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November 2015

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Mr. Sartaj Aziz delivering his Concluding Address at the Conference

Emerging Security Order in Asia Pacific and its Impact on South Asia

Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) in collaboration with the Hanns Seidel Foundation (HSF), Islamabad organized two-day international conference on “Emerging Security Order in Asia Pacific and its Impact on South Asia” on November 17-18, 2015 at Marriott Hotel, Islamabad. The conference comprised of four working sessions in addition to inaugural and concluding sessions. Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed, Chairman, Senate Committee on Defence and Defence Production and Parliamentary Committee on China-Pakistan Economic Corridor was the Chief Guest at the inaugural session. The concluding session was chaired by Mr. Sartaj Aziz, Advisor to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs.

A total of 14 papers were presented during the conference. Eminent scholars from Pakistan and abroad (China, India, Japan, Malaysia, Singapore, Sri Lanka and the US) participated in the conference. The High Commissioner of Australia also presented her paper. The objective of the conference was to discuss the emerging security trends in Asia Pacific, current policies of regional actors and emerging alliances. Likely policy options for Pakistan were also suggested. The changes that were considered significant in the region were China's emergence as a major world power, the US rebalancing strategy, regional connectivity, and the impact of political disputes on trade and economic cooperation. The aim was to suggest a way forward for building a cooperative regional security order in the Asia-Pacific region, also termed

by the US as “Indo-Pacific”.

The salient points highlighted by the speakers during the conference are:

- The end of the Cold War not only provided an opportunity to revert to the concept of collective security under UN auspices as a reflection of the new world order, but also engendered hope that peace would no longer remain hostage to the two heavily militarized blocks.
- While in other regions the countries had moved away from bitter grievances of the past, Asia Pacific's political environment is marked by an increased involvement of regional as well as foreign players. Japan, Russia, China and the US, through various regional forums and alliances are trying to enhance their political role.
- The Japanese scholar viewed Asia pivot Policy as the US global posture, defining the US long-term strategy to sustain leadership. The pillars of the pivot were strong alliances, partnerships and economic cooperation with China. It was opined that the regional states, in particular the US allies, were desirous of enhancing defence cooperation with the US. The regional states aim was to modernize their weaponry and defence industry.

Continued on p. 2

International Conference

Inaugural Session



Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed Inaugurated the Conference

Session I



Mr. Inamul Haque chaired Session-I



Mr. (R) Shamshad Ahmed



Dr. Dietrich Reetz



Mr. Takaaki Asano



Mr. Bunn Nagar



Group Photo: IPRI & HSF (Islamabad) Staff Members with Chief Guest, Chairs and Speakers of the Conference

Continued from p. 1

- The competitive interests of US and China are apparent at the regional level. China is supporting the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and is at the same time not a member of the US supported Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA). This may negatively impact the East Asian economic architecture.
- Over China's present day role in international politics, the Deputy Chief of Chinese Embassy in Pakistan referred to China's foreign policy principles of "Amity, Sincerity, Mutual Benefit and Inclusiveness".
- The speculation that the US strategic partnership with India has abandoned Pakistan carries little weight. The recent visits of Pakistan's political and military leadership to the US reflect Pakistan's importance in the emerging security order.
- Pakistan's geo-strategic location at the crossroads of South, Central and West Asia, its significance for peace and stability in Afghanistan, development of Gwadar Port and China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) make it a "strategically important pivot state in Indo-Pacific". That seems to be the logic that the US has reaffirmed its support for the Afghanistan-Pakistan Transit Trade Agreement (APTTA), Central Asia-South Asia Electricity Transmission and Trade Project (CASA-1000) and Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline.
- The US policy of "Indo-Pacific" and Chinese Maritime Silk Road are competing narratives.
- Dr. Sinderpal Singh, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of South Asian Studies, National University

of Singapore, remarked that "the idea of renaming the region as "Indo-Pacific" is not well-received by China".

- Due to the perceptual biases and lingering bilateral disputes, the SAARC regional states have failed to bridge their differences. In line with the present day realities, there is a need for a paradigm shift to focus on resolving mutual disputes amicably to achieve win-win solutions with a view to focus on economic cooperation and energy connectivity. The need is to think from the regional perspective, and together emerge on the world stage as a regional bloc.
- The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) would give an impetus to regional connectivity. The economic corridor would not only enhance the North-South link, but would also strengthen the East-West connectivity towards Afghanistan and India.

Concluding Address by Mr. Sartaj Aziz

- H.E. Mr. Sartaj Aziz, Advisor to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs viewed the prevailing politico-economic and security architecture of Asia Pacific optimistically. He said that the multilateral dialogue forums in the region were mechanisms of shared and inclusive regional leadership. The economic/defence forums like the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), East Asia Summit (EAS), and the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting Plus (ADMM+) had integrated the regional states. Foreign players were also part of these regional groupings.
- Mr. Aziz said that the US rebalancing strategy towards Asia Pacific had considerably reinforced US alliance structure in the region.
- Chinese led One Belt One Road (OBOR) is an important regional development. China, with its 20 percent share of the world population and having surpassed the US economically in terms of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) might be the new engine pulling along the world economy.
- The OBOR would initiate economic activity in the region, and would further boost China's economic growth. China along with Russia is also developing the trade/energy links with Eurasia. The SCO is an important organization in this regard, besides, BRICs Bank, Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank

Session II



Major General Noel I. Khokhar chaired Session-II



Mr. Amin Izzadeen



Dr. David R. Jones



Dr. Swaran Singh



Dr. Rizwan Nasser



Emerging Security Order in Asia Pacific and its Impact on South Asia



Group Photo: IPRI & HSF (Islamabad) Staff Members with Chief Guest, Chairs and Speakers of the Conference

Session III



and Silk Road Fund had been established.

- Pakistan's unique location at the crossroads of South, Central and West Asia, has placed Pakistan in an advantageous position. Pakistan could be a gateway to landlocked Central Asian Republics (CARs). Through the CPEC, ASEAN region could be connected to the markets of Central and West Asia.
- CPEC would enhance foreign investment in Pakistan. The economy of the country battling terrorists for more than a decade would have a sigh of relief. The negativity associated with the economic corridor was refuted and the perception that the Pakistan-China partnership was targeted against any country was negated. Mr. Aziz said that it was unfortunate that some regional actors were trying to divert attention away from the importance of CPEC.
- The stalemate of India-Pakistan bilateral talks was primarily due to Indian stubbornness.
- China, the US and Russia were important pillars in the newly emerging economic and security order of the region. Pakistan had Strategic Dialogue with both the US and China, and had also developed robust ties with Russia.
- Given the major powers interest in the region, the politics of "Re-balancing" and the beginning of "new Cold War", would continue to haunt the region. However, the common challenges of terrorism, climate change and environment, regional connectivity and trade could be a rationale for regional and foreign powers cooperation.

Recommendations

- Asia-Pacific is home to three of the four largest economies in the world. Development of Pakistan's deeper politico-economic relations with economically advancing countries of this region will be of considerable

economic benefits to it.

- Pakistan's geographic location lends it a central position in the regional geopolitics of South and Central Asia. A stable and strong Pakistan guarantees stable South Asia.
- To become more relevant in Asia Pacific politics, Pakistan requires focusing on its economic development and widening its strategic outreach.
- The permanent membership of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) seems for Pakistan to be one of the few available post- Afghan war scenarios of regional cooperation and stability, as an alternative to the delaying process of South Asian integration.
- To achieve a sustainable peace and stability in South Asia, maintaining a credible strategic deterrence, efforts should be made to resolve the Kashmir dispute through a sustained dialogue in the light of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions and the aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.
- The Asia Pacific region provides new markets for Pakistani goods and can balance the dependency of Pakistani economy over the Western markets. Pakistan should encourage Asia Pacific states to invest in Pakistan reviving its traditional relations with Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia and other states of the region.
- All countries of the Asia Pacific region should be open about their defence policies, and transparent in their long-term strategic intentions. This approach will build trust and minimise any chance for miscalculation and will help to resolve regional disputes peacefully.
- In considering a cooperative security order for the future, the regional countries should also take into account non-traditional security threats that are emerging from food security to availability of water and land and climate change, to energy security, international health epidemics, to natural disasters.
- The future prosperity and the safety of the region will depend on maritime security and marine resource protection. Therefore, there is a need to establish a Maritime Architecture of Regional Countries where they work and exercise together and build links for better understanding and creating trust.
- CPEC is a connectivity project. It's not only an economic project, but also a political, societal, security and cultural project. The success of CPEC needs not only endeavours from China and Pakistan, but from the region. To achieve this objective Pakistan and China should enhance interaction with other regional countries to win the support for CPEC.

Session IV



Ambassador (R) Ali Sarwar Naqvi chaired Session IV



Mr. Majid Ali Noonari



Dr. Sinderpal Singh



Mr. Zhao



H.E. Ms. Margaret Adamson

Foreign Delegation

Delegation from Ce.S.I., Italy Visits IPRI



IPRI Staff Members with Delegation from Ce.S.I, Italy

About Centre for International Studies (Ce. S.I), Italy

Ce.S.I. - Centro Studi Internazionali, is a Rome-based institute founded in 2004 by Andrea Margelletti.

The issues crucial to Ce.S.I.'s analyses are centered on the internal and international political dynamics of those countries which Italy regards as of paramount importance for its interests in the world, especially the wider Middle East, up to Africa, Asia and the Balkans.

Three member delegation from Centre for International Studies (Ce.S.I.), Italy comprising of Professor Andrea Margelletti, Mr. Gabriele Lacovino and Ms. Francesca Manenti visited IPRI on November 20th, 2015. President IPRI, Ambassador Sohail Amin, Dr. Noor-ul-Haq, Senior Research Fellow, Col. Muhammad Hanif, Research Fellow, Ms. Saman Zulfqar, Assistant Research officer, Ms. Asiya Perveen Mahar, Assistant Research officer and Ms. Aymen Ijaz Assistant Research Officer hosted the delegation at IPRI conference hall.

Salient Points discussed during the meeting are:

- The ISIS is more than just a terrorist organization with its own territory, economy, complete system, millions of people under its cover, own system of welfare and strong communication channels.
- The radicalization phenomenon has grown in Europe because the ISIS has used internet and web to radicalize the youth that have European identity yet feel alienated from Europe.
- Although European Union has a strong military but due to different foreign policies, member states lack a comprehensive common strategy to counter terrorism.
- In Libya, there are two different types of government which are worsening the situation because the two sides are not interested in the political solution of the problem.
- Pakistan has been successfully pursuing its counter-terrorism policies. In view of the same, Pakistan has launched military operations against terrorists and has started several de-radicalization projects.
- Pakistan desires meaningful and peaceful relations with its neighbours. Pakistan has expressed its desire to have peaceful settlement of disputes with India on all matters through unconditional dialogue process.

- The political solution in the Middle East requires great deliberations. There are moderate factions in the region which may be brought to table. Steps should be taken for political settlement of disputes in troubled countries across the Middle Eastern region.
- There is a need to devise a practical, effective and comprehensive de-radicalization strategy in Europe. Military tactics are part of the solution but political solution is required as a broader counter terrorism strategy.

Conclusion

Radicalization and integration are one of the major problems confronted by Europe. The world community should jointly address the menace of terrorism. A comprehensive, political and long term strategy needs to be devised. The negotiation process must be initiated with the moderate factions for resolution of the problems.

CALL FOR PAPERS

IPRI Journal Summer 2016

IPRI Journal is published twice a year by Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI). The Institute is dedicated to research and analysis of regional and international issues with relevance to Pakistan's national policies.

Editor invites scholars to submit well-researched and unpublished papers for its upcoming IPRI Journal Summer 2016.

Submission Deadline:

March 30, 2016

For Submission Guidelines Visit:

www.ipripak.org

Note: IPRI Journal is HEC recognized 'X Category' Local Journal for Social Sciences

IPRI Engagement

Emerging Geostrategic Landscape of South-West Asia and Asia Pacific



President IPRI, Ambassador (R) Sohail Amin participated in two day seminar on “Emerging Geostrategic Landscape of South-West Asia and Asia Pacific” organized by Strategic Vision Institute, Islamabad from November 5-6, 2015. President IPRI spoke on “Contemporary Geostrategic Environment in West Asia”. Salient points of his presentation are:

- Today, many of the states in West Asia have become politically unstable. After the downfall of

Saddam, no proper planning for Iraq was put in place. The demographic structure in Iraq was ignored and what followed was political and sectarian mayhem resulting in huge humanitarian and financial losses.

- In Libya, Qaddafi's regime was overthrown without chalking out a plan for the future.
- The situation in Yemen is seriously hurting Saudi Arabia and its Gulf partners. The siege of Sana by Houthis is still continuing and the Gulf countries attribute this to Iranian interference in Yemen.
- The situation in Syria is most challenging for regional as well as the world peace. The US demands ouster of President Assad and has the support of the EU, Turkey and the Gulf countries except the Sultanate of Oman.
- Russia has differed with the US policy on Syria and Daesh. It believes that Daesh has come into being as a result of flawed US policies in Iraq and Syria.
- The other Russian objective could be to stabilize Syria and bring an end to the exodus of Syrian refugees that are moving into Europe. If President Putin achieves his objective of bringing stability in Syria and checking the outflow of

refugees, there is a possibility of EU lifting economic sanctions against Russia.

- Daesh has created Wilayat Qawqaz (Caucasus) on 23 June 2015 which includes part of the Russian Federation territory. Russia, therefore, wants Daesh danger to stop in any case.
- While there have been lot of disappointments in West Asia, there also have been some positive developments. Turkey has emerged as a regional power. It has shown to the other Middle Eastern countries a classic example of combining faith with personal freedoms and prosperity. This process in Turkey began much before the Arab spring when the ruling Justice and Development party assumed power in 2007.
- Iran nuclear deal is a success story for both Iran and the US. Iran is trying hard to fulfil all the conditionalities on its nuclear programme to get the sanctions lifted.

Conclusion

The situation in West Asia is in a flux. The political process needs to be advanced further with speed to resolve the continuing conflict in Syria. Major powers should not abdicate their responsibilities in the Middle East in the hope that the warring factions will settle the scores themselves.

Addition to Our Library

The Future of Violence: Robots and Germs, Hackers and Drones - Confronting A New Age of Threat

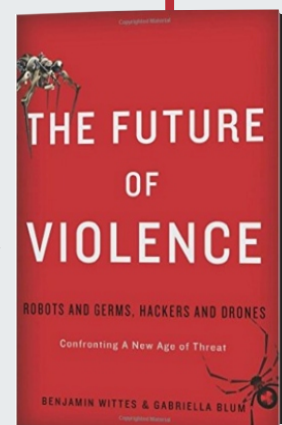
Due to advances in cyber technology, biotechnology, and robotics, more people than ever before have access to potentially dangerous technologies - from drones to computer networks and biological agents - which could be used to attack states and private citizens alike.

The Future of Violence is at once an introduction to our emerging world - one in which students can print guns with 3-D printers and scientists' manipulations of viruses can be recreated and unleashed by ordinary people - and an authoritative blueprint for how government must adapt in order to survive and protect us.

In *The Future of Violence*, law and security experts Benjamin Wittes and Gabriella Blum detail the myriad possibilities, challenges, and enormous risks present in the modern world, and argue that if our national governments can no longer adequately protect us from harm, they will lose their legitimacy. Consequently, governments, companies, and citizens must rethink their security efforts to protect lives and liberty.

In this brave new world where many little brothers are as menacing as any Big Brother, safeguarding our liberty and privacy may require strong domestic and international surveillance and regulatory controls. Maintaining security in this world where anyone can attack anyone requires a global perspective, with more multinational forces and greater action to protect (and protect against) weaker states who do not yet have the capability to police their own people.

Drawing on political thinkers from Thomas Hobbes to the Founders and beyond, Wittes and Blum show that, despite recent protestations to the contrary, security and liberty are mutually supportive, and that we must embrace one to ensure the other.



Guest Lecture

Afghanistan- A year after drawdown: Challenges and Opportunities



Lt Gen (R) Talat Masood
SBt and HI(M)
Former Secretary for Defence
Production

Lt Gen (R) Talat Masood visited IPRI on November 26, 2015 to deliver lecture on “Afghanistan- A year after drawdown: Challenges and Opportunities”. Following are the salient points of his lecture.

- Pakistan has made genuine efforts to promote official level talks between the Afghan government and the Taliban.
- The Murree process showed that America, China, NATO, etc., are eager to explore any possibility that can bring the Afghan government and Taliban to talk so as to bring an end to the long war.
- A string of militant attacks in Kabul in August, followed by the Kunduz attack in early October, not only sent shockwaves in the region but also provided an opportunity to detractors of peace process to blame Pakistan.
- The revelation of Mullah Omar's death only a few days prior to the second round of the Murree talks was a deliberate attempt to further sabotage the process.
- Kunduz is located in the north and over 1,000km away from the Pakistan border; hence Pakistan being blamed by Afghan leadership has become more of a routine reflex and a way of deflecting attention from its own internal weaknesses. Instead of playing the blame game, the Afghan leadership should strengthen ties with Pakistan to face the internal threat.
- Both the civil and military leaderships of Pakistan have been sincerely pursuing the policy of developing close ties with Afghanistan as it is in the interest of both countries to cooperate with each other and institutionalise stronger mechanisms for bilateral cooperation so that both countries could work together to achieve a reconciliation between Taliban and other Afghan ethnic groups for the sake of building durable peace in Afghanistan.

- Kunduz attack has widened the cleavage between President Ghani and Abdullah Abdullah, and demonstrated the fragility of the coalition.
- The attack also brought to the fore the fact that the Afghan Army has not fully gained the capability to act as a cohesive combat force capable of holding territory without the aerial and intelligence support of the US and the NATO.
- Talking about the governance issues inside Afghanistan, Lt Gen (R) Talat Masood explained that although it has been a year since Ghani assumed office of President and Abdullah Abdullah of CEO, yet they have to agree on most of the important appointments. All this affects the quality of governance and such weaknesses play into the hands of the Taliban. The danger is compounded as the Islamic State (IS) is making inroads, which could be very dangerous for the region as a whole. If the Afghan government fails to deliver, it would only lend strength to the Taliban and other affiliated groups.
- The central question at present is whether the positions of the Taliban and the Afghan government are reconcilable because presently, there is a wide gap in their goals and objectives.
- Within the Taliban, there are two factions and the splinter group refuses to accept the leadership of Mullah Mansoor so any decisions taken by him, in all likelihood, will be opposed.
- The Afghan government is a victim of paralysis due to internal power struggles between President Ghani and Abdullah Abdullah. In this political scenario, a breakthrough will take considerable time and patience.
- Nonetheless, the onset of winter provides a window of opportunity as the fighting will stop. Taliban might not surrender arms at this stage, but they could be persuaded to engage in serious peace negotiations.
- Pakistan has taken possible measures to destroy sanctuaries of the extremists group within its territory

and operation Zarb-e-Azb has successfully entered its final phase.

- Lt. General Talat Masood illustrated that all regional and global powers, including China, are opposed to the Taliban. China's main interest in stabilising Afghanistan is to prevent a spillover effect of the insurgency in its province of Xinjiang and on the CPEC as it wouldn't want its economic interests to be compromised.
- President Obama's announcement that American forces will remain in Afghanistan at their current level throughout 2016 and, if need be, for another year or more, are factors that could bring the Taliban to the negotiating table. The rising influence of the Islamic State in the region should also contribute in persuading the Taliban to talk to the Afghan government.
- In a world where geo-economics is taking precedence, Pakistan and Afghanistan have to shed the burden of history and move towards a cooperative relationship that serves their people. They should widen economic, political and cultural links and benefit from transit trade instead of remaining hostage to the past. Globalisation requires regional harmony and cooperation, not confrontation.

Conclusion

Although third parties are facilitating dialogue process between Pakistan and Afghanistan, it is primarily the responsibility of both countries to work together to resolve differences and actualise the potential within both countries.

Despite few prevailing tensions and contradictions, the Afghan and Pakistan governments have remained engaged in talks modestly. Geographic compulsions and mutual dependence leave no other option, but for the two countries to keep channels of communication open.

IPRI Review Meeting

Iran Nuclear Deal: Regional Implications



Ms. Saman Zulfqar, Assistant Research Officer in her presentation on "Iran Nuclear Deal: Regional Implications" discussed Iran's nuclear deal with P5+1 states that ended the standoff between Iran and the United States. The salient points of the agreement and its implications on the region highlighted during the presentation are:

Regional Implications

- Critics of the deal claim that it had not curbed Iranian nuclear programme completely but imposed restrictions for fifteen years.
- Arab states are concerned that the deal will increase Iranian involvement in domestic Arab affairs because the deal would give Iran access to substantial financial resources.
- The deal will allow Iran's return to energy market. It is reported that Iran has loaded a number of cargo

tankers with 30 or more million barrels of oil that would be sold as soon as sanctions are lifted.

- With the signing of nuclear agreement, there are prospects for progress on Iran-Pakistan gas pipeline project.

Conclusion

The Iran nuclear agreement is going to resolve a major issue in Iran-US bilateral relations that would have far-reaching impact on Iran's relations with other states as well regarding energy trade. The European Union was the largest trading partner of Iran before sanctions were imposed in 2012. A few days after the deal was signed the EU removed sanctions on two oil companies of Iran. Though there are challenges and opportunities associated with the deal but there is hope that nuclear agreement would impact the region positively.

Useful Information

- Iran has been a beneficiary of US Administration's Atom for Peace Program. The United States had provided Iran with a small research reactor fueled by highly enriched uranium.
- Iran signed Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1968 as a non-nuclear weapon state and ratified it in 1970.
- In 1973, Shah of Iran unveiled an ambitious plan to install more than 20,000 MW of nuclear power in Iran by the end of century and directed the newly established Atomic Energy Organization of Iran to take charge of this task. In subsequent years, Iran concluded several contracts with different states and by the time of revolution in 1979, Iran had developed an impressive baseline capability in nuclear technologies.
- The progress was halted after revolution but was renewed in 1990s when Iran started pursuing an indigenous nuclear fuel cycle capability by developing a uranium mining infrastructure and experimenting uranium enrichment.
- In 2002-03 satellite images of undeclared nuclear facilities in Iran raised concerns of international community and IAEA carried out facilities inspections and met with Iranian officials to explore the new developments in Iran's nuclear program.
- Various diplomatic initiatives were taken to deal with Iranian nuclear issue along with imposition of sanctions. Sanctions were imposed on Iran by four binding resolutions of United Nations Security Council. These started with a ban on the supply of heavy weaponry, nuclear technology and export of arms to Iran. Scope of sanctions was further expanded to freezing of assets of companies.
- In October 2013, an interim deal was signed between Iran and P5+1.

United States Interest in Negotiating the Deal

- To neutralize Iranian position so that the US would be able to deal with the challenge posed to it by the so-called "axis of resistance" consisting of Iran, Hezbollah, Assad's Syria, and Shia forces in Iraq, Yemen and Bahrain.
- To help Europe reduce its dependence on Russian energy imports and replace them with that of Iranian imports by undermining Russia's influence on Europe.

Iran's Interest in Negotiating the Deal

- The removal of sanctions has been the sole objective of Iran to negotiate the



deal. It has been facing three dimensional international sanctions on the pretext of its nuclear programme: the UN sponsored sanctions; the US imposed sanctions and the European Union's sanctions.

Nuclear Accord between Iran and (P5+1)

- The preliminary nuclear accord announced in April 2015 between Iran and P5+1. Following are the salient points of the nuclear accord.
 1. Iran will not produce or acquire highly enriched uranium or plutonium for 15 years. Verification measures will stay in place permanently as Tehran and IAEA concluded an agreement to address all questions about Iran's past actions within three months and completion of this task was fundamental for sanctions relief.
 2. Iran preserves the right to produce as much nuclear fuel as it wishes after 15 years of agreement and has been allowed to conduct research on advanced centrifuges after 8 years. An embargo on sales and purchase of conventional arms would be lifted after 5 years and embargo on ballistic missiles will be lifted after 8 years.
 3. Iranian officials agreed on ban on designing warhead and conducting tests including detonators and nuclear triggers that may contribute to the design and manufacture of a nuclear weapon.
 4. Sanctions would be re-imposed if 8 member panel (P5+1, EU and Iran) determine that Iran is violating the terms of agreement.

Publications by IPRI Scholars (November 2015)

**Col (R) Muhammad Hanif,
Research Coordinator**

“Who is controlling foreign
policy”

(*Pakistan Observer*)



**Asghar Ali Shad,
Research Fellow**

“British civil society Aur
Modi Ka Dora”

(*Nawa-i-Waqt*)

“Modi “Sonami” kay Aage
Band?” (*Daily Pakistan*)

“Khalistan Tehreek.... Naye or Par?”
(*Nawa-i-Waqt*)

“Gaye, DNA Aur Bharti Siyasat!”
(*Daily Pakistan*)

“Ab Aasam.....Nishane Par?”
(*Nawa-i-Waqt*)



**Air Cdr (R) Khalid Iqbal,
Non Resident Consultant**

“Kashmir under International
spotlight”

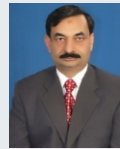
(*The Nation*)

“Poised to keep simmering”
(*The Nation*)

“Modi's india or india's Modi?”
(*The Nation*)

“Beyond Paris attacks”
(*The Nation*)

“NSG membership”
(*The Nation*)



**Muhammad Nawaz Khan,
Research Officer**

“Fifth Ministerial Moot: Heart of
Asia 2015”

(*The London Post*)

“US-Saudi Relations Strain over Syria”
(*The London Post*)



**Amna Ejaz Rafi,
Assistant Research Officer**

“Global trade & geo-politics”
(*Pakistan Observer*)

“US tilt towards Asia Pacific”
(*Pakistan Observer*)



**Gulshan Bibi,
Assistant Research Officer**

“Violence inside shining India”
(*Pakistan Observer*)



**Khurram Abbas,
Assistant Research Officer**

“Birth of third palestinian
Intifada”

(*Daily Times*)



**Aymen Ijaz,
Assistant Research Officer**

Pakistan-Tajikstan relations”
(*Pakistan Observer*)



Think 100 times before you
take a decision
But once that decision is taken,
stand by it as one man.

HAPPY QUAID DAY



Happy Christmas to our Brothers!



**Islamabad Policy
Research Institute (IPRI)**

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