



# NEWSLETTER

## Inside the Issue

2

**Two-Day International Conference:**  
*Regional Dynamics and Strategic Concerns in South Asia*

3

**Foreign Delegation:**  
*Visit of Japan's International Cooperation Agency (JICA) Delegation to IPRI*

**Guest Lecture:**  
*Pakistan-Bangladesh Relations: Opportunities and Challenges*

1&5

**Foreign Interaction:**  
*Visit of IPRI Delegation to Centro Studi Internazionali (Ce.S.I.), Italy and Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), UK*

**Addition to Library:**  
*The End of the Asian Century: War, Stagnation, and the Risks to the World's Most Dynamic Region*

6

**Meeting:**  
*IPRI Journal Editorial and Advisory Board (EAB) Meeting*

**Recent IPRI Publication:**  
*Achieving Peace in Afghanistan: Challenges and Prospects*

## Newsletter Team

Editor-in-Chief  
Ambassador (R) Abdul Basit

Editor  
Zahida Khalid

Composer  
Noreen Hameed

## Two-Day International Conference Regional Dynamics and Strategic Concerns in South Asia



Conference Speakers with the Chief Guest, General Zubair Mahmood Hayat, NI(M), Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (CJCS), Joint Staff Headquarters and Ambassador (R) Abdul Basit, President IPRI

The Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) in collaboration with the Hanns Seidel Foundation (HSF), Islamabad organized a two-day International Conference on "Regional Dynamics and Strategic Concerns in South Asia" in Islamabad on November 14-15, 2017. Delegates from Afghanistan, China, Germany, Nepal, Pakistan, Russia, Sri Lanka, US and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) Secretariat participated in the conference. General Zubair Mahmood Hayat, NI(M),

Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (CJCS), was the Chief Guest at the opening ceremony and delivered the keynote address.

Ambassador (R) Abdul Basit, President, IPRI, in his welcome address said that Pakistan understands that unless it has normal and mutually beneficial relations with all its neighbors, the country cannot optimize its economic potential and development agenda. "We are trying our best to help achieve reconciliation in Afghanistan, and are also open

to a sustained and meaningful dialogue with India with a view to resolve all the bilateral issues, especially the Jammu and Kashmir dispute," he said.

The conference aimed at analyzing regional dynamics and strategic stability concerns in South Asia affecting the overall strategic outlook of Pakistan. Further, it was intended to find plausible recommendations for policy makers in Pakistan.

### Regional Dynamics of South Asia

Geopolitical dynamics of power politics are rapidly changing in the world. In fact, there are three broader trends of such changing dynamics impacting regional politics, such as the resurgence of Asia in defining world politics, the rise of China and emergence of the greater

*Continued on p. 2*

### The Road to Peace in South Asia is the Road through Kashmir: Gen. Zubair Mahmood Hayat, NI(M)



In his keynote address, General Zubair Mahmood Hayat, Chairman CJCS, underscored that the road to peace in South Asia is the road through Kashmir. There is no bypass. The future prospects of global peace lie within and in Asia. He stressed that Pakistan gives preference to cooperation over

conflict and confrontation, and discussed that while there has been increased emphasis on regionalism in South Asia, the region is unfortunately engulfed in conflicts, fanned primarily by India.

He highlighted the importance of understanding South Asian construct as the region's stability is pivotal in determining global peace. While Afghanistan is seen as an extension of South Asia, with constant instability in the country, Pakistan continues to bear the brunt of terrorism. Sponsoring Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and Baloch insurgents and the capture of Indian RAW agent from Balochistan expose India's sinister designs against Pakistan. Nonetheless, despite India's belligerence, Pakistan has called for engagement with all regional countries as stability can be achieved only through peaceful means by engaging all stakeholders, he emphasized.



## Regional Dynamics and Strategic Concerns in South Asia



Ambassador (R) Abdul Basit, President IPRI, General Zubair Mahmood Hayat, Dr. Jens Jokisch at the inaugural session



Ambassador (R) Zamir Akram is chairing the session on Major Powers of South Asia

*Continued from P. 1*

South Asia (SA), which includes Iran, Afghanistan, and CARs.

Explaining Pakistan's role in world affairs, it was shared that the country has been in the eye of the storm for past several decades, whether it has been a host to the world's largest refugee population for the longest time or as a partner in fighting the global War on Terror. It was highlighted that Pakistan has fought the longest and most successful inland war against terrorism.

The people of SA have collectively stood against Indian hegemony in the region, which the latter has been trying to enforce on all its smaller neighbors. Rather, India has failed miserably in isolating and demonizing Pakistan in the region, which is now a hub of the new wave of regionalism of which CPEC is the centerpiece.

competition and cooperation, with the balance of those elements varying by issue and region, and fluctuating according to broader trends in the bilateral relationship. The two sides are deeply embedded in a global economic order that requires the free movement of capital, providing significant shared interest in the fundamental stability of the international system, from energy supplies to global finance.

Discussing Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's extremist policies, it was mentioned that Indian commitment to pursue radical, exclusionary Hindutva ideology posed a threat to strategic stability of SA. By propounding and practicing extremist Hindu beliefs, Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) is cultivating a hostile Indian mindset against Muslims everywhere. Another source of threat in South Asia is India's conventional arms build-up along with the expansion of its nuclear and missile program.

Analyzing Russia's shift in policy, it was indicated that Russia has tilted towards Pakistan and the latter needs to capitalize on this



Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed while chairing the session on China



Ambassador Mohammad Sadiq while chairing the session on Afghanistan

### Strategic Concerns in South Asia

Outlining the numerous challenges facing SA, it was indicated that the region is grappling with power transition dynamics with the rise of India and China, arms proliferation, the prolonged legacy of unresolved disputes, growing population, increasing poverty, transporting oil and gas as Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) and Iran-Pakistan (IP) gas pipelines, proxy wars, faltering peace processes and absence of peace dialogues.

Elaborating on US-China relations, it was explained that the two have a multidimensional relationship encompassing economic, diplomatic, and security interests, characterized by a mix of

opportunity by developing closer strategic, political and economic relations with Russia. Pakistan, due to its geographical location, can balance the interests of major powers in this region, by cultivating close relations with Russia.

### Strategic Situation in Afghanistan and its Regional Implications

While the stalemate in Afghanistan is not going to end soon, there are clear ethnic fault-lines which the Taliban cannot cross. Although future US policy in Afghanistan under the Trump administration is not clear, there is no likelihood of a permanent

*Continued on p. 7*



## Visit of Japan's International Cooperation Agency (JICA) Delegation to IPRI



A four-member delegation from the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) headed by Dr Yoshio Wada visited IPRI on November 10, 2017. The purpose of the visit was to gain insights into Pakistan's economy, focusing on the impact of risks to macroeconomic policy. The interactive session was preceded by

a presentation on "Pakistan's Economic Outlook" by an IPRI scholar.

The discussion mainly revolved around China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and its impact on resurrecting Pakistan's economy. It was underscored that CPEC will help bolster economic activities that will in turn increase Pakistan's Gross Domestic Product (GDP)



over the coming years. The expected increase in the economic growth due to CPEC was estimated to be 1-2 percent in the initial years.

The CPEC related foreign direct investment (FDI) will largely help in the development of infrastructure and electricity generation projects, industrial zones, agriculture, information technology (IT) and tourism in Pakistan, which will help accelerate the GDP growth.

In addition to qualitative research, it was recommended that there is a need to conduct quantitative surveys to estimate the impact of CPEC on Pakistan's economy.

It was proposed that working groups on enhancing cooperation between Pakistan and Japan should be formed to explore areas of investment and closer ties.



## Pakistan-Bangladesh Relations: Opportunities and Challenges



Dr Syed Mahmud Ali, a Malaysia-based scholar of Bangladeshi origin, gave a talk at IPRI on

November 17, 2017.

He discussed how India had lost its considerable influence over Bangladesh after the assassination of Sheikh Mujib-Ur-Rahman in 1975. Since 2010, Bangladesh is inclined towards China for meeting modernization needs of its armed forces in line with its Forces Goal of 2030.



Dr Ali recommended that Pakistan should opt for patient diplomacy to create space for itself in Bangladesh. Similarly, it should refrain from offering overt advice and engage in providing assistance to Bangladesh in economic as well as humanitarian spheres. To this end, Pakistan can leverage its friendship with China and Myanmar in reaching out to Bangladesh.





## Visit of IPRI Delegation to Centro Studi Internazionali



IPRI delegation during the meeting with Chairman Foreign Relations Committee, Italy

A four-member IPRI delegation led by Brig. (Retd) Sohail Tirmizi, Director Admin, IPRI visited Rome, Italy from November 16-18, 2017 and London, UK from November 19-20, 2017. Other delegation members included: Mr Khalid Chandio, Research Fellow, Ms Amna Ejaz Rafi, Assistant Research Officer and Mr Umar Farooq Khan, Assistant Research Officer.

The purpose of the visit was to hold roundtables and meetings on matters of

through Connectivity

Following are the salient points highlighted by the hosts:

- With the defeat of Daesh in Syria and Iraq, there is a real possibility of Daesh members returning to their home countries which include some countries of Europe. This is of great concern.
- Daesh will possibly occupy

spaces in weaker states and try to weaken stronger states. It was reckoned that terrorism at large is a multi-faceted phenomenon which requires a cohesive response from the international community.

- The ongoing civil war in Syria has turned into a regional war as Syria has become hostage to the Iran-Saudi rivalry. The deteriorating situation in the Middle East must be stopped in which countries like Pakistan

shared that the UK will have to go ahead with Brexit despite challenges to its unity. The structural and political issues facing the EU also came under discussion.

- With regards to the implementation of the National Action Plan (NAP) in Pakistan, the host scholars were of the view that while the hard military strategy had been successful, the elements of soft approach still had to see full realization. Security situation in Pakistan had considerably improved with the launch of



IPRI delegation at Italian Naval Headquarters during the roundtable



IPRI delegation with Centro Studi Internazionali (Ce.S.I.) scholars, Italy



IPRI delegation with Centro Studi Internazionali (Ce.S.I.) scholars during the roundtable

international security and political stability of interest to respective countries.

During their visit to Rome, the delegation had interactions at the Chamber of Deputies with members of the Italian Senate, and held roundtables at Ce.S.I. and the Italian Naval HQ.

During their visit to London, the delegation had a roundtable with RUSI scholars.

IPRI scholars made presentations on:

- 1) Pakistan's Achievements and Sacrifices in the War on Terror (WoT)
- 2) Development of CPEC: Opportunities

and Turkey can play an effective role.

- On the future of the EU after Brexit, it was

operations Zarb-i-Azb and Radd-ul Fasaad.

- On Afghanistan, it was stated that in 2014, the US strategy was closely connected to its aspiration to disengage from the war-blighted country. However, the Afghan Security Forces (ASF) have not been able to restore the writ of the state. The ASF are still dependent on the US for training, equipment and for provision of air support to its operations against the Afghan Taliban.

- The US does not have a long term



IPRI delegation with Rear Adm. Gianfranco Annuziata at the Italian Naval Headquarters



Brig. (R) Sohail Tirmizi receiving memento from Rear Adm. Gianfranco Annuziata



## (Ce.S.I.), Italy and Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), UK

strategy for a solution of the Afghanistan situation. The US approach is more tactical, whereby decisions are taken on case to case basis. The US strategy seems to be to fight and to talk at the same time. No one knows how to manage the Afghan issue. The US has even asked for more NATO troops. Internal issues within the Afghan government coalition are worrisome too.

- Pakistan has formally applied to



Brig. (R) Sohail Tirmizi while presenting memento to Mr Raffaello Pantucci at Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), UK

IPRI delegation with Mr Raffaello Pantucci at Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), UK



Head of IPRI delegation presenting memento to Senator Mario Mauro

IPRI delegation with Senator Mario Mauro

become a member of the Virtual Regional Maritime Traffic Center (V-RMTC), which provides maritime traffic information. A favorable decision is expected in early 2018 in this regard.

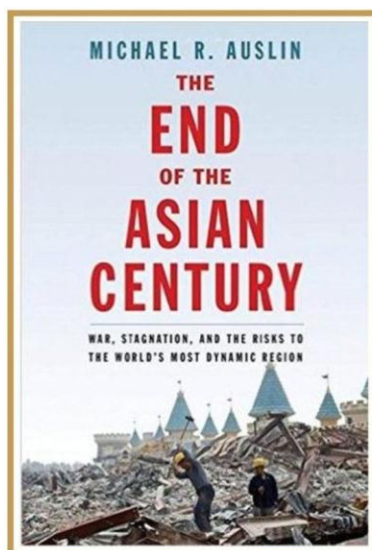
- Counter-terrorism cooperation between the UK and other members of the European Union would not change after Brexit. There is an ongoing debate on EU defense versus NATO. The idea of a common EU defense has become more pronounced in recent times but there are serious issues of capacity of EU member states.

## The End of the Asian Century: War, Stagnation, and the Risks to the World's Most Dynamic Region

Author: Michael R. Auslin

*The End of Asian Century* (2017) presents an authentic analysis of the factors that divide the nations of Asia Pacific region and pose political, economic, military and demographic risks to the region and beyond. Michael R. Auslin, who is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Washington, DC and former Professor of History at the Yale University, New Haven, CT analyzes the dynamics that could lead to dangerous conflicts, if the US does not play its part as guarantor of freedom of the seas in this region. The author draws parallels between China and Russia by arguing that China's debt-ridden economy and its aggressive posture in the Indian Ocean are similar to what Vladimir Putin practices in Eastern Europe.

On the other hand, author argues that India, is beset with religious, cultural, linguistic, ethnic and regional divisions. Nonetheless, it is struggling to become a regional powerhouse. Author argues that several measures can be taken to nurture democracy in Asia Pacific region, just as democratic



order after World War II, with strong American strategic partnership, brought not only prosperity, it also brought peace and collective security to Western Europe. However, main liberal states of the region

such as India, Japan, Taiwan and South Korea should play leading role in promotion of liberal ideas. This is essential as long-term prosperity and stability hinges upon the spread of these egalitarian norms and traditions, including law and order, civil rights, free pass and gender equality.

Mr Auslin believes that these efforts are supplemented by mutually beneficial trade relations and the deterrent of US military might. The author recommends that in order to avoid use of force in Asia Pacific, maintaining enough force in the region will be the best strategy.

The book is a good attempt to understand the dynamics in play in Asia. However, the author, while discussing India, conveniently ignores India's unhelpful policies in the region, which are causing instability in South Asia and beyond.

## IPRI Journal Editorial and Advisory Board (EAB) Meeting



Dr Fazal ur Rahman

Dr Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema and Dr Ijaz Hussain

Dr Zafar Iqbal Cheema and Professor Riaz Ahmad

The second meeting of the *IPRI Journal* Editorial and Advisory Board (EAB) was held at the IPRI office on 22 November 2017. Board members included Dr Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, Dean, Faculty of Contemporary Studies, National Defence University, Islamabad; Dr Ijaz Hussain, Former Dean of Social Science Department, Quaid-i-

Azam University; Dr Zafar Iqbal Cheema, President, Strategic Vision Institute (SVI), Islamabad, and Professor Riaz Ahmad, Former Director National Institute of Historical & Cultural Research (NIHCR), Rawalpindi. The meeting was chaired by Dr Fazal ur Rahman, Editor-in-Chief, *IPRI Journal*.

### Recent IPRI Publication

#### Achieving Peace in Afghanistan: Challenges and Prospects

##### BOOK CONTENTS

##### PART I

###### Welcome Address

Brig. (R) Sohail Tirmizi, SI(M)

###### Opening Remarks

Kristof Duwaerts

###### Inaugural Address

Sartaj Aziz

###### Understanding 'Peace' for Afghanistan

Keynote Address

Dr Hazrat Omar Zakhilwal

###### Beyond Routine: A Proposal for a 'Special' Relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan

Keynote Address

Owais Ahmed Ghani

###### Concluding Address

Tehmina Janjua

###### Policy Recommendations of the Conference

##### PART II

###### Existing Situation in Afghanistan

###### 1. Regional Dynamics and Implications for Afghanistan

Dr Farhan Hanif Siddiqi

###### 2. Ingress of Non-State Actors in Afghanistan Islamic State (ISIS) and Al-Qaeda

Dr Attaullah Wahidyar

#### Achieving Peace in Afghanistan: Challenges and Prospects



Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI)

Hanns Seidel Foundation (HSF)

###### 3. Effective Pak-Afghan Border Management: A Key to Security in the Region

Maj. Gen. (R) Ijaz Hussain Awan, HI (M)

###### Structural Problems to the Security of Afghanistan: Review of Non-Traditional Challenges

###### 4. Capacity Evaluation of the Afghan National Unity Government: Governance, Economic

###### Management and Security

Sayed Mahdi Munadi

###### 5. Financial Resources of Transnational Terrorism

Major Gen. (R) Khawar Hanif, HI (M)

###### Peace Initiatives by Regional Partners and Coalition Countries

###### 6. US Vision of the End-State in Afghanistan: The Obama Era and A Trump Presidency

Dr Marvin G. Weinbaum

###### 7. About Possible International Cooperation for Normalisation of Situation in and around Afghanistan

Dr Grigory Tishchenko

###### 8. Achieving Peace in Afghanistan: An Iranian Perspective

Dr Seyed Rasoul Mousavi

###### Achieving Peace in Afghanistan: A Way Forward

###### 9. Building Consensus among Major Stakeholder Countries on Afghanistan

Dr Liu Zongyi

###### 10. How Reconciliation and Confidence Building Measures fit into the Broader Challenge of Afghan Peace-making?

Michael Semple

The book is available for download at:  
<<http://www.ipripak.org/achieving-peace-in-afghanistan-challenges-and-prospects/>>



## Regional Dynamics and Strategic Concerns in South Asia

*Continued from p. 2*

pullout of America from the region. It was stressed that India's economic assistance to Afghanistan should not be seen as a matter of concern; rather other neighboring countries should also offer the same.

It was recommended that Afghanistan's right to formulate its own policies, both internal and external must also be acknowledged and respected. However, Afghanistan as a brotherly country is expected to appreciate Pakistan's legitimate concerns.

### Addressing Security Concerns in South Asia: A Way Forward

The significance of economic cooperation in managing regional conflicts was emphasized. It was opined that prolonging regional conflicts is not in the interest of any state. China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, stability in Afghanistan, and dialogue on Kashmir are the most important factors which offer regional actors a way forward. The role of a third party mediating between Pakistan and India can facilitate in addressing the Kashmir dispute. Additionally, focus on logic rather than sentiments, addressing historical mistrust and narrow interests are key to regional cooperation. Therefore, it is important to resolve conflicts with a focus on improving relations among South Asian states and charting a way forward.

### Major Recommendations

- To address regional challenges, such as the instability in Afghanistan, Jammu and Kashmir dispute, Pakistan-India tensions, including nuclear issues, security of CPEC, climate change and terrorism, it is important to have regional cooperation. It is imperative for regional actors to find common grounds and engage in a dialogue process rather than relying on the extra-regional powers to resolve regional conflicts.
- Despite constraints to regional cooperation, there are a number of regional level opportunities, which could facilitate the South Asian states in overcoming the political, economic and security challenges, such as the membership of Pakistan and India in Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and CPEC.
- As compared to geopolitics, geoeconomics can offer a win-win situation between states, and create better relations between countries, rather than nurturing tensions.
- External challenges and risks to Pakistan require a deeper understanding of foreign policy alignments and how that would impact regional stability. Policy makers in Pakistan should focus on how diplomacy is required to be harmonized with its core interests.
- There is a need for collective response in tackling the ill effects of



climate change, which should be a top priority of the SAARC agenda, considering that the lives and livelihoods of millions of people in the region are at stake.

- Revitalising South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), an involvement of the Kashmiris in addition to Pakistan and India, proactive approach, governmental as well as nongovernmental engagement are a few of the options to address the Jammu & Kashmir dispute.
- Economics and security are interlinked. In this regard, the Chinese working in CPEC-related projects should be provided fool-proof security to enhance their confidence. Pakistan should do everything to make CPEC a success story.
- There is a need to maintain stability, freedom and security of seaborne commerce in the Indian Ocean region, which can be achieved through peaceful resolution of outstanding disputes, confidence building measures and strong political leadership.
- India's asymmetric military buildup and hostility towards Pakistan has increased under the leadership of PM Narendra Modi. In this context, Pakistan needs to maintain balance in wider geostrategic constructs and maintain a credible deterrence.
- With Daesh attempting to gain foothold in Afghanistan, the role of SCO in resolving Afghanistan crisis is important. For that purpose, there is an urgent need to adopt a collective approach at SCO to achieve viable peace in Afghanistan.



- Pakistan needs foreign investment in the energy sector, while Russia has accumulated vast experience and technology in this area. It has capital, technology and importantly the will to invest in Pakistan's energy sector as demonstrated by the agreement recently signed on Karachi-Lahore gas pipeline, an interest shown in IP, TAPI and expansion of its own installed Pakistan Steel Mill in Karachi. Pakistan can benefit from Russia's expertise and investment in these projects and therefore should provide incentives.

**Col (R) Muhammad Hanif, Research Fellow**  
 "CPEC and its Impact on Pakistan's  
 Economic Growth and Development"  
*(Pakistan Observer)*



**Asghar Ali Shad  
 Research Fellow  
 (Urdu Articles)**  
 "Rohingia Buhran, Junubi Asia aur Baharat!"  
*Daily Pakistan*  
 "Sikh Nasil Kushi aur Almi Zameer!"  
*(Nawa-i-Waqt)*  
 "Aag se khelta Baharat ...!"  
*(Nawa-i-Waqt)*  
 "Ye Jamhuri Tamasha aur Bharti  
 Khawateen!"  
*(Nawa-i-Waqt)*  
 "Khushhal Pakistan aur....!"  
*(Daily Pakistan)*



**Khalid Chandio  
 Research Fellow**  
 "Lowdown on Trump's Asia Visit"  
*(Regional Rapport)*



**Muhammad Nawaz Khan  
 Research Officer**  
 "South Asia's 4 Competing Jihads"  
*(The Diplomat)*



**Gulshan Bibi  
 Assistant Research Officer**  
 "The Destroyer of Stability"  
*(The Nation)*  
 "Pakistan and Nuclear Power: Closing the  
 Energy Gap Responsibly"  
*(South Asian Voices)*



**Khurram Minhas  
 Assistant Research Officer**  
 "'Rule by Law' No More"  
*(Daily Times)*



**Sajjad Haider  
 Assistant Research Officer**  
 "An Emerging Alliance in S Asia"  
*(Pakistan Observer)*



**Iqra Mobeen Akram  
 Assistant Research Officer**  
 "Linkage between Women and Terrorism"  
*(Pakistan Observer)*



**Usama Nizamani  
 Consultant**  
 "Creating a New Narrative: The Pakistani  
 Dream"  
*(South Asian Voices)*



## Call for Papers IPRI Journal Summer 2018

Interested researchers are invited to submit scholarly manuscripts (5000-8000 words) and current book reviews (1000 words) for consideration for the *IPRI Journal*, Summer 2018 Issue (ISSN 1684-9787/eISSN 1684-9809) on areas such as international relations, geopolitics, diplomacy, security, political economy, conflict and governance. Submissions should not be previously published nor currently under consideration for publication elsewhere.

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Manuscripts undergo double-blind reviews. If they are found suitable for the Journal, reviewers may recommend either major or minor changes in the manuscript.

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**Islamabad Policy Research Institute**

Contact Information

Address: Fifth Floor, Evacuee Trust Complex, Sir Aga Khan Road, Sector F-5/1,  
 Islamabad, Pakistan

Phone: +92 51 9211346-49; Fax: +92 51 9211350

zahedah.khalid@gmail.com

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