisions of a multilateral treaty could not be replaced through a domestic law. He explained that in international law, when a new law is in conflict with an earlier one, the later act took precedence.

Mr. Soofi suggested the following legal

measures for Pakistan to counter Bangladeshi Awami League's propaganda against Pakistan.

- The Ministry of Foreign affairs of Pakistan should term the Bangladeshi actions as a violation of the Tripartite Agreement. It should take a clear position and sensitize international community on the issue. While doing so, Pakistani lawmakers should keep in mind that the concept of war crimes had been recently incorporated in International Criminal Court (ICC) and the legal message coming out of international law was futuristic because law was still evolving.
- Pakistan should respond to the matter legally as it did in cases related to Dr. A. Q. Khan and Mumbai Incident.
- It is believed that a witness in the case of Mullah Abdul Qadir was picked up and brought from Kolkata which indicated that India was supporting the trials. There was a need to highlight that under the 1974 Tripartite Agreement, India could not support the trials and by doing so it was violating international law.



FOREIGN DELEGATION

Chinese Media Delegation Visits IPRI

An eight-member media delegation from China visited Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) on June 19, 2014 for in-house discussion with IPRI scholars on matters of mutual interest. The Chinese delegation comprised **Ms. Chen Yingqun** Editor/Reporter, *China Daily*, **Ms. Li Shen**, Reporter, *CCTV*, **Ms. Pan Xiaoqiao**, Editor, *Beijing Review*, **Ms. Zhang Yi**, Editor Overseas, *Xinhuanet*, **Mr. Yang Tao**, Correspondent, *Economic Daily*, **Ms. Jincui Yu**, Reporter, *Global Times*, **Ms. Zhang Nini**, Reporter, *CCTV* and **Mr. Yin Pengxuan**/Mr. Faraz, Reporter, *CRI Urdu service*. Dr. Noor ul Haq, Senior Research



Fellow, IPRI after welcoming the distinguished guests from China gave a brief introduction of the functioning of the institute and then opened the floor for discussion. The overall emphasis of the delegation was on economic issues of Pakistan, Pak-China economic cooperation/relations, Gwadar Port, and prospects of Pak-China economic corridor in years to come.

Following points were highlighted during the discussion.

- There is a national consensus within Pakistan to implement the Economic Corridor (EC) project as it is strategically
- Continued on p. 3*

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