

National Security Policy -

Vision for Pakistan



Seminar Report



**Center for Global & Strategic Studies
Islamabad**

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Seminar Report

“National Security Policy – Vision for Pakistan”



Organized by
Center for Global & Strategic Studies, Islamabad
at
Margala Hotel, Islamabad
on
18th December 2017

Participants

The Seminar was attended by almost 275 participants including government representatives, retired senior armed forces officers, diplomats, law enforcement officials, students from across the country and individuals from public and private entities.

Host	Lieutenant General Muhammad Zahir Ul Islam, HI(M), (Retd) - Chairman, Center for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS)
Chief Guest	Lieutenant General Nasir Janjua, HI(M), (Retd) - National Security Advisor, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad
Guest Speakers	Mr. Vladimir Norov - Director Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies (ISRS) under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Mr. Tim Willasey-Wilsey - Senior Visiting Research Fellow at Kings College London and Former Director at the UK Foreign and Common Wealth Office Admiral Jayantha Perera - Former Naval Chief of Democratic Republic of Sri Lanka Mr. Shijie Chu - Former Chief of Police in China and Foreign Policy/Security Expert Lieutenant General Haroon Aslam HI(M), (Retd) Dr. Ishrat Hussain - Former Governor State Bank of Pakistan Ambassador Khalid Aziz Babar – Former Special Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Introduction of Speakers

Lieutenant General Nasir Janjua, HI(M), (Retd) - National Security Advisor, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad

Lieutenant General Nasir Janjua, HI (M), (Retd) is Pakistan's National Security Advisor. He remained President National Defence University (NDU), Islamabad and also commanded Southern Command, Quetta. He has diversified experience of command and staff in the military.



Mr. Vladimir Norov - Director Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies (ISRS) under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan

Mr. Vladimir Norov is currently working as the Director of Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies (ISRS) under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Mr. Vladimir held key role positions including Ambassador of Uzbekistan to Germany, Switzerland, Belgium and Poland. He also remained Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan and worked as Consultant on administrative and legal issues of the Office of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan.'



Mr. Tim Willasey-Wilsey - Senior Visiting Research Fellow at Kings College London and Former Director at the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Mr. Tim Willasey-Wilsey is a senior Visiting Research Fellow at Kings College London and Former Director at the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Mr. Tim served for 27 years in the British Foreign Service. He also served as Director, focusing mainly on Asia in the events aftermath of 9/11. Mr. Tim has a particular interest in Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. For much of his early and mid-career he worked in and on the southern



African region. He also spent 3 years in Central America and a stint working on the Middle East and North Africa.

Admiral Jayantha Perera - Former Naval Chief of Democratic Republic of Sri Lanka

Admiral Jayantha Perera is the Former Naval Chief of Democratic Republic of Sri Lanka. He has thirty seven years of military experience in the Srilankan Navy. He served as Former Advisor to the President of Sri Lanka on Maritime Affairs. He has also participated in various international conferences, discussions and symposiums.



Mr. Shijie Chu - Former Chief of Police in China and Foreign Policy/Security Expert

Mr. Shijie Chu is the Former Chief of Police in China and presently working as foreign policy, security expert. Mr. Chu has 40 years of valuable experience in the Security field. Mr. Chu has expertise in Chinese law and foreign policy and is also working on the visiting faculty panel at China's National Defence University and on risk assessments of projects relating to Belt and Road Initiative and CPEC.



Dr. Ishrat Hussain - Former Governor State Bank of Pakistan

Dr. Ishrat Hussain is the Former Governor State Bank of Pakistan. Dr. Ishrat served as Dean and Director of Institute of Business Administration, Karachi. He served as the Chairman, National Commission for Government Reforms with the status of Federal Minister reporting directly to the President and Prime Minister of Pakistan. In recognition of



his meritorious services he was conferred the prestigious award of "Hilal-e-Imtiaz" by the President of Pakistan in 2003.

Lieutenant General Haroon Aslam HI(M), (Retd)

Lieutenant General Haroon Aslam HI (M) (Retd) has 40 years of commendable military career to his credit and also a rich and varied experience of command, staff and instructional assignments. In senior ranks he was engaged in counter terrorist operations in FATA, Swat and Baluchistan. He commanded Special Service Group (SSG) twice and earned Sitara-e-Basalat for his outstanding achievements while in command of various formations. In recognition of his outstanding services. He was awarded Hilal-e-Imtiaz (Military) and Sitara-i-Basalat.



Ambassador Khalid Aziz Babar – Former Special Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ambassador Khalid Aziz Babar has served as the Ambassador of Pakistan to Iran, Mexico and Zimbabwe. He also remained permanent advisor of Pakistan to the UN in Geneva. He has served as the deputy permanent representative of Pakistan to the UN in New York.



**Opening Remarks by Lieutenant General Muhammad Zahir Ul Islam HI(M),
(Retd) – Chairman Center for Global & Strategic Studies, Islamabad**

Lieutenant General Muhammad Zahir Ul Islam HI(M), (Retd) started the proceedings of the seminar by expressing gratitude to the guests for sparing time for the event. Special mention was extended to the worthy panelists for enhancing the occasion with their presence and added to diversity in the discourse that was held on 18th December 2017 on the topic of “National Security Policy – Vision for Pakistan”. Special thanks to the keynote note of thanks was extended to Lieutenant General (Retd) Nasir Khan Janjua – National Security Advisor to Prime Minister of Pakistan for gracing the occasion.



Lieutenant General Muhammad Zahir Ul Islam HI(M), (Retd) stressed on the need for a comprehensive National Security Policy as it has assumed greater importance due to fluid international and regional environment, additional dimensions of threat scenarios and changing narratives of wars. He remarked that National Security Policy is no more a domain of political leadership and security establishment only. In addition, he was of the view that Multi-dimensional threats warrant an integrated approach to evolve a security policy involving all stakeholders in order to make it comprehensive and all encompassing. Therefore, it was important to discuss and analyze the relevant issues openly and deliberately.

He added that we have the panelists with diverse backgrounds and who are subject specialists. Hence, they will comprehensively enlighten the audience about their subjects.

Furthermore, he hoped that we all will benefit from their expertise and make optimum use of knowledge, to make a draft of a comprehensive National Security Policy and expected all to make good use of interactive sessions and ask questions from the concerned members of the panel.

Speaker: 1

Lieutenant General Nasir Janjua, HI (M), (Retd) – National Security Advisor to the Government of Pakistan (Chief Guest)

Lieutenant General Nasir Khan Janjua, HI (M), (Retd) - National Security Advisor to the Government of Pakistan gave his keynote speech on "Security Challenges for Pakistan". While acknowledging the efforts of CGSS for organising the seminar on such an important global issue which has emerged as one of the biggest challenges for global peace, he said the dimension of security milieus across the globe has witnessed a paradigm shift ever since people have been made stakeholders of security, The threat to cyber space has taken the centre stage and the security domain is no more confined to integrity and sovereignty territorial borders of a country. The dynamics of threat which the world is facing now can hit anyone, anywhere at any time around the world. Consequently, security dynamics have evolved both vertically and horizontally.

While briefing logically and dispassionately regarding the core domestic security challenges and blame game against Pakistan, he stated that internal security challenges of Pakistan are manageable and reversible and in future, it will be managed by way of belonging to the progression.

Furthermore, he stated that Pakistan started facing hard times after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan which



The US has not been able to win war in Afghanistan. Hence, it instigated the blame game against Pakistan.

was a colossal blow and after the 9/11 attacks and Pakistan's decision to become a frontline ally of the United States in War on Terror. Pakistan is being blamed for instigating instability in Afghanistan, but it is pertinent to mention that Pakistan has never supported and never provided safe heavens to the terrorist organizations because if Pakistan is supporting Taliban and Haqqanis, that means Pakistan is not supporting infidels but supporting Muslims. This also means that Pakistan, Taliban and Haqqani are on the same page, thus, it makes no sense of TTP fighting against

Pakistan. Adding further, “if” (however it is not the case) Pakistan, Taliban and Haqqanis are on the same page then why could Pakistan not use them to influence TTP to stop terrorist attacks.

In fact, Afghanistan owes her sovereignty to Pakistan and to its people that actually stood along with it for its existence and survivability. While elaborating Pakistan’s linkages with history, he mentioned that if the USSR had not been dismembered, the reunification of Germany was impossible and even fourteen states could never have independence. Thus, the US owes its unipolar status to Pakistan.

Pakistan is morally a correct country and on the right side of history ever since the USSR invasion of Afghanistan to the events leading to 9/11.

Realistically, after the USSR dismemberment, the US and West abandoned Afghanistan which created a huge vacuum filled with anarchy, chaos and brutal intra-tribal wars to grab power. Al-Qaida and jihadi elements flew at once, entrenched themselves in Afghanistan, thus, renaissance of Taliban and Al-Qaida resulted into menace of terrorism in Afghanistan, challenging and jolting the world peace. Adding further, he stated that even after the 9/11 incident, Pakistan stood with the world rather than with terrorists. Afghanistan was bombed and Taliban regime was dismantled, the whole of Afghanistan was injured, and when it came to the political dispensation in Afghanistan, the US lost the opportunity in the first elections when Taliban were not made part of it. Consequently, Taliban motivated the injured society of Afghanistan to get liberated from occupational forces and Taliban are flourishing today.

According to statistics, in the year 2016, Pakistan has been attacked 130 times, out of which 127 attacks came from across the border of Afghanistan.

Baluchistan, faced with 5th column insurgency where Pakistani flags have been burnt. We worked on the root cause and it was negative sub-nationalism, people did not want to stay with us. What we gave them was nationalism and selective use of force power. Thus, psychotherapy with power of love redeemed and people have surrendered weapons and now in Baluchistan province of Pakistan, they are hailing “Jevay Balochistan – Jevay Pakistan”.

Pakistan has sustained huge losses and has sacrificed thousands of lives in the US-led War against Terrorism. However, the global powers have always acted unfavourably towards Pakistan's efforts, and its hard work to curtail the menace of terrorism have never been appreciated by the International community.

Speaking further on the security challenges to Pakistan, he mentioned that Pakistan was assailed harder from, north and western fronts, as well as Baluchistan and Karachi. However, with the combined efforts of military, government, security and Law Enforcement Agencies (LEAs), last but not the least with support of general public, Pakistan has combated all the challenges and revived the stability and peace in the region. Today enemies have transited across the (western) border where it is housed and looked after well.

Method to Madness –Make them fight, so they cannot fight with You

Afghanistan's generation has seen wars for last 40 years, are they children of lesser God? War in Iraq in search of weapons of mass destruction, bringing internal resentments, banning Iraqi army, hence rise of the ISIS.

While talking on the growing Indo-US regional nexus and Indo-Pak bilateral relations, he was of the view that India is unwilling to cooperate for regional peace and harmony. India is riding the power tide of the US, thus importing War and perpetual instability in the region. It is virtually bringing a white elephant in the region. In a broader picture, to mitigate the challenges, the US has designed a game to keep China and Russia in their backyard enclaves, to undermine their rising regional and global influence, while India is chosen to checkmate China and Afghanistan is chosen to checkmate Russia by the US (Afghanistan's turmoil has the capability to destabilize Central Asia and leading to Russia).

In addition, to ensure the self-survival, the US is exporting war and perpetual instability to South Asia. The region is virtually altered and in a



critical imbalance in a most fragile stability and unstable architecture. He stated that India was given priority over Pakistan, which is further shattering the strategic stability of the region because India is playing a vital role in shaping the political and strategic dynamics of Afghanistan. Moreover, the economic, political and military preference by the US towards India such as declaring the India land of opportunities, while, declaring Pakistan as the land of threats, has escalated the turmoil and also resulted in fostering the hostile environment in South Asia which is counterproductive to the interests of the region.



Pakistan today is over-relying on its nuclear capabilities to breach this conventional asymmetry posed by India. So Pakistan is faced with the challenges of strategic instability and instability paradox. The security architecture of South Asia is under stress which increases the possibility of conflicts between India and Pakistan. India has constantly tried to carve the space from limited war and continued to pose a threat of conventional war. However, with immense nuclear capabilities on both sides, a nuclear war cannot be ruled out in the region.

The US is blaming Pakistan for its failure in Afghanistan and by adopting the Indian stance, it is also opposing the CPEC project. Moreover, the deal pertaining to provision of 16 F-16 fighter jets is blocked. It is also opposing Pakistan's nuclear and long-range weapons. In addition, scapegoating and lumping all the blame on Pakistan, asking to hand over Shakeel Afridi and efforts to designate Pakistan as a state sponsoring organization is a narrative which is being propagated unabatedly. Notably, 11 entities of Pakistan have been listed under watch and its nuclear capabilities have been linked with terrorism.

Moving further, in his logical and dispassionate address, he also gave comprehensive immediate and long term solutions to pertaining issues.

- a) Pakistan must continue to work for the peace and reconciliation of Afghanistan by keeping its sovereignty and integrity intact and preventing all such situations which can jeopardize its strategic capabilities.
- b) To end the suffering of Afghanistan and its people, the regional and global stakeholders should work for the closure of the conflict instead of winning it because existing strategy is leading to an escalation of turmoil and protracted violence.

Closure is easier than winning and it is more enduring.
- c) Transform the entire conflict (discourse) from military to the government and people of Afghanistan as they are the real stake holders in decision making. In this way, those who wish to continue the war will be exposed.
- d) The US should appoint a political authority in Afghanistan, empowered as military commander, with a view to seeking a political solution and support the military with political processes, and create a space for the military to peacefully resolve the conflict.
- e) At bilateral level, both India and Pakistan need to engage with each other in order resolve the conflicts by adopting way of cooperation, such as Pakistan can include India in CPEC. Furthermore, it can also provide accessibility to Russia, China and Central Asian region.
- f) Through cooperation both countries can effectively benefit by co-producing, co-utilizing the immense resources of Baluchistan and a new economic hub can be established in Baluchistan, where a common broader markets with India and Afghanistan can be accessed. In addition, four new cities can be made on the coast.

“If we cannot be friends, let us not be enemies.

Speaker 2

Mr. Tim Willasey – Senior Visiting Research Fellow at King's College London, Former Director at the UK Foreign Office and Commonwealth Office

Mr. Tim presented his paper on “National Security in the 2020s”

The Evolution of National Security

National Security is seen by academics as a relatively modern concept. In fact of course it dates back to antiquity and embraces the work of Sun Tzu, Machiavelli, Clausewitz and Mao Zedong. It developed considerably in the 18th and 19th Centuries. However it was during the period of the British Committee for Imperial Defence (CID) from 1902 to 1938 that it was transformed into the complex field of study that it is today. That committee, formed just after a few thousand farmers of Dutch descent had fought a modern army to a standstill in South Africa, using what we would now call asymmetric tactics, examined national security through a wider lens than ever before; looking at espionage, aerial defence and even food rationing.

Gradually our understanding of National Security has become even more sophisticated. It was recognised that military power and economic security went hand-in-hand and that economic prosperity enabled military power. For example as the UK became relatively weaker economically, drifting down from the top world economy to the fifth that it is today, we could no longer afford to maintain our bases east of Suez and we had to place more reliance on nuclear deterrence as opposed to very expensive conventional forces. Furthermore a network of alliances, of which NATO was only one, helped fill the gap in military power. So alliances became a key part of national security theory (as they had been in reality right back to the dawn of history).

It also became apparent that military power alone could actually damage national security. The right-wing military regimes in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s may have had hard power (although it often proved brittle when challenged) but at the



expense of “soft power”; including aspects like Human Rights and civil liberties. There was no national security if your own domestic population was unhappy and hostile to government as the Argentines found after the 1982 Falklands War.

Similar factors applied with ethnic and religious minorities. Secessionism is a particular danger for countries. East Pakistan was but one example but we are seeing more and more of it from Kurdistan, Catalonia and Scotland. So national security works best when a population is satisfied; and this usually (but not always) argues for democratic rights and the rule of law. Suppression of dissent is an option but unattractive, expensive and ultimately self-defeating. In all too many countries (North Korea being just one example) national security is equated with regime security.

Then in the 1980s and 1990s we began to realise that there were other dimensions to national security. After all you could not have Economic Security without Energy Security. So freedom of navigation in the Persian/Arabian Gulf became a factor in UK national security (just as it had been in the days of the CID). For China the need to assure its energy and raw materials has been one of the motivations behind both OBOR and CPEC. Similarly Food Security and Water Security became factors and are nowhere more important than where we are now. Himalayan waters and the Indus Water Treaty of 1960 are absolutely key to the national security of both India and Pakistan. As Climate Change began to bite this too became a new element.



The Comprehensive Approach

In the UK we argue that the “rules based international order” is key to our national security; prime amongst it is the United Nations, World Bank, IMF, WHO etc. The latest UK Strategic Defence and Security Review divides all the factors I have mentioned into 3 sub-headings and I think this is rather helpful;

- a. Protecting our People (which includes everything from military power to cyber defence to counter terrorism)
- b. Projecting our global influence (which includes our alliances, our international aid effort, our support for the UN and peace-keeping)
- c. Promoting our Prosperity (which is about the economy, international trade, aviation security, etc.)

These three headings; one of hard power and two of soft power are supposed to come together as part of a Whole of Government Approach (WGA) otherwise known as the Comprehensive Approach. We tried the WGA in the conflicts of the 1990s and 2000s with varying success. In the Balkans the humanitarian agencies and the military worked well together. However in Iraq and Afghanistan we found it much harder.



Civil-military cooperation is easy to preach but hard to deliver, as you in Pakistan know better than most. The important point, however, is that both pillars are essential so building up civilian government capability is very much in the interest of military authorities from UK and France to Egypt and Myanmar.

But my job today is to look ahead to the 2020s and I see real challenges ahead. This is because a new phenomenon appears to be developing which will cause us all much concern in the future.

A crisis of governance

It seems to me from the evidence of the past few years that we are entering a crisis of governance and an absence of strategy. Governments are finding it harder and harder to satisfy the growing aspirations of their people. I believe that this is going to get worse as populations grow too fast and as automation makes jobs less necessary and unemployment more prevalent.

The origin of this crisis in governance resides in the extraordinary explosion of information since the start of the internet back in 1990. The take-off began in 1996, just as I was leaving Islamabad after my 3 and a half year posting here, when there were 1.9 petabytes of information on the internet. I recall searching for information about terrorism in 1997 (on Netscape because Google did not exist) and I got 72 hits. Now if you google terrorism you get 139 million hits. From 1.9 petabytes of information in 1996 now, 20 years later, we have reached 96,000 petabytes. So that is an increase of about 50,000 fold in 20 years. One estimate is that we are adding the information equivalent of the Library of Congress to the internet every second.

There are two problems with this; much of the new information is unreliable, some of it is deliberately misleading but, above all, there is far too much data for the human mind to process. At the top of governments



there are still Cabinets composed of, say, 20 to 25 human beings, equipped with the



Mark One human brain, still with only 16 waking hours each day but having to take decisions based on far more information than they can possibly digest. Maybe Artificial Intelligence (AI) will sort the problem out for us but that is still a few years off.

An additional factor to this explosion of information and social media is that peoples' expectations have been drastically enhanced. In even the poorest villages in Africa and India you will see mobile phones; people can now recognise how badly they are governed and can appreciate the corruption of their political and civil leaders and, unlike their forebears who learnt to put up with their lot, people want change and better lifestyles and they want them in their lifetime, not that of their children.

We saw this most obviously in Tahrir Square back in 2011 when Egyptians armed only with smart-phones brought down the military-backed Mubarak regime. If 1996 was the start of the information explosion I would suggest that the Arab Spring was the moment that the first active political symptoms appeared. It is tragic how those great hopes have metamorphosed into the horrors of Syria, but that is what happens to all revolutions from 1789 to 1917 and beyond.

These enhanced expectations have seen people from places like Afghanistan, Syria, Eritrea, South Sudan or DRC voting with their feet and travelling across mountains and deserts to look for a better life in Europe. Gradually the barriers and barbed wire are going up because unrestricted migration has now become a national security issue for countries like Greece, Italy, Hungary, Austria and even Germany.

At the same time as aspirations are being enhanced by the information revolution the delivery of change is becoming more difficult. Governments are finding it harder to build sufficient housing, to provide enough power, to deliver the schooling and to equip health services adequately. This is not just a problem for Pakistan but everywhere and it is not helped either by the spiralling population statistics. In fact a growing and young population, so long seen as a requirement for economic development, may, like Megacities, increasingly become a ball and chain around the necks of governments. In the UK we seem to find it impossible to decide to build a new runway in the London area and we have come nowhere near achieving our house building targets. Why is this? Mainly it is because large-scale change is so effectively contested. Except in countries like China where projects can be driven through any opposition, public policy is a much more contested space. NGOs, civil society organisations, residents' associations, pensioner groups and environmentalists all demand the right to be heard.

Prime Minister Modi has got the task of trying to create 10 million new jobs each year and he is struggling. India has only got close to that target during one of the past 5 years.

Populists and autocrats

This combination of high expectations and low delivery is leading to populism, driven

One of the first was Narendra Modi whose rise in India was far more than just a routine change after Manmohan Singh's two disappointing periods of Congress-led government. Modi's is a revolution which has brought a completely new atmosphere to India with a real feeling of optimism in the business community; but nonetheless an underlying ideology which threatens India's secularism and even intends to rewrite India's history.

by those who have done least well out of globalisation. The most obvious recent example is, of course, the election of Donald Trump supported by all those who felt they had lost out under the years of Obama and his predecessors. Trump now sees the Washington establishment and the liberal elite as the enemy preventing him from helping his constituents. But Trump is by far from being the first of the new populists.

In addition to populists this decade has produced leaders with more autocratic tendencies; Xi Jinping, General Al Sisi, and Kim Jong-un being just three. In fact populist leaders and autocrats already govern over half of the world's population. So something really big is happening in the world without us fully perhaps realising what it is and what it portends for the future.

People elect populists because populists claim to be able to deliver change easily. When that change becomes harder they start to override the checks and balances inside their country and, if that does not work, they often start to look for external factors to blame. That was certainly our experience of the 1930s' brand of populists and autocrats.

Opportunities and risks

Lest anyone thinks that my analysis is too pessimistic, let me stress some of the positives. China has lifted half a billion people out of poverty since the reforms of the 1980s. Some of the developments which we are about to witness, particularly in health-care, are going to be transformational. The revolution in electric vehicles will bring considerable benefits, not least in the environmental domain. And the information revolution has brought a great deal of pleasure to peoples' lives. The world of money is set for radical change with gradual ending of coins and paper money and their replacement by digital transactions, each with its unique identifier. The implications for combating corruption and for ensuring the payment of taxes will be considerable.



All of this is happening at a time when the world is gradually realigning. Economic power is gradually rebalancing from West to East. China is already joining the US as a superpower and will probably, in the next 20 years, begin to match the US militarily. All of the rest of us in the world will hope and pray that Thucydides Trap is wrong and that the rising power and the fading power do not have to be drawn towards conflict. Personally I think it is unlikely; the UK and the US did not go to war during the period from say 1880 to 1930 when America replaced



Britain as the main world power. Furthermore I do not see any evidence of the US being a fading power. Let's not assess US might by its 11 carrier strike forces; just think of Google, Facebook, Microsoft, Apple and Amazon.

Strategy, tactics and hybrid warfare

Strategy too has become a victim of the sheer pace of information-driven events which confront political leaders. President Obama's two attempts at foreign policy strategy, his Cairo speech reaching out to the Islamic world and his Pacific Pivot have both disappeared without trace. A recent advisor to British Prime Ministers defined strategy as "something vaguely aspirational with a shelf-life of a maximum of 3 years". What would the great 19th Century diplomats; Metternich or Palmerston have made of such a minimalist definition?

In fact the world of the past decade has been a world of tactics. Counter Terrorism is, by its very nature, tactical. Presidents of the United States would be briefed routinely on the work to locate Khalid Sheikh Mohammed (KSM) or Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. In



Syria the US made tactical use of Kurdish forces against Islamic State without giving sufficient thought to the future national aspirations of the Kurdish people; which would obviously conflict with the interests of a key NATO ally, Turkey. The aim was to get the job done and not worry about the longer-term implications.

Vladimir Putin has learnt from the West's difficulties since 9/11 with his deft insertion of forces in Crimea, Ukraine and Syria. He is also, like many others, able to employ other asymmetric tools; cyber-attacks, fake news operations, proxies, with what has been dubbed "implausible deniability". Russia's new brand of "hybrid warfare" is already being imitated by others, notably Iran, and new opportunities will be identified. You may all have read the recent study into the vulnerability of the world's 545,000 miles of undersea cables which carry 97% of global communications and \$10 trillion of financial transactions every day.

The prospects for 2020s

The first lesson of political analysis is not to predict the future; but I think we can draw some conclusions from what I have outlined. Planning for national security in the 2020s will need to produce an agile model which is resilient to shocks but preserves a range of options for unpredictable future threats. Given how brittle conventional military power has proved to be when faced with asymmetric threats I foresee smaller armed forces composed of higher percentages of Special Forces and greater use of drones, precision air strikes and intelligence. Much work needs to be devoted to the Comprehensive Approach before it becomes an effective tool of national security.

Of course nothing stands still. During the 2020s we shall doubtless develop methods to combat hybrid warfare. And AI may provide the answer to managing the global

information overload; thereby enabling better governance and a reversion to strategic thinking.

In the meantime there will be real dangers. Populists and autocrats can be unpredictable. Hybrid warfare carries real dangers of miscalculation. Traditional problems such as organised crime, terrorism, and the security and proliferation of nuclear weapons and technology will remain and evolve. All the old global fault-lines will still exist including Kashmir, Palestine, the Senkaku Islands and North Korea. Whilst the last of these, in particular, poses real dangers of war, most nations will try and manage them without conflict, saving energy and resources for coping with the needs of domestic governance and satisfying the expectations of our rapidly expanding populations; jobs, education, housing, and health care; things that our ancestors would not have regarded as having anything to do with national security.

Speaker 3

Admiral Jayantha Perera - Former Naval Chief of Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka



Admiral Jayantha Perera - Former Naval Chief of Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka presented his speech on “Asian Security Perspective and Regional Connectivity”. He stated that paradigm shift and increasing traditional and non-traditional security challenges of South Asia has turned the region into “corridor of instability”. Although the region holds immense significance in global affairs due to its extensive geographical configuration, prominent geostrategic posture and ethno-religious diversification but it has not taken the advantage of becoming a “region” by utilizing power of regionalism and cooperation.

While highlighting the essence of regional security and connectivity, he was of the view that there is no better example than “Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)” by China, therefore all the regional countries must collectively get on board for this initiative and get maximum social and economic benefits of for region.

He emphasized on the regional integration, collective security and positive sum gains to change the perception of the world towards the South Asian region. The draft of the speech deliver by Admiral Jayantha Perera - Former Naval Chief of Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka is as under:

Our region, South Asia is a prominent subsection of Asian region and it is significant in many ways. It is the most densely populated geographical region in the world where the population is one fourth of the entire world's population. It is a religiously diversified region. Some share common rivers, mountain systems, oceans, and ecological cycles and also with some nodes of their socio-cultural web. South Asia is the gateway between the East Asia and the Middle East. The Industrial Giants of Far East and the East connect with the Oil rich Middle East through the South Asia both over land and through the sea. Due to many reasons in today's context, South Asia has become a notable crisis region in the world. It is characterized by an interlocking web of old and new and traditional and non-traditional security risks. There are unresolved territorial disputes, a broad range of ethnic and religious conflicts, availability of non-state actors that have links to regional and global terrorist groups connected with organized crimes such as drug trafficking. Moreover, the region is threatened with unpredictable repercussions of climate change. Further, unsecured information and cyber network, financial and environmental insecurity drags the entire region in to a ridge of social instability.



But however, when the concepts of Regionalism, cooperation, and connectivity has become one of the key elements of the international system of the present day, this concept is still argues on the South Asian context. I believe that, South Asian nations have not taken the advantage of becoming a 'Region' and it does not use the power of regionalism and cooperation to reach individual states' needs. Here, I am trying to

examine the South Asian regional security perspectives and bonded lateral partnerships between regional countries intending to address such challenges.

Common Strengths of South Asian States

In South Asian context the common cultural traditions, linguistic affinities, values, and social norms further provide grounds for developing common understandings of many issues.

Also, South Asia has got a steady working age population compared to other global regions and this huge young and able working force can provide solutions to human resource needs and it fills the gaps in development sectors of the states.

South Asia marked an average annual GDP growth rate of around 5.7 percent during 1980-2000, and has reached a considerably a higher rate today. Furthermore, private investment has boomed, supported by rising national saving rates in South Asia. The scope of productivity gains from improved education of population, knowledge. The continued opening up of the regions' economies to international trade, investment, and finance notifies the improved prospects for acquisition of modern technology. The region has dragged more people and of abject poverty than any other region in the last two decades. Over and above everything the strategic location of South Asia in the world map is a common strength that we share; in my belief. Especially, Pakistan is very strategically located being the gateway between the Asia and the Persian Gulf and Sri Lanka is located right in the centre of Indian ocean very close to the busy East – Gulf Sea Lane of Communication. Due to the very reason both Pakistan and Sri Lanka have become significant partners in the China's initiative of 'One Belt and One Road and 21st Century Maritime Silk Road Initiative'.

Common Weaknesses of South Asian Region

On the other hand, Poverty, high population, absence of good governance, corruption, inequity of wealth distribution, illiteracy, ethnic discord, oppressive social orders, continues to pose challenges. Extremism is another menace that is common in the region which clashes the civilizations within the states. Above all it is needless to say that the long standing dispute between the two strongest states of South Asia is highly affecting progress as a region.

Security Paradigm and Strategic Culture of South Asia

South Asia's strategic culture is quite different from other major regions of the world, because of its strange security issues and uncharacteristic security calculus. One can argue that South Asia is one of the most battle-ready zones in the world and having remained in a state of conflict for years and years and this region has turned into a "Corridor of Instability" on the globe. The social, political and economic development of South Asia has been seriously stalled by internal, or intra-state conflicts.



In my view, the individual security concerns of each state of South Asia is not totally independent from the global and South Asian security phenomenon. They all are interconnected and laterally dependent on each other. What I want to emphasize here is that the South Asian security is not an individual component but that should be a collective effort of all individual states of the region. In reality the security in South Asia is interconnected with an interplay of several factors operating at three different levels; domestic, regional and global.

The inherent profile of South Asian countries has a tremendous impact on the regional security. The individual capacities of these states and the nature of their cooperation directly push the centric force of regional security to different edges. In brief, internal domestic turbulences of some states have weakened the regional security at the same time the strengths of some states make the regional security stronger.

Again, 'the state of play' in South Asia as described above, has an obvious bearing on the international environment. Also, Security in South Asian region has been very significant for the international community and the global security concerns with its position on global geo-political strategic phenomenon. The 'South China Sea issue', the US strategy of 'pivot to Asia Pacific', developments of Korean Peninsula, and the Belt

and Road initiatives are having direct or indirect influences towards the individual countries and as a region to the South Asia.

South Asian Maritime Domain in Regional Security Perspective

When concentrating on the Maritime domain unlike on land the sea area cannot be demarcated as South Asian Seas; it is a fact that seas cannot be considered in isolation as regional or sub regional. Minimally our region has to be considered as Indian Ocean Region. The security perspective of the Indian Ocean Region is affecting the South Asian security.

As you all know, South Asia directly do businesses with Indian Ocean in its maritime affairs. Arabic sea in the west, Bay of Bengal at the east and Laccadive Sea in the south are the three main sub-sections of Indian Ocean which lies along the coastal belt of South Asia. Except Afghanistan, Nepal and Bhutan, all other five countries of the region are directly or partially open to the Indian Ocean. The strategic importance of Indian Ocean maritime domain lies in the fact that some of the busiest SLOCs of the world passes through the regional waters and it also connects the two larger oceans while feeding the South Asian Region too.

It is a known fact that the 65% of the world's oil and 35% of its gas reserves are found in the littoral states of the Indian Ocean Region. A good portion of world trade is traversing through the Indian Ocean of which passes through the seas of South Asia. Free and uninterrupted flow of oil and goods through the ocean's sea lines of communication



(SLOC) is deemed vital for the global and regional economy. This emphasizes the importance of securing the Indian Ocean maritime domain in exercising connecting region to stand with global arena.

Traditional and Non-Traditional Security Challenges in Indian Ocean Maritime Domain

The home front as well as the backyard of the South Asian region, the regional maritime domain also faces security challenges from both traditional and non-traditional sources. The Indian Ocean Seas are open to number of developing countries apart from few developed states. The presence of a large number of under developed or unstable countries has made the seas around the region vulnerable to security threats like smuggling of arms and drugs, human trafficking, illegal immigration, piracy and terrorism, IUU fishing, Marine pollution etc. Global warming and climate change have exacerbated the natural disasters such as frequent typhoons, rising of sea levels and affecting the lives and infrastructure of already struggling economies in the region. When consider the last decades the Indian Ocean Region have experienced all these non-traditional security threats than any region in the world.

Further the oceans of South Asian maritime domain have attracted many of extra regional powers. The world's political centre of gravity has moved with the economic centre of gravity, eastwards to this part of the world and to the Asia-Pacific. Turbulence along the rim of the Indian Ocean has occurred not just along the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea, but the South and East China Seas. This has led to heightened interest by extra-regional powers in to the South Asian oceans as well.

Out of all at present drug trafficking has added an extra weight on regional maritime security concerns. This has been led to increase the potentiality to form narco-terrorism in the region and that is a major security concern for littoral states like Bangladesh, India, Maldives, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

Human smuggling and illegal immigration are another key security challenge in South Asian waters and also, it's another Organized crime increasingly linked to regional global patterns of violence.

It also appears that greater links are being forged between global crime syndicates,

insurgents and terrorist groups. Because of poor border controls and insufficient maritime domain awareness, such groups can often spread into the regional maritime sector since some of regional states are significantly infected with terrorism and radical extremism.

The varying levels of security threats and absence of any overarching security regime supervising security aspects give impetus to the formation of intra-regional alliances and the nature of security framework needs to locate its role in the region. However, it raises a pertinent



question: 'Will the nature of the regional security regime be offensive or defensive'? Offensive security regimes are formed in a region or among a group of countries when the threat is common and known to all the parties. On the other hand, when the threat is not persistent and known, yet affects all the countries in the region, a defensive security regime comes to play. As the common threats are mostly non-traditional in nature such as environmental disasters, piracy, drug smuggling and human trafficking in the South Asian region does not need weaponization of the region but solutions like the cooperating in enhancing maritime visibility, mutual exchange of information, technology and resources and cooperative mechanisms by the counterparts can be taken.

Regional Security and Connectivity

The term 'regional connectivity' is thus multifaceted. Regional connectivity involves developing a bundle of networks which connect urban and industrial hubs, and coastal and hinterland regions and also the security solutions with and challenges.

National needs and interest stimulus packages are providing the South Asian region with a unique opportunity to address a broad range of regional security and connectivity issues. Importantly, other neighbouring countries are also demonstrating commitment

to promoting importance of security and connectivity in our region that is going far beyond national and regional borders. In this effect diplomacy alone is not enough. Shared understanding amongst nations, and equitably negotiated agreements and standards will provide the mechanisms to encourage neighbours' to work and cooperate with one another. This cooperation enables individual states to seek for opportunities to feed the vacuums created with disabilities in individual and common needs. Security, economic, technological, social, and political and many other segments of national needs can be shared among the partners or the member states through some strong regional security and connectivity strategies. However, security and connectivity are interdependent.

In terms of inter stare or inter regional connectivity in fact there is no better example than One Belt One Road initiative of China. Though there is opposition and critiques against OBOR indicating that it is a too ambitious and an in genuine effort, if genuinely implement, it will connect the countries in terms of policy coordination, sharing of facilities, investment and trade cooperation, financial integration, people to people bonds and provide many other benefits through connecting the countries over land and through the seas. In my view as South Asian Nations we must get on board this initiative intelligently and get the maximum benefits to the people of the region. Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh are already have become the partners of this and getting India on board is important to function it effectively. For this effect government of Sri Lanka's policy of keeping both China and India connected through the free investment zone in Hambanthota is important.

However, Ladies and Gentlemen, enhancement of regional connectivity across the region requires more political will and cooperation, to explore what is achievable and optimal, to develop consensus on more conducive approaches and modalities of engagement, and to put in place a game plan for how regional security and connectivity will be achieved.

By developing regional networks in a coordinated and integrated manner, the benefits from improved regional connectivity can be spread more evenly across countries. Although not as a region, by laterally some regional member states are cooperating on strengthening security of South Asian region through cooperated training, missions,

sharing of technology and resources, aiding military and non-military security essentials. Nevertheless, political and diplomatic partnerships where sometimes indirectly connected socio-cultural relationships connects the traditions, social ethics and cultures adding more ingredients to regional security.

The security connectivity of South Asian states usually extend even beyond their regional limits with the strategic security concerns of Indian Ocean region on global security and balance of global powers.

Also there is a need for rethinking of how to benefit from an effective and efficient trade, transport and energy, connectivity between the regional states in view of enhancing security aspects. Soft trade barriers between the regional states will contribute to ensure more economic connectivity.

People to people interaction among the members through various exchange programmers, sports would definitely enhance the connectivity and will directly or indirectly affect the regional security.

Recommendations and Conclusions

Ladies and Gentlemen, my emphasis was to examine the present profile and challenges of our regional security concerns and the impact of regional connectivity over it. How can we address some of these issues?

The realization of durable peace will not be possible without simultaneous and sustained economic progress. It is important that capable regional states to create an environment that facilitates mutually beneficial in economic and trade relations with less capable states.

Establishing trust-building measures to improve the interaction between countries at the diplomatic and executive government levels, in commerce, trade, culture and sports as well as among citizens is imperative. It would further remove ambiguity and create more openness and uniformity particularly in cross-border movement of people, goods, and services facilitating national and regional security concern directly and indirectly.



Since the South Asia is prone to multiple natural disasters, a cooperated disaster management system will provide more benefits effectively to regional states. A cooperative system on regional disaster management system will enhance the responding capacity and re-building capability of member states.

The cooperation on law enforcement is of primary importance, particularly in the face of violent activities related to ethnic conflicts, terrorism, human and drug trafficking, illegal immigrants and other illegal activities that affect peace within South Asia. Every individual state has a responsibility to put maximum force on keeping their garden clear which ultimately ensures a high degree of regional security.

Finally, powerful states should share with smaller powers the expertise and experiences. This applies to such areas as maritime security, climate change, energy, food and water security, as well as all modes of non-traditional security challenges. Shared efforts are necessary in developing a sustainable and strong security and cooperation within the region.

Finally, I must say that the South Asia must try to change the perception of the world by using the numerous strengths they have in possession to make it a region of ‘peace, cooperative, open, inclusive, mutual learning and mutual beneficial.’ Political will and the genuineness has to be the key in this effort.

Speaker 4

Mr.Vladimir Norov – Former Foreign Minister of Uzbekistan and presently Director Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies (ISRS) under the President of Republic of Uzbekistan

Mr. Vladimir presented his speech on “Security Challenges for Central Asia”. He started by expressing his deepest gratitude to the Chairman “Center for Global & Strategic Studies” Lieutenant General Muhammad Zahir Ul Islam HI(M), (Retd) for the invitation to participate in seminar and warm hospitality. While presenting his assessments on main challenges and threats to ensure security in Central Asia, he presented the detailed speech which is as follow:



Bissmillah ur-Rahmanur-Rahim,

Assalomu Alaykum,

Dear participants of the Seminar,

First of all, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the Chairman of Advisory Board of the “Center for Global and strategic studies of Pakistan” Lieutenant General Zahir ul-Islam, the organizers of this event for the invitation to participate in this seminar and warm hospitality.

In accordance with the topic of this event, I would like to briefly share some assessments on main challenges and threats to ensuring security in Central Asia.

The Central Asia is an integral and organic part of Eurasia, located in the heart of the continent. Our region plays the important role of link connecting the Europe and the Middle East, South and East Asia. The ability of the Central Asian countries, in working together, to ensure peace, stability and prosperity in the region will largely determine the dynamics of the most important processes in Eurasia.

Describing the core directions of Uzbekistan’s modern foreign policy, President Shavkat Mirziyoyev has confirmed that the region of Central Asia is a main priority and called this “a conscious choice.”

“A peaceful and economically prosperous Central Asia is our most important goal and key task,” the President stated during the 72nd session of the United Nations General Assembly. He has once again spoken of his readiness to reasonable compromises with the countries of Central Asia on all issues without exception.

Uzbekistan, having a common border with all the states of the Central Asia, objectively interested in turning the region into a zone of stability, sustainable development and good-neighborliness.

The solution of all vital issues of development of Uzbekistan - from the security of borders to the equitable distribution of water resources - is inextricably linked with the region.

This thesis is enshrined in the Foreign Policy Concept of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Strategy of Actions for the five priority development directions of the Republic of Uzbekistan in 2017-2021, in which the implementation of a balanced, mutually beneficial and constructive foreign policy is identified as main priority areas.

Confirming above mentioned notions, during the last 11 months, president of Uzbekistan met with the leaders of the regional states 17 times, 3 state and 2 working visits were paid to Central Asian countries.

Cooperation of Uzbekistan with regional states is noticeably developing in trade, transport and investment fields. During a very short of time, the volume of trade turnover between Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan increased by 69%, with Tajikistan 22%, Kazakhstan 11%.

A new level of political confidence in the region gave a powerful impetus to the development of institutions of public diplomacy, cultural ties, and expanded contacts between bordering provinces, parliamentarians, public organizations and citizens.

Today thanks to the open, friendly and pragmatic regional policy of Uzbekistan, the countries of Central Asia began to talk less about disagreements, increasingly focusing on the need to find compromises on the most important regional problems.

All these give grounds for asserting that 2017 became a really “historical,” in many cases a “breakthrough” year for the people of our region. Thus, our nations have demonstrated their readiness and desire for cooperation and a responsibility for a common future.

Being aware of indivisibility of security and the commonality of the historical destinies of peoples living in Central Asia, the states of region make concerted efforts, both bilaterally and multilaterally, aimed at ensuring peace and stability in the region.

As Shavkat Mirziyoyev, President of the Republic of Uzbekistan stated, “Throughout the most difficult periods of modern history, in our region, unlike many others, we were able to preserve peace and stability, avoid escalating local conflicts into a major interstate confrontation”.

Today we can state with confidence, that the Central Asian countries share a common understanding of the need to counter modern challenges and threats, which can be achieved only with the active participation of all states of the region.

In particular, thanks to the “collective will” of regional states, without any exaggeration a historic event took place: **with the assistance of the United Nations, a Zone Free of Nuclear Weapons was created in Central Asia.**

It is well known that the Central Asia became the first region where a comprehensive and integrated implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy was launched. According to the UN Secretary General Mr. Guterres, “the countries of Central Asia are an example in case of joint implementation of this UN strategy”.

Dear Friends,

At the same time the growing geopolitical confrontation and the escalating tensions in a number of key regions of the world may have a challenging affects to the emerging tendencies in Central Asia.

In these conditions, it is important to define the following as the main areas of cooperation in the field of regional security:

First, fundamental condition for ensuring regional security is the preservation of the geopolitical balance in Central Asia. The main peculiarity of external actors in the region is the existing between them a different level of correlation of political, economic and military-strategic interests. In their Central Asian policy, some “players” prefer to focus on economic cooperation with the countries of the region, while others proceed, first of all, from ideological or geopolitical aspirations.

At the same time none of them is able and should not become an exclusive long-term guarantor of stability in the region, completely monopolizing the right to privileged positions in it. The dominant position of one leading power will undoubtedly contribute to the adoption of countermeasures, up to the strengthening of military presence on the part of other geopolitical actors.

In this sense, in building relations with major powers, Uzbekistan fundamentally proceeds from the fact that, the development of relations with one state should not hinder the strengthening of relations with other states.

According to the Foreign Policy Concept, Uzbekistan pursues a peaceful policy and does not take part in any military-political blocs, reserves the right to withdraw from any inter-state structures in case of its transformation into a military-political bloc. Uzbekistan does not allow the deployment of foreign military bases and facilities on its territory.

The inclusion of this condition in the system of the country's foreign policy principles is dictated by objective realities that show a foreign military presence in the country does not give all guarantees of security, but only causes fears among neighbors, unreasonable militarization in the region. In our opinion, Central Asia should become a region of dialogue and cooperation, rather than confrontation and collision.

Secondly, today the world community comes to the common understanding that ignorance and intolerance is one of the key reasons for the radicalization of individuals.

In this regard, the most important task is to fight for the minds of people, especially young people. Most of the crimes related to extremist activity and violence, committed by people under 30 years old. The youth of today's world is the largest generation in the history of mankind, 2 billion people. Tomorrow, the welfare of the planet depends on how our children will grow up.

In our opinion, in this area, the key task is to provide conditions for the self-realization of young people, to create a barrier to the spread of the "virus" of the ideology of violence.

In this regard, we count on the support of Pakistan for the initiatives of the leadership of Uzbekistan on the adoption of the UN General Assembly resolution "Education and Religious Tolerance" and the development of the UN International Convention on the Rights of Youth, the establishment of the Imam Bukhari



International Research Centre in Samarkand and the Centre for Islamic Civilization in Tashkent.

Third, one of the major sources of threat to regional and international security remains the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan for more than 35 years. Unfortunately, the current military and political situation in the country is largely uncertain and difficult to predict. This trend, especially in the backdrop of events in the Middle East, causes the concern of the world community in the context of actualization of challenges and threats of extremism, terrorism and drug trafficking that affect the stability and security of not only Central Asia but also another regions of the world.

Establishing peace in Afghanistan will bring enormous and noticeable benefits to all countries of the Eurasian continent. Sustainable peace and stability in the country will stimulate the construction of roads and railways, as well as the development of regional and trans-regional trade links and multi-directional pipelines. The international community should start looking at Afghanistan not as a source of regional problems, threats and challenges, but rather a unique strategic opportunity capable of breaking the established status quo and shaping the fundamental grounds for a multilateral interaction, which will serve our common prosperity and well-being.

We can draw several possible solutions for the worsening crises.

1. The Afghan conflict's settlement must and can only be based on an internal national consensus between the main warring factions as well as Taliban and Government through peaceful political negotiations under the auspices of the United



Nations. For successful modern nation-building, it is necessary to support Afghanistan's independence and sovereignty and confirm its identity, history, culture and traditions.

2. The situation requires all stakeholders in Afghanistan and the region as a whole to come together for dialogue and negotiations for a compromised solution. The efforts of all interest groups should not substitute but complement one another.

3. The aid from donor countries and international institutions must be aimed at the real improvement of institutional building and living standards. Creating the necessary economic infrastructure can have a stabilizing effect on security.

Uzbekistan will render all-round assistance in integrating Afghanistan into regional socio-economic process, will actively participate in restoration of the economy, the development of transport and energy infrastructure, training of national personnel in this country.

On 4th December the President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan Mohammad Ashraf Ghani arrived in our country on an official visit.

Following the negotiations, 16 documents aimed at development of cooperation in various fields, including agreements on trade and economic cooperation, state border crossing points, legal assistance in civil, family and criminal cases, cooperation in the field of transit of goods, mutual assistance in customs affairs, cooperation in the spheres of agriculture, energy, healthcare, higher education were signed.

Cooperation in the sphere of transport and energy infrastructure development is of strategic importance not only for the two countries, but also for the region as a whole.

In particular, specialists of Uzbekistan will implement a project on construction of Surkhan – Puli Khumri power line. The joint construction of Mazari Sharif – Sheberghan – Maymana – Herat railway will be carried out. The development of a trans-Afghan transport corridor will also have a positive impact on regional countries with connections to ports in South Asia, the Persian Gulf and the Middle East.

Within the framework of the visit, commercial contracts were concluded for the supply of wheat, ferrous metals, mineral fertilizers, construction products and other products from Uzbekistan for a total amount of over 500 million dollars.

A special training center for training specialists in the railway and other spheres is established in Surkhandarya region. All conditions for rendering medical services to

citizens of Afghanistan are created in the specialized hospital of Termez. An agreement was reached on joint restoration, repair and improvement of final resting places of Abu Rayhan Beruni, Alisher Navoi, Zahiriddin Muhammad Babur and other great scientists and thinkers that are a symbol of our common cultural and spiritual heritage.

All this is consonant with the efforts of the international community on ensuring peaceful development of Afghanistan.

Fourth, one of the key tasks in the region includes resolving the problems of equitably using water resources based on international legal norms, which take into account the interests of all the states of the region.

Uzbekistan supports draft conventions developed by the United Nations relating to usage of water resources of the Amu Darya and Syr-Darya river basins.

Without adequate consolidation, both at regional and international levels, it is impossible to develop an appropriate response to the ‘Aral Sea catastrophe’.

Fifth, the lack of a reliable of transport and communication corridors system, ensuring a stable access of Central Asian countries to the largest markets in Europe and Asia. This hampers their full integration into the structure of the world economic relations, increasing vulnerability to external challenges and threats.

This is not only economic imperative, but also a geopolitical condition in terms of further strengthening the sovereignty of the Central Asian states, strengthening their internal immunity to external challenges and threats.

In this regard, addressing all vital issues of the regional development – from border security to developed system of transport routes are linked with the further sustainable development of the region. Moreover, leaders of Central Asia came to conclusion that only by strengthening the ties within the region, they can achieve economic and political goals.

In this context, the key issue is the development of a comprehensive program of actions on cooperation in the creation of transport and logistics routes connecting Central Asia with the markets of South, Southeast Asia and European countries. We believe that the railway network “China-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan-Afghanistan” could also be integrated into the extensive network of transport corridors of “One Belt, One Road” with access to the ports of Pakistan and Iran in Indian Ocean.

Summarizing the above mentioned, I would like to express the opinion that there are no alternatives to joint efforts in building a peaceful and prosperous Central Asia.

The participants of the international conference in Samarkand welcomed the initiative of Uzbekistan on holding consultative meetings of the heads of Central Asian states to maintain a regular confidential dialogue and develop coordinated approaches on topical regional issues.

At the same time, it is important to note that we are not talking about creating a new international organization in Central Asia or any integration structure with its charter and supranational bodies. This activity will be aimed exclusively at “**synchronizing watches**” on key issues of regional development.

Dear participants of the Seminar!

Currently, in confronting modern challenges and threats, bilateral and multilateral approaches are more important than ever. In this context, it should be noted that intensifying cooperation with Pakistan, and the consolidation of efforts in ensuring regional security and fighting against terrorism are the most important direction of the foreign policy of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

We express our gratitude to Pakistan for participating in international conference in Samarkand on “Central Asia: shared past and a common future, cooperation for sustainable development and prosperity” with a representative delegation headed by National Security adviser to Prime –minister of Pakistan Nasir Khan Janjua.

An important role in the development of bilateral relations plays geographical proximity, centuries-old economic and cultural-humanitarian ties, common religion, traditions and customs.

Trade and economic cooperation between our countries is developing dynamically. Since September 2016 to September 2017 seven visits of economic delegation of



Uzbekistan to Pakistan were organized. And from Pakistan to Uzbekistan 26 delegations.

We are in favor of continuing cooperation with Pakistan within the framework of international organizations - the UN, the SCO, OIC and others. Uzbekistan firmly supported Pakistan's position to obtain full membership in the SCO. We will continue to promote the constructive participation of our Pakistani partners in the activities of this Organization.

Thank you for attention.

Pakistan – Uzbekistan Dosti Zindabad!!!

Speaker 5

Mr. Shijie Chu – Former Chief of Police in China, Foreign Policy & Security Expert

Mr Shijie Chu addressed the audience on the topic of “Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) with a special focus on CPEC”. In the beginning of his speech, Mr Shijie Chu expressed gratitude to The Center for Global & Strategic Studies for inviting him to the seminar and conveyed deep love and affection for Pakistan and hoped that both countries will further strengthen their ties in days to come.

He divided his speech in three parts such as:

1. What is CPEC?
2. What are the security arrangements for CPEC?
3. What are the possible recommendations to make CPEC a success?



In the beginning of his speech some important observations were made in connection with CPEC:

- a) He stated that ‘One Belt One Road’ was initiated by incumbent Chinese President Xi Jinping in October, 2013. It is envisioned that China must further strengthen

- the cooperation and share the benefits with Pakistan and other countries.
- b) He dispelled the misleading narrative of some countries in the west which considers CPEC as an economic invasion by China to conquer the world by consolidating its economic hold. Furthermore, he reflected on the coverage of some media outlets in the west which casted doubts that Chinese are fearful of coming to Pakistan.
 - c) In the light of the above assumptions, he feels that the execution of CPEC projects is of paramount importance to Chinese interests in the region because if China is unable to successfully build the CPEC in a brotherly country like Pakistan, then it will have an adverse effect on other routes too. In his opinion, CPEC is one of the six corridors and in his opinion, the most important one out of all routes.

Mr Shijie Chu noted that CPEC is a transformational project which needs robust security arrangements. In the light of his commendable career as Police Commissioner and a senior figure who understands China's internal dynamics and business environment, he underlined some important observations which needs conscious attention:

- a) Chinese investors are immensely interested in Pakistan, however, the security arrangements are one of the concerns which needs conscious attention.
- b) While investing in any country, the investors take into notice the inherent risks attached with it. One of them is the political risks. The elections are round the corner. The uncertainties regarding the government also discourage the investors hence they may wait and see the results of the upcoming election.
- c) The regional countries may also sabotage the Pakistani efforts to revitalize its

CPEC is one of the six corridors and the most important one out of all routes in Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).
Shijie Chu

country.

Recommendations:

Mr Shijie Chu presented few relevant recommendations related to CPEC such as:

- a) Comprehensive awareness campaign to investors must be chalked out by Pakistan government to serve as the guidelines for the upcoming Chinese investors as they are not accustomed to Pakistan's domestic environment. Certain cultural and religious sensitivities can invite unwanted problems which is adverse to the interests of both countries. As the Chinese companies investing in other countries do not properly assess the environment in the related countries, hence, in view of his law enforcement experience as former police chief, it is advised that diligent efforts needs to be undertaken to successfully operationalize the projects with enhanced security mechanism at place. This will certainly boost the confidence of Chinese investors
- b) Gradual increase the number of security forces guarding CPEC projects in view of growing Chinese investors and visitors to Pakistan when CPEC becomes operational.
- c) The scope of CPEC is very huge and may aggravate security problems with increased traffic and cause capacity issues for Pakistan's Law enforcement agencies. Therefore, the Chinese companies must not entirely rely on Pakistani government and Army but also engage with local security companies.

First Question and Answer Session

Admiral Asif (Retd) - Pakistan Navy

Question #1:

- a) Will US be able to sustain prolong presence in Afghanistan?
- b) There are thousands of students in madrassas. What are we doing to integrate them into job markets as currently they are not fit to be assimilated in mainstream. Your views on this issue.



Answer: Lieutenant General Nasir Janjua HI (M), (Retd)

In view of the US policy of remaining in Afghanistan and its adverse fallouts, the National Security Advisor remarked that the US, China, Pakistan and other countries can achieve wonders by way of cooperation. The US needs to review its policy of confrontation and cooperate with the regional countries. He also added that the containment of China and preventing the resurgence of Russia are the leading power politics trends. He gave the example of Eastern Europe where the US is trying to checkmate Russia. Furthermore, the Central Asian Republics (CARs) are also influenced from that region. The US must not stay at the cost of Afghanistan, its children and its future. The choice of solving problems through the military is counterproductive. Hence, a collective approach is needed to find a long-lasting solution to the Afghan Quagmire rather than adding fuel to the fire.



In a reply to the second part of question, the National Security Advisor was of the view that efforts are being made to streamline various components of society in view of national action plan in consultation with various stakeholders.

Comments by Dr. Pervez Butt (Former Chairman Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission)

We made the atomic bomb but it is sad to know that Pakistan is currently unable to make a motorcycle but only assemble them. I see this problem as a fault in management of various departments unlike the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission whose chairman served for 17 years. The consistency of tenure and dedication of its management and employees proved it to be a glaring success. Furthermore, he stressed on the concerned authorities to study the successful model of Atomic Energy Commission of Pakistan and replicate it in other departments.

Session: II

Speaker 1

Dr. Ishrat Hussain - Former Governor State Bank of Pakistan



The former governor of State Bank of Pakistan dilated upon the “Economic Dimension of National Security Policy” and underlined some important points in his speech. He remarked that Pakistan’s potential to perform as a robust economy has already been realized in the past, which can be replicated in future with diligent efforts.

In his comprehensive speech, Dr Ishrat mentioned six main components of National security in detail

followed by a way forward to deal with these challenges.

Law and Order

- a) He was of the opinion that by security he implies the maintenance of law and order which is a precursor for economic security.
- b) The former State Bank of Pakistan governor stated that since 2014, the dynamics of internal security have changed. The law and order in Pakistan’s economic hub Karachi has improved significantly. Hence, it is the time for accelerating the economic growth through necessary means. It is pertinent to mention that Security and economy are intertwined
- c) He reminisced his successful tenure during the year 2001-2007 when Pakistan emerged as the third fastest growing economy in Asia despite “War on Terror”, assassination attempts on the life of its President and various key installations. He discussed the relationship of economic security with defence by saying that due to higher economic growth and revenues, we were able to allocate 100 billion rupees for “armed forces capital fund” as the Pakistan could afford to allocate this particular amount owing to strong economy. Hence, the importance of economic security and its relationship with defence security can be well understood.

Economic Security

- a) Addressing the audience he asked a critical question “Why we should care of

economic growth? Then answered it by remarking that higher employment, higher revenues and exports absolves us from depending on external aid agencies to sustain the expenses and results in higher defence expenditure to uphold national security.

- b) He mentioned the historical facts that during the first 40 years since inception of Pakistan, the defence expenditure was 6-7 percent which gradually decreased as the economic growth started to plummet.
- c) He was of the opinion that everything cannot be blamed on government as uplifting the economy should be a collective effort where common people should actively take part. He gave the example that if we don't pay taxes to the state, making drugs that are adulterated, food forgery. He suggested that unless a conducive environment is not created, we cannot move forward as a nation. He reiterated that merely policies are not enough. He argued that farmers, private proprietors, firms' make up 90 percent of the economy. The blame on government does not absolve the common people from performing their duties.

The blame on government does not absolve the common people from performing their duties.

Food Security

- a) On the topic of Food security, he was of the opinion that it is a pillar on which most population stands as it is the basic necessity of life. Referring to the example from 1950s he observed that the Pakistan's population was 30 million however the food shortage resulted in import of major commodities from abroad. In contrast, with the blessing of Almighty Allah, Today we have surplus stock of 7 million tons of wheat, 2 million ton of sugar, 4th largest producer of rice fifth largest milk.

Water Security

- a) The governor State Bank of Pakistan identified some challenges which need conscious effort to deal with. As income of 60 million middle class increases, the demand for meat, poultry, vegetable and fruits and other higher value products would increase, resulting in usage of more water while it is pertinent to mention that we are already a "water stressed" economy.

In his view, the above mentioned dilemma leads to water insecurity. Mentioning Pakistan's largest irrigation system, he remarked that we are a blessed country. He added that if any other country had such irrigation systems, it would have produced higher yields and exported 100 billion dollars' worth of Agro products.

- b) Underlining the critical loss of water he argued that 40-50 percent of water is lost from head of Indus to farms in a chain. The influential individuals are involved in tampering with proportional distribution of water hence depriving tail-enders and poor. This is a major impediment to our considerably low productivity per acre. The majority of water is wasted because of flood irrigation system which is a great loss of national resources.
- c) Furthermore, Dr Ishrat questioned the wisdom of Pakistan's gradual diversion from cotton to sugar cane where we don't have comparative advantage in the world.
- d) He underlined the fundamental flaw of misallocation of scarce water resources and giving subsidy to influential as major hurdle in revamping the agriculture sector.
- e) In addition to other valuable suggestions, innovative techniques were advocated by the Dr. Ishrat such as drip irrigation, sprinkle irrigation etc which could help in improving our agriculture water stressed regions such as Baluchistan.

Energy Security

- d) In the sphere of energy security, Dr. Ishrat Hussain stressed on prioritizing energy security through renewable sources. He drew comparison of energy mix until 1990's as 60 percent of power came from hydel power hence, dependence on import of oil was minimum. However, he casted doubts on the practicality of changing the current energy mix with focus on independent power producers and coal.
- e) He mentioned that "Thar coal" project is being developed. However carbon emissions are not environment friendly. Therefore, Pakistan needs to venture into other renewable sources.
- f) He also lamented the non-recovery of bills from power consumers which leads to circular debt. He favours privatizing the distribution companies which are

running in losses and are burden on national exchequer.

- g) In his opinion the economic growth is intertwined to the availability of steady energy supply. Furthermore, he reminded everyone that Pakistan is an energy scarce country. The adverse effects of non-availability of adequate and sustained energy supply to the industries in the year 2008 – 13 is an example, where the country's exports plummeted. Connecting the dots, he gave another instance of his recent visit to Faisalabad Chamber of Commerce and Industry and heard the complaints pertaining to inadequate power supply due to which orders for Christmas went to alternate destinations such as Cambodia and Vietnam and it is highly unlikely that these customers may return in future. Hence, energy security is critical as far as GDP growth is concerned.



Borrowing, Tax Reforms and Foreign Exchange Adequacy

- a) He also touched on the topic of Borrowing and stated that every country borrows money. However, the trick is in the utilization of that loan. We can take an example from daily household. If we take a loan and invest it in property and generate from that loan at 10 percent. Hence, five percent of the profit is returned to principal borrower and 5 percent is kept as saving. Similarly, if we take loan and use it for consumption purposes, or invest in something which gives you 1 percent return, we may get

Borrowing is not a bad word, however, the trick is how to utilize those funds for profit generation rather than consumption purposes.

into debt trap. The taboo associated with the word “borrowing” and “debt” as bad words is totally flawed. We cannot alleviate poverty if we do not borrow and invest it in productive ventures.

- b) The former State Bank Governor was of the opinion that Pakistan needs urgent tax reforms followed by robust implementation. He viewed that around 1.5-2 million people fall in taxable threshold but do not pay a single penny.
- c) He stressed the need or allocation of more funds for health and drinking water supply, health and education in order to bring about socio-economic stability. He outlined the need to avoid consumption and subsidies on borrowed money as it needs to be reimbursed in future.
- d) He also emphasized the need to maintain foreign exchange adequacy as the fiscal strength is reflected through sovereignty in decision making. He remarked that Pakistan is a part of globalized economy and have to indulge in the buying/selling of goods and services and the business is undertaken in foreign currency denominator. Hence, Pakistan must have adequate amount of foreign exchange reserves to avoid excessive external borrowing and stabilize the exchange rate.

Investment in Human Resources

- e) Dr. Ishrat was of the opinion that we must invest in human resource. Pointing towards significant youth bulge, it was observed that the rest of world is declining in youth population, hence, Pakistan can be a source of human capital to the world. To attain such goals, he stated that we must focus on Science and technology, mathematics and engineering.
- f) Furthermore, at higher and middle level, technical knowledge of youth needs to be enhanced. He expressed his reservations that if we neglect their education and training, it may have adverse impacts and youth may get disenchanted and regressive. Furthermore, there is a possibility that they can fall in the hands of terrorist and extremists. As they say “An empty mind is the devils workshop”

Recommendations

Dr. Ishrat Hussain suggested a way forward through which we can overcome the persisting issues related to Pakistan’s economy:

- a. Diligent efforts may be undertaken to re-strengthen the institutions. In his

- opinion, the Institutions worked considerably well until 1990's after which politicization damaged their effectiveness.
- b. We should try leverage the full potential of our geostrategic location to benefit from China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. Also through central Asia cooperation. Also India should wake up and cooperate.
 - c. Take advantage from China's expertise in economic sphere. Joint ventures may be encouraged to provide maximum benefit to local entrepreneurs from the opportunities presented by China. Through mutual collaboration, various industries can be set up in Pakistan as Pakistan has comparatively cheaper work force. Hence we can export goods and service to the world which is a win-win for both countries.
 - d. He was of the view that power devolution to local governments are guaranteed by 18th amendment, however, in practice this process is proceeding slowly. Hence, the devolution is incomplete if we can't transfer powers to local and district level. The infrastructure, education and other facilities are provided on local level. Therefore, it is the need of the hour to strengthen the local government set up through devolution of powers.
 - e. He reaffirmed his conviction that no country can progress until it does not invest in science and technology, vocational and skill training.

In his closing remarks, Dr. Ishrat expressed optimism that if we follow this agenda for five to ten years, it is possible that the economy of the country may grow manifold which would bring socio-economic prosperity and political stability to the country.



Speaker 2: Ambassador Khalid Aziz Babar – Former Special Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ambassador Khalid Aziz Babar spoke on the important subject of “Foreign Diplomacy viz-a-viz National Security Policy of Pakistan”. He gave a background of Pakistan’s diplomatic relations with important countries of the world and more so the neighbours which effected our security.

After partition of Sub continent, the United States of America remains one of the first countries to have established diplomatic ties with Pakistan. During the initial years of Pakistan, the country had the options of building allegiance with Soviet Union or United States, however, Pakistan opted for the later.



In the year 1954, Pakistan signed Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement with the United States. Under the agreement the US established a Military Assistance Advisory Group (Maag) in Pakistan. In the year 1955, Pakistan joined South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) with a view to adding security to the East Asian flank of anti-communist alignment. In September 1955, Pakistan became a member of the Baghdad Pact organization which later became CENTO. Turkey, Iran and Iraq were its earlier members with the US as the backer of the security arrangement. In the year 1964, Pakistan signed Regional Cooperation Development (RCD) with Turkey and Iran closely aligned with the US. However, this initiative became non-operational after the Iranian revolution.

While educating the participants on Sino-Pak relations, he was of the view that China and Pakistan established formal diplomatic relations in the year 1951. Pakistan was one of the first countries to recognise China. This opened a new chapter of history of bilateral friendly cooperation. To develop China-Pakistan strategic partnership, it has won sincere support from both leaders and peoples. China has provided economic and military assistance to Pakistan and both countries consider each other as strategic allies. Besides, China supports Pakistan on Kashmir issue and Pakistan also favours China on “One China Policy”. Currently, both the countries are engaged in number of economic and defence projects in the lights of CPEC that it will prove to be a game changer. In

addition, both the countries enjoy the support of each other at regional and international fora, thus manifesting a symbolic bilateral bonhomie, existing between two states ever.

While talking about Indo-Pak bilateral relations, he said that Relations between India and Pakistan have been complex and largely hostile due to a number of historical and political events to this. Water disputes and Kashmir issue are the issues of prime concerns that have strained relations between India and Pakistan. However, Pakistan's active diplomacy on UNSCR on Kashmir issue and Shimla pact provided the impetus of diplomatic edge over the India.

In context of Afghanistan, the bilateral ties between two states remained complicated. Afghanistan was the first country who opposed Pakistan. In the year 1961, the issue of Durand line escalated between the two countries which further hampered the possibilities of cordiality among two states. After the USSR invasion in Afghanistan, Pakistan supported Mujahedeen whereas the red army started targeting Pakistani territory which was retaliated effectively by Pakistan air force.



Despite, Afghanistan's unorthodox approach towards Pakistan, Islamabad continued its social and economic assistance in order to stabilize the country. Being a neighbour, Pakistan has been a home for more than 5 million Afghan refugees due to enduring turmoil in war-torn

Afghanistan during the era of Russian and the US invasion. Furthermore, Pakistan remained fully determined in bringing prosperity in Afghanistan by reducing its formidable social, economic and security challenges and in process, it has rendered massive sacrifices of its armed forces and the civilian population.

Lastly, he presented possible suggestive measures in order to improve the dynamics of diplomacy.

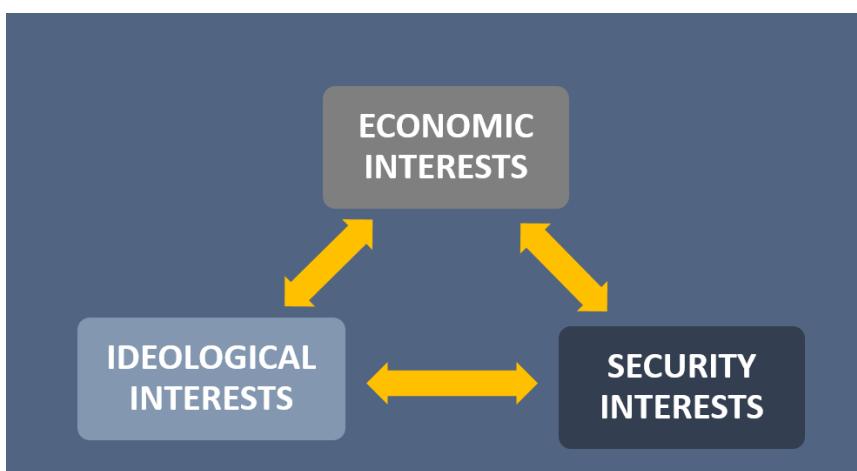
- a) All institutions must work in the framework outlined in the constitution of Pakistan.
- b) Parliament should give the policy guidelines, irrespective of choices and

- priorities.
- c) In his opinion one to one meeting is ineffective as it raises suspensions and apprehensions. Therefore, diplomatically the trend of delegate meetings must be encouraged and initiated at all the forums.
 - d) We should involve the principle of reciprocity in the bilateral and multilateral affairs with other countries
 - e) For territorial security, Pakistan should continue the process of fencing with Afghanistan and Iran border because this will deny Indian intervention and cross border terrorist infiltration.
 - f) Pakistan should revive the gas pipeline agreement with Iran and it should also be made a part of CPEC for regional development and integration.
 - g) The diplomatic circles of Pakistan remained fundamental pillar of manifesting its vital interests and prestige around the globe. Those unsung heroes should be engaged in certain affairs in order to benefit from their expertise for vital interest of country.

Speaker 3: Lieutenant General Haroon Aslam HI (M), (Retd)

Lieutenant General Haroon Aslam HI (M), (Retd) spoke on “National Interests of Pakistan in 21st Century- Challenges and Potentials”. He stated that National interest gets top priority because all the elements of national power are supposed to be employed towards achieving national goals. In addition, National interest of a country cannot be attained through moral values and there are no permanent friends and foes when it comes in achieving national goals.

Evidently, despite having ideological animosity both Saudi Arabia and Israel seem to become strategic partners. Hence, pragmatism is important then moral values when it comes to persuasion of national interests. Categorically, national interests comprised of economic, ideological and security and all these national interests are



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graph TD
    EI[ECONOMIC INTERESTS] <--> II[IDEOLOGICAL INTERESTS]
    EI <--> SI[SECURITY INTERESTS]
    II <--> SI
  
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interconnected and interdependent. There are economic policies that are in tandem with security interests and ideological interests. If the national interests are not met they cause existential threats to a national and country. He stated that National unity and harmony is imperative to make Pakistan strong, stable and prosperous and for that religious dissonance is highly detrimental towards achieving national harmony and unity. Religious sensitivity is another major area of concern which has entangled the general masses and it leads to polarization and fragmentation of society. Furthermore, for national harmony it is important to have inter-regional, and inter-provincial harmony. He also added that federating units are also vital component of nation building, therefore, harmony among the federating units is also very important in order to project national harmony enlarge. For that, economic parity is a pre-condition because economic disparity leads to discrimination and relative deprivation.

Unfortunately, in Pakistan there exist huge economic disparity at provincial and regional level. For instance, Karachi is one of the biggest cities of Pakistan, with worse transportation system. Whereas, huge economic investment has been made in Lahore on different



transportation projects. Thus, leading to provincial and regional disparity. Moreover, all the stake holders of federating units must be taken into confidence in all the vital decision-making for collective interests of state, because they are the consultants in policy formulation. Good governance is another vital aspect of integration and national harmony.

National interests represent the aspirations of the people. These have to essentially keep them in the focus for ensuring their security and well-being. Any effort that divorces people or a segment of people from the process of national building is bound to be counterproductive and an exercise in futility.

Therefore, state as a whole must ensure consolidated governance system based on public support.

In his opinion, national level politics holds immense significance in shaping the contours of nation building and the political parties are the real assets of Pakistan because they can cut both ways: a source of strength and weakness for country as well as a to democratic values and norms depending on how they function, deal with their internal organisational matters, mobilise people on the basis of a socioeconomic programme and help them make intelligent choices for electing their leaders and opting for policy options. Unity and harmony amongst state institutions is also important for promotion of harmony. In Pakistan there is a misperception that establishment is controlling all the affairs of state.

However, concerned role of establishment cannot be neglected by any mean at any level is state affairs. Evidently, in the US, establishment is playing an important role in articulating the policies for betterment of state. So establishment of Pakistan is a state institution, working for the betterment of the country with in defined parameters of constitutions.

In addition, Constitutional roles are determined, therefore parliamentary system has to be functional. He also urged about the institutional building. The system must work, for that meritocracy, accountability and transparency is quintessential. National interests have to supersede the personal interests for collective national development. Unfortunately, in our country national decisions are predominantly undermined by personal interests. Institutional conflicts must be resolved through mutual Conesus because approach of ill-conceived criticism is detrimental and it must be avoided. Our bureaucratic system has to be improved because it shapes the foundation of states strategic policy and domestic governance system.

While educating about the economic well-being of masses he stated that its state's responsibility to provide adequate facilities to its general public. He was of the view that by improving our agricultural system and effectively utilizing our national resources we can resolve our issues pertaining to energy, unemployment, industrial crises, business and commerce and unemployment.

Moving further he mentioned that defence and security is another vital aspect of national interest. Thus it requires a collective national effort to maintain peace and

ensure the security of the country. In the domain of internal security, the enemies of Pakistan has launched 4th generation warfare by using its strengths and moulding it to weaknesses. Hence, all the fault lines must be secured at operational and strategic level. Although, Pakistan has done commendable job in uprooting the menace of terrorism by the collective efforts of army and general public but still there is state-sponsored terrorism which needs to be combated at earliest. In this regard, the capacity of law and enforcement agencies has to be broadened and well-mechanized.

Furthermore, role of non-state actors must be eliminated as it is posing serious challenges for the state interest. He also said that Pakistan has to establish its indigenous defence industry in order to meet all the possible challenges of future in the realm of national security. The system of intelligence and surveillance has to be a collective effort and government has focus on Inter-relationship of economic prosperity and national security. He also added that border security must also be improved through doing necessary arrangements of security surveillance and fencing. He also suggested that there should be national directorate of intelligence in order to create coordination at Provincial level.

While talking about the nuclear factor of Pakistan, he state that Pakistan's nuclear

Imagine this: A small group of terrorists buys a nuclear weapon from Pakistani generals with dark money and transports it to the port of Karachi in a pickup truck. From there, the weapon is hidden in a crate, cushioned amongst textiles and agricultural products, and loaded onto a container ship bound for the United States, where it could very easily destroy one of our cities. This operation could be carried out by a fairly small number of terrorists.

(SEN. LARRY PRESSLER)

programme is best in the world however we need to work on its upgrading and advancement. He also pointed his own conviction that hostile agencies are planning and conspiring against nuclear missile system. Therefore, state must ensure safety and security of its nuclear arsenals at strategic and operational level. He was of the view that the geostrategic location of Pakistan has made it a focus of attention, therefore foreign policy apparatus must be broadened by considering the geopolitical realities. The country must work and support for domestic peace and regional harmony. In this regard, develop a broad based internal consensus on the proposed

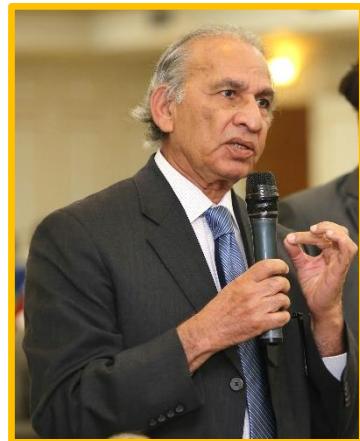


foreign policy and strategy of Pakistan on bilateral and multilateral cooperation and take regional countries such Iran, Afghanistan and China into confidence through establishing comprehensive information sharing mechanisms to enhance regional security apparatus. Lastly, he concluded his speech by urging the acceptance of Pakistani culture as a composition of history, ideology, language, art and religion.

Question and Answer Session

**Vice Admiral Ahmad Tasneem (Retd) - Member
Advisory Board CGSS**

Question#1: It is a considered opinion that education will not improve unless politics is taken out. Is it the foremost problem along with madrassa reforms?



Answer: Dr Ishrat Hussain (Former Governor State Bank of Pakistan)

The former governor of state bank addressed the question by relating his past experience as a director in one of the foremost institutes in Pakistan (IBA). He observed that education and co-curricular activities go hand in hand. Therefore the students were involved in co-curricular activities in their free time. Hence, their

diversion to negative activities was minimal. However, he agreed that politicization of institutes may have an adverse impact especially when the institutes does not provide a conducive environment for students to express themselves in co-curricular activities. He suggested that the whole system of academia may improve but needs a major overhaul underlining the need for occupying students with positive activities in their free time.



Question # 2: The Ideology of Pakistan is the basis of its existence. However, it is observed that the present curriculum being taught in school, has shown a tendency of omitting the glorious past heroic figures. It is important for the new generation to be aware of their past. On moving the courts, the Minister for Education submitted his reply to the courts that education is a provincial matter, however, some important ideological topics are being made part of common syllabus with other matters pertaining to the provinces. I was satisfied with the reply but after some time no action has yet been taken. What is being done to reintroduce these important topics?

Answer: **Lieutenant General Haroon Aslam HI (M), (Retd)**

In a reply to the question, Lieutenant General Haroon Aslam HI (M), (Retd) was of the view that there seems to be disconnect between the younger generation and the glorious past of its ancestors. However, such questions pertain to the government and related officials as to what are they doing to educate the youth.

In an interesting spontaneous instance, one of the participants reassured everyone that various Islamic and ideological figures are a part of the current syllabus. Therefore, we may not worry much about this matter as nobody in Pakistan can dare to omit the sources of Pakistan's identity and ideology.

Question #3:

- a) There is growing poverty in Pakistan with each passing day, hence we need robust social security programs to allay our citizen's financial insecurities. In the

sphere of socio-economic national security, what steps needs to be taken in this regards?

- b) The mafias are cartelizing various industries and departments through illegal means and there seems to be flawed check and balance system throughout the country. How can we improve this situation?

Answer: Dr Ishrat Hussain - Former Governor State Bank of Pakistan

The former governor of state bank responded to the question by stating that in Pakistan, institutions are present but they are plagued by lack of merit and politicization. It can be well imagined that in this environment we cannot progress. Unless there is a right person for the right job, we cannot succeed as a nation. In his view we have to take the bull by the horns which implies going into the root cause of the problems and fix it. Hence, we have to strengthen our institutions and put in place a robust accountability system. If we are able to achieve this, we may progress and prosper at a fast pace.

Anees Ali Shah - National Defence University

Question #4: There was a mention about National Interest in your speech. My question is related to the notion that there are no permanent friends or foes in the sphere of diplomacy. The national interests dictates pragmatic policies based on mutual benefits of concerned countries. However, in our foreign policy we have the concept of Ummah & brotherly relations with Muslim countries while friendly relations with other countries. However, if Kingdom of Saudi Arabia seems to be collaborating with Israel to counter the regional threats, can't we do the same? Do we need to re-strategize our foreign policy priorities?



Answer: Lieutenant General Haroon Aslam HI (M), (Retd)

In his reply, he stated that we have to balance the act. Policies must be enforced which are tangent with moderate and progressive Islamic state. In the past, theocratic set up was projected which gave rise to menace of militant groups inside our territory. He

was of the view, that foreign policy priorities are based on pragmatism and not based on “Imaan” only. He augmented his statement with the fact that as a Muslim there is a need for realigning our ideological realities to the changing environment in the world. Hence, Pakistan must give precedence to its vital national interests in regards to its diplomatic decisions and conduct itself in a smart way.



Question #5:

- a) The question is related to food security. The nations whose men and women are strong, and well-nourished perform better than others. However, if we analyse the situation in Pakistan, it is very disturbing owing to the practices of adulterating milk and other edible items. It is aggravating the already stressed health issues in Pakistan. One has to ask the question to what are we doing in order to eradicate such practices, enhance food security.
- b) After the eighteenth amendment, the transport is a provincial subject, therefore, the transport problems faced by commuters in Karachi can be attributed to the provincial government rather than federal government. What are your views regarding this matter?

Answer: Dr Ishrat Hussain - Former Governor State Bank of Pakistan

We are an Islamic society and go for Hajj and Umrah. Our behaviour as businesses and firms must change. Unless the common people realize as good Muslims that this is a great disservice, things cannot change. The charity begins at home so we have to first change ourselves. Hence, there is no easy answer.

The food security is one of the ingredients which can be attributed to overall National Security. However, we have improved since the inception of Pakistan as it was extremely hard to meet the demands of the population. Since then we have progressed and it is a proud moment for us that we currently have seven million tons of extra wheat and two million tons of sugar. Furthermore, Pakistan is the 4th largest rice exporter and 5th largest milk producer.

Answer: Lieutenant General Haroon Aslam HI (M), (Retd)

Lieutenant General Haroon Aslam HI (M), (Retd) replied to the second question by stating that provision of social services to the general public is the shared responsibility of federation and provinces. 18th amendment was made to make provinces autonomous so that they could generate more fund to provide better service to the people. He indicated the transfer of CPEC funds for Orange Metro. This is clearly not a provincial subject as such kind of projects could also have been initiated from the relevant authorities in other metropolitan cities such as Karachi which faces huge burden on its roads owing to congestion and inadequate transport for the commuters. However, he added that governance is not only limited to the federation as provincial governments must also take responsibility. Hence, it's a shared and collective effort from both pillars of the state.

Mr. Tauqir Ahmad – Member Advisory Board CGSS

Question #6:

- a) How Uzbekistan and Pakistan can jointly bring peace in Afghanistan?
- b) We are among the 14th countries which gave 12 m USD \$ as loan to Germany. Today we have a foreign loan of 85 billion dollars, which we may not be able to payback in due time. Germany has become world largest economy and we are still suffering. How did we come to this point?



Answer: Mr. Vladimir Norov - Director Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies (ISRS) under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan is reshaping its policies in Afghanistan. Currently the leadership of Uzbekistan is engaging Afghanistan for improving mutual cooperation in socio-economic sphere. Now the leadership of Uzbekistan is looking at Afghanistan through the lens of opportunity rather than source of threats from its land. He informed the audience that the Uzbek government is building a rail-link from Mazar Sharif to Herat,



Afghanistan. He said that we can cooperate with Pakistan to facilitate peace in Afghanistan and enable Afghans to attain a better stake in their country by promoting business and commerce. He also mentioned that Center for Global and Strategic Studies and The Institute for Regional Studies, Uzbekistan can join hands to propose some meaningful research which can bring about common understanding about Afghanistan and bring about peace and stability. He was of the opinion that Central Asia has immense untapped potential and can be exploited through CPEC. Hence, Uzbekistan is very keenly interested in mutual cooperation. He informed the audience that Uzbekistan and Pakistan can collaborate with each other in various fields such as textile and agriculture. In addition, Uzbekistan has free trade economic zones with other Central Asian Countries, from which Pakistan can greatly benefit if it decides to venture into Uzbekistan. Hence the cooperation can be a win-win situation.

Answer: Dr Ishrat Hussain (Former Governor State Bank of Pakistan)

There is no documentary proof of Pakistan giving loan to Germany as Pakistan was itself in need of financing at the time of inception. However, it is observed that Pakistan must utilize its resources prudently while financial allocations of resource should be done on merit. He also dispelled the notion that borrowing is bad as commonly perceived, however, the trick lies in utilizing the funds through investment in profitable ventures rather than for consumption purposes. Furthermore, the yardstick of successful utilization may be taken from improvement in standards of living of the people. If this objective is achieved, then there is no harm in borrowing.

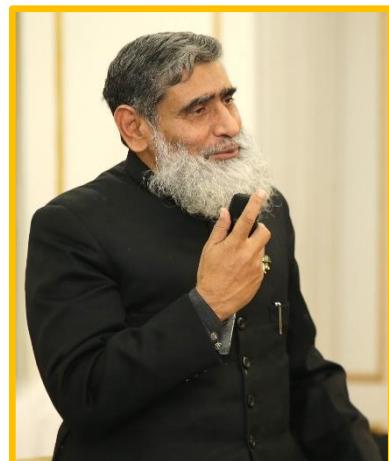
Answer: Lieutenant General Haroon Aslam HI (M), (Retd)

To a question regarding efforts to promote cooperation with Afghanistan, he was of the view that steps taken by Uzbekistan are commendable to bring about socio-economic changes in the country. He said that Pakistan has also undertaken various efforts to help brotherly Afghanistan. He suggested berths should be allocated to Afghanistan and their business community should be accommodated and facilitated. There can be roads, railways and bulk pipelines through Afghanistan.

Brigadier Bilal Akbar – Member Advisory Board – CGSS

Question #7:

It is in the vital interests of Pakistan and Uzbekistan to have a friendly Afghanistan with pipelines, roads, railways oil/gas pipelines and broadband connectivity. Your views on the scope of future cooperation between two countries?



Answer: Mr. Vladimir Norov - Director Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies (ISRS) under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan

Mr. Norov mentioned that Center for Global & Strategic Studies and The Institute for Regional Studies, Uzbekistan can join hands to propose some meaningful research which can bring about common understanding about Afghanistan and bring about peace and stability. He was of the opinion that central Asia has immense untapped potential and can be exploited through CPEC. Hence, Uzbekistan is highly interested in mutual cooperation. He informed the audience that Uzbekistan and Pakistan can collaborate in various fields such as textile and agriculture, engineering, science and technology. In addition, Uzbekistan has free trade economic zones with other Central Asian Countries, from which Pakistan can greatly benefit if it manages to expand ties with Uzbekistan. Hence the cooperation can be a win-win situation for both countries.



**Closing Remarks by Lieutenant General Muhammad Zahir Ul Islam HI(M),
(Retd) - Chairman CGSS**

General Zahir (Retd) - Chairman CGSS in his concluding remarks, said “you will agree with me, that after the event, we stand better educated and better equipped to deliberate further on issues related to National Security Policy”. He appreciated the knowledge and intellect of the worthy guest speakers who have amply highlighted various aspects of National Security Policy including requisite input on the subject. He remarked that now it is up to us to benefit from their input and vision.



At the end, on behalf of Center for Global and Strategic Studies, he expressed his special gratitude to the guest speakers from friendly countries, Mr. Vladimir Norov (Uzbekistan), Mr. Tim Willasey (United Kingdom), Admiral Jayantha Perera (Sri Lanka) and Mr. Shijie Chu (China) for traveling to Islamabad, all the way and for their presence in the Seminar. Furthermore, he thanked the distinguished guests for their presence.

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