



INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR
BEYOND GLOBAL WAR ON TERROR:
BUILDING BRIDGES FOR PEACE AND HARMONIOUS LIVING
13-14 NOVEMBER 2017

**POST
SEMINAR
REPORT**



Institute for Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis (ISSRA)
National Defence University. Islamabad - Pakistan

International Seminar:
**“Beyond the Global War on Terror:
Building Bridges for Peace and Harmonious Living”**
(NDU Islamabad: 13-14 November 2017)

PSR Supervised by
Ambassador (r) Fauzia M. Sana
Dir G& RS-ISSRA

Brigadier Ahmed Saad Minhas

Sponsor of the Event
Mr. Abdul Rauf Iqbal

Graphic Designer
Zahid Khattak

This compilation is based on inputs by a team of rapporteurs: Research Associates Mr. Muhammad Shabbir, Ms. Beenish Sultan, Ms. Quratulain, Ms. Mariam Akhtar, Ms. Fatima Saleem and Ms. Khadija Younas. The editorial team included Research Associate Mr. Muhammad Shabbir and Intern Ms. Anum Aftab.

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR
BEYOND GLOBAL WAR ON TERROR:
BUILDING BRIDGES FOR PEACE AND HARMONIOUS LIVING
13-14 NOVEMBER 2017

**POST
SEMINAR
REPORT**



01

An Overview of the Seminar Executive Summary

Foreword By Lt Gen Majid Ehsan H.st, HI(M) President NDU	01
Preface by Major General Muhammad Samrez Salik,HIM (M)	02
Participation and Profile	04
Findings	06
Glimpses Of The Seminar	07
Theme / Concept Note	09

02

Summary Record of Proceedings

Inauguration	11
Session 1	15
Session 2	21
Session 3	29
Session 4	36
Wrap Up session	42

03

Annexes

Annex A	Program	46
Annex B	Speakers and Profiles	50



Global war against terrorism has taken the form of a widely spread plague that affects almost all the aspects of material and social life of international communities. The impact of this war is spread throughout the foundation of effected nation-state at political, societal, and economic levels. It is crucial, therefore, in the present times, to cater for the sustainable counter terrorism mechanisms that would endure uprooting such an evil phenomenon in the most effective way in order to save humanity in future. These mechanisms need prerequisite understanding of root causes of extremism leading to terror and taking imaginative steps to overcome these factors at play that make instability constant across the regions.

In this context, the two day seminar explored the contours of GWOT through extensive impact assessment and sharing of perspectives on what is in store for tomorrow. The deliberations though signifying a diversity of views were indeed mutually benefitting, thought provoking and constructive. The exercise marked a convergence in our perceptions of the impact of the GWOT and how to move beyond to build structures of peace and harmonious living in our habitat.

As we all know, Pakistan's prime location between Central Asia, West Asia and South Asia makes it indispensable in the human quest for regional peace and security. The discussion significantly provided an opportunity to better appreciate Pakistan's two-fold standing: our contribution in the international community's fight against terror and our geo-strategic and geo-economic disposition that holds the promise of greater stabilization and security for all in a trans-regional setting.

I would like to appreciate all the scholars and practitioners for congregating at this forum and bestowing us with their valuable reflections on the subject. I also congratulate the dedicated efforts of ISSRA as a team for the hard work that enabled this event to transform into an intellectually enriching endeavor.

**LIEUTENANT GENERAL
MAJID EHSAN HILAL-E-IMTIAZ (MILITARY)**

**PRESIDENT
NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY**



PREFACE



The two-day international seminar: “Beyond the Global War on Terror: Building Bridges for Peace and Harmonious Living” organized by ISSRA marked the event as an academic as well as practically elevating endeavor to intersect the GWOT along with its various aspects that affect the international community at large. The seminar was successful in generating an introspective discussion on broader questions related to the phenomenon including; baggage of contemporary history, how to redress the issue of terrorism and impact assessment leading to the formulation of actionable perspectives for the future. The takeaways from this dialogue include the demarcation of the pathways that can lead us to build bridges for a harmonious living.

The seminar provided interaction between the knowledge and the experience related to GWOT, deliberating upon its various facets and linkages for a deeper understanding of the cause and effect of the phenomenon. The principal objective was to gain insights into lessons learnt that would be a precursor to future efficacy in fields of counter-terrorism, mutual cooperation and peace building efforts at the global level. The various sessions were designed to give insight on the interplay of actors and factors, as well as, politico-economic and psychological dimensions of the war, unfold case studies about erosion of international legitimacy; discuss the blurred lines between terror and freedom struggle; and present Pakistan's report card in GWOT.

The compilation in the reader's hand carries a summary record of the two days deliberations held on our campus. It is my earnest hope that it will prove to be a stimulus for future research and would help policy relevant circles to chalk out a firm and holistic response as we move to build a prosperous future.

**MAJOR GENERAL
MUHAMMAD SAMREZ SALIK, HILAL-E-IMTIAZ (MILITARY)**

DIRECTOR GENERAL ISSRA



International Seminar: “Beyond the Global War on Terror: Building Bridges for Peace and Harmonious Living” (NDU Islamabad, 13-14 November 2017)

A two-day seminar on “Beyond the Global War on Terror: Building Bridges for Peace and Harmonious Living” was organized by NDU on 13-14 November 2017. The exercise aimed at providing a forum for discussion on broader questions related to GWOT including; baggage of contemporary history, how to redress the issue, impact assessment and sharing of perspectives on the future direction. This entailed an academic discourse on the transformations in global and regional orders now underway, and perspectives on trans-regional connectivity and economic growth.

The seminar was structured in four thematic sessions, besides the inaugural and wrapup. The first session focused on impact assessment of GWOT. It discussed the interplay of actors and factors, as well as, politico-economic and psychological dimensions of the war. The second session: "taking the brunt and fallout on human aspirations and rights" presented case

studies about the erosion of international legitimacy; discussed the blurred lines between terror and freedom struggle; and presented Pakistan's report card in GWOT. Session three on day two, was dedicated to discussion on different perspectives on post-GWOT dynamics. It discussed the transforming nature of world order and the approaches to peace building, stabilization and integration. The last session, "emerging order and dynamics of peace building", talked about the inter-State Relations: cooperation vs containment phenomena; De-radicalization and reintegration within societies; and Pakistan's potential in stabilization and trans-regional connectivity. The seminar received wide attention in view of its thematic layout, participation and profile and deliberative activity enriched by leading international and national scholars.





PARTICIPATION & PROFILE

The seminar was a mega event from the stand point of the speakers' profile as well as participation (a turnout of 500 people at one time) from a cross-section of academia, civil society, political figures, diplomats, course participants and students. President Azad Kashmir, Sardar Masood Khan, was the chief guest at its inaugural. The two-day deliberations were serviced by a galaxy of experts and scholars from home and abroad. A complete list of chairs (four) and speakers/presenters (eight), together with their profiles is placed at Annex B.

DELIBERATIONS: A SUMMARY

In a key prognosis, it was pronounced that GWOT as a phenomenon, has run its course and it may now be closer to its logical end. However, on a differing note, it was argued that the War is not ending, rather it is transforming into new colours. Conversely, it was argued that while terror as an instrument of change would persist, the GWOT as a phenomenon is nearly exhausted. The fallout of the GWOT on

international legitimacy and human aspirations has been too glaring. The war against the scourge of terror tended to turn into a war of the dominant against the dispossessed, with no thought on addressing the root causes. The phenomenon therefore, promoted a war 'psychosis' and very much like the previous wars in history, gave the mightier a right to define and interpret. Concurrently, the phenomenon gained space to Islamophobia and at times, rekindled notions of a clash of civilizations. In sum, it strengthened the notions of unilateralism in an otherwise era of eroding unipolar order. Concurrently, it is possible to calculate the direct cost of the War on Terror in human and material terms. However, it is not easy to calculate its indirect cost. For example, the War has in fact, destroyed the whole socio-economic and cultural fabric of Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan not to mention the psychological cost that millions of people from these war-hit areas will have to pay for decades to come.





Some states have also used and abused GWOT to advance their local agenda, blurring the erstwhile clear lines between freedom fighters and terrorists. Some would call this phenomenon as “Intellectual terrorism”. In fact, the people's right to resist occupation as recognized under international law had increasingly come under stress in the post 9/11 scenario. Time and again, we have witnessed attempts to blur the view of national liberation struggle and equate it with terrorism. (Palestine and Kashmir are victims of this drive). Curiously, while there is no agreed definition of terrorism, the international legal order has defined freedom struggles and right to resist occupation. The right was not just recognised but specifically endorsed (the right relates to any and all means).

In the current setting, we are witnessing critical transformations in the global and regional environment including: gradual erosion of uni-polarity; 'Rise of the Rest' vis-a-vis the West; and weakening of the states' writ as against emergence of powerful non-states actors (violent or otherwise). A precise shape of what is in store has not crystallized as yet. To some, the transformation can possibly lead to a 'disorder' instead of a 'new order'. The transformations in the current phase are already showing signs of a 'new cold-war' (this is illustrated in rival models: US-led Western globalization vs. China-led Silk Road globalization). Therefore, fresh challenges relate to questions such as cooperation versus containment, addressing the hot beds of conflicts, and a “bottoms-up approach” if we are “dreaming peace”.

Three decades on, Pakistan has taken the brunt of conflict situations in its neighbourhood and tried to steer itself out of the mess created by others. No doubt, Pakistan has also made largest single contribution in the war against terror which includes the demise of Al-Qaeda and supplementing the military operations with

drive towards rehabilitation and reintegration. Concurrently, there was a wide-spread acknowledgement of Pakistan's standing at the crossroads of regions and by that token, its ability to play a greater role in trans-regional connectivity and economic growth. This should auger well for post-war peace building.



FINDINGS

The key findings of the seminar are itemized below:

- The term GWOT has been used and abused by the states to advance their own interests and GWOT as a phenomenon may now be coming to a close. However, terror as an instrument of change would persist. The war against the scourge of terror tended to turn into a war of the dominant against the dispossessed, with scant attention on addressing the root causes.
- The fallout of the GWOT on international legitimacy and human aspirations has been too glaring. It also promoted a war 'psychoses and Islamophobia.
- It is possible to calculate the direct cost of the War on Terror in human and material terms. However, it is not easy to calculate its collateral damage. For example, the War has in fact, destroyed the whole socio-economic and cultural fabric of Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan not to mention the psychological cost that millions of people from these war-hit areas will have to pay for decades to come.
- Due to "Intellectual terrorism", the people's right to resist occupation as recognized under the international law, has increasingly come under stress and attempts to blur national liberation struggle and by equating it with terrorism are witnessed, as in Palestine and Kashmir.
- In the current setting, we are witnessing critical transformations in the global and regional environment including: a gradual erosion of unipolarity; 'Rise of the Rest' viz-a-viz the West; and, weakening of the states' writ as against the emergence of powerful nonstate actors. A precise shape of what is in store has not crystallized as yet. These transformations in the current phase are

already showing signs of a 'new cold-war' illustrated in rival models: US-led Western globalization versus China-led Silk Road globalization.

- For more than three decades, Pakistan has taken the brunt of conflict situations in its neighbourhood and tried to steer itself out of the mess created by others. Despite the fact that, Pakistan has made the largest single contribution in the war against terror, the US and the West has made it expedient to put the blame of their own failures on Pakistan. We are seen as part of the problem and not of solution. This requires Pakistan to focus on its international image as well as recalibrate its strategies.
- Pakistan's geo strategic location at the crossroads of important regions provides it with the ability to play a greater role in trans-regional connectivity and economic growth.



GLIMPSES OF THE SEMINAR







THEME/ CONCEPT NOTE

The concept of the seminar flowed as, fifteen years on, the Global War on Terror (GWOT) has passed through its high and low tides, without any logical conclusion. The phenomena carry the baggage of contemporary history to our current setting and raises questions on how to redress issues that come in the way. It is therefore, time for an impact assessment as well as sharing of perspectives on the future direction. Both segments are indeed intertwined.

In retrospect, we witness the fallout of GWOT on human aspirations and rights; blurring the erstwhile distinctions between legitimate struggle for freedom and terror; and thus, causing a serious erosion in international legitimacy. Similarly, this calls for a re-visit of the brunt that has been taken by the Third World in general and Pakistan in particular.

Today, we are at the threshold of post GWOT dynamics that rest upon the transforming nature of the world order and

possibly on newer approaches to peace building, stabilization and integration. In this context, the 'new era' calls for a closer look at notions of cooperation vs. containment and pendulum-swing between globalization and regionalism. Similarly, it is important that we enhance capacities for de-radicalization and reintegration within our societies, together with enhancing the agenda of economic growth. In this context, Pakistan's standing to upgrade economic connectivity and thus, the stabilization process in a trans-regional setting is now coming into the fore.





INAUGURATION





SUMMARY RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS

Inauguration

Opening remarks by DG ISSRA

Welcome remarks by President NDU

Keynote address by Chief Guest: President AJK

The two-day International Seminar was unfolded in a brief inaugural ceremony on the 13th February morning. This encompassed brief introductory remarks by Maj Gen Muhammad SamrezSalik, DG ISSRA, and welcome address by Lt Gen Majid Ehsan, President NDU, and a keynote inaugural address by Mr. Sardar Masood Khan, President Azad Kashmir.

stabilization has emerged. No doubt, geography gave Pakistan the possibility to play pivotal role of a connector that should provide an impulse for economic growth, stabilization and security. It is, therefore, very relevant that in dealing with contemporary realities, we benefit from each other's' experiences and identify prospective strategies to deal with it.

Introductory Remarks by DG ISSRA

At the outset, DG ISSRA introduced the broad objectives of the seminar, its format and work plan. In this context, he enunciated the seminar's aims at introspective discussion on broader questions related to GWOT including; baggage of contemporary history, how to redress the issue, impact assessment and sharing of perspectives on the future direction. The takeaways from this dialogue, should lead us to pathways that can possibly lead us to build bridges for a harmonious living.

Welcome Remarks by President NDU



President NDU while welcoming the guests emphasized that seminar is expected to explore contours of GWOT through extensive impact assessment and sharing of perspectives on what is in store for tomorrow. The impact of war against terrorism spans the political, societal, and economic arena. Since sixteen years of its initiation, it has not only resulted in consumption of billions of dollars and thousands of precious human lives but has also distorted social fabric of societies that we live in. Protracted global war on terror indicates that violence does not bring peace, but abrogates it. It is the time to practice tolerance over hate, brotherhood over enmity and peace over violence.

After having gone through 16 years of GWOT, we are today witnessing critical changes in the global and regional environment. In this context, a fresh agenda to address the issues of security and



It is important to look back into the root causes of the phenomenon: human deprivation; denial of identity and rights; interventions; and neglect of the conflict-prone situations. The international community will have to take imaginative steps to overcome these factors at play that make instability constant across the regions. Similarly, we need to appreciate that economic connectivity and political cooperation transcending boundaries can only bring durable stability and prosperity.

Pakistan, termed as the connector for the regions, enjoys significant place in the quest for connectivity and economic growth. Its prime location between Central Asia, West Asia and South Asia grants it an indispensable role in the quest for regional peace and security. This exercise will indeed enable us to bring forth these aspects and also act as a forum for deliberation on themes that can later develop into sources of developments.

Keynote Address by the Chief Guest



The chief guest while delivering his inaugural address, made the following noteworthy observations:-

The terrorists chose asymmetric warfare to achieve/ advance their objectives; and the response by the Coalition against War on Terror was an open-ended war, with the

necessary legitimacy provided by the UN Security Council. After 9/11, there was near consensus in Washington that the three causes of terrorism were: the US support to autocratic regimes in the Muslim world, denial of the rights of people under occupation, and socio-economic deprivation in many parts of the world.

Many nations have cited terrorism as a reason to intimidate other nations, accuse adversaries of terrorism, suppress freedom movements, and crack down on domestic dissidents or criminals. All types of resistance movements have been clubbed together and dubbed as terrorism. Many nations have used proxies to fight their opponents. Now all sorts of war are called war on terrorism.

The other stark reality is that acts of terrorism committed by white Westerners in their own countries would be called by officials and mainstream media crimes of mental derangement or violence, but not terrorism. The Global War on Terrorism has triggered a war of civilizations, in which Islam is on the defensive. There are worries about the rise of China and the challenge posed by Russia but these stem from the strategic, political and economic dynamics, not from a perceived clash of civilizations.

In this fissiparous atmosphere, it is difficult to build bridges for peace and harmonious living. Response to terrorism has spawned ethnic nationalism in Europe and reignited some religious, racial and xenophobic fault lines in the US. The relative safe havens for peace and stability seem to be China, most of the East Asian region minus the Korean nuclear issue, Russia, parts of Central Europe, Oceania and Latin America. The rest of the world is in turmoil.

Pakistan's sacrifices in blood and treasure and the results achieved in the war on terror have been second to none. More than 40,000



civilians and 10,000 military personnel have sacrificed their lives in this war. Pakistan has purged Al Qaeda from the region and dismantled its backbone; the Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan, which has had external sponsorship was routed; and a successful crackdown on violent extremists is underway. Pakistan has hosted millions of refugees on Pakistani soil for the past 37 years and dealt with the toxic fallout of drug trafficking emanating from Afghanistan.

Pakistan's key role in the war on terrorism should therefore be applauded, not berated or dismissed on the advice of a new ally who directly threatens Pakistan's interests. Cooperation, not containment, will ensure success. The US itself should come out of its dilemma of whether to stay in or exit from Afghanistan, and give its full attention to the unfinished business of war and peace. As for Pakistan, all it is trying to do is to safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity against threats on the Western and North-Western flanks. After all, Pakistan does have an existential threat from India whose leaders have openly discussed their use of non-state actors, terrorists, intelligence agents and proxies to destabilize the state of Pakistan.

In this backdrop three-pronged strategy must be adopted by the world to collectively fight the scourge of terrorism. First, Nations - in East and West - should encourage Pakistan to continue to pursue its dream for sustainable development by leveraging its geography and investing in regional connectivity through CPEC. Second, the best prescription for ushering in regional harmony is to end the war in Afghanistan by finding a formula for peace acceptable to all political actors. Third, we should make collective and multilateral efforts to find a just, lasting and peaceful solution to the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. Repression in the IOK cannot produce peace and harmony in South Asia. For their part, Pakistan and

Azad Jammu and Kashmir, as anchors and harbingers of peace, will continue to work for internal stability and regional amity and cooperation.



SESSION 1

GWOT: IMPACT ASSESSMENT

Chair: Dr. Rohan Gunaratna



Session-1: GWOT: Impact Assessment Chair: Dr.RohanGunaratna
Interplay of actors and factors Speaker:Dr. Tahir Amin
Politico-economic and psychological dimensions of the war Speaker: Dr.ElsadigBakeitElfakihAbdalla



**Interplay of actors and factors by
Dr. Tahir Amin**

The question on the state of GWOT has been cause of debate amongst scholars who are clearly divided into two camps. The first one holds that the GWOT has ended with victory against terrorists. This opinion is based on the premise that there has been no major terrorist attack on US since 2001; the capability of the terrorist groups has been damaged; their leadership and training grounds have been decimated; their financial sources have been destroyed; and, they have not been able to access weapons of

mass destruction. The second opinion seems closer to reality that the war has not yet ended; rather it has become more complex. There has been increase in the terrorist attacks, number of people killed and number of terrorist organizations all over the world.

The speaker subscribed to the second view that suggests that a new era has started wherein states are using GWOT as an instrument to pursue their own interests; Kashmir and Palestine are the cases in point. The nature of GWOT has become more complex as various states have attached their own interpretations and interests to its agenda. In this context, understanding of



patterns of emerging global politics is pertinent to explore probable options for Pakistan. In this regard, six theoretical prisms give insight into various nuances of emerging world order.

First is 'End of History' by Francis Fukuyama's view of post-Soviet world according to which the West has won. Second is Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilization which divided the world into Western, Indic, Islamic, Sinic & Slavic Russian civilizations. Huntington also predicted conflict between the West and the Sinic civilization (China) which would be allied with a large part of the Islamic world. Third is the complex inter-dependence by Joseph Nye who believes that the west is taking precedence in world affairs due to its soft power. Fourth is the offensive world view which considers USA as indispensable and natural leader. Fifth is Robert Kaplan's idea of anarchy which would be brought by the decline of the West and the rise of the non-West. The sixth paradigm proposed by the speaker sees multiple world orders and civilizations existing simultaneously such as, Islamic, Chinese, Western, etc.



Pakistan is caught amidst these overlapping and competing orders where it is finding it hard to maintain its footing. Therefore, Pakistan needs to diversify its foreign policy and fully capitalize on its

geographic and other potentials. Capitalizing on its significant place in the Muslim world, Pakistan should promote a moderate Islamic world order, compatible with the global norms accepted by international community.

**Politico-economic and psychological dimensions of the war by
Dr. Elsadiq Elfaqih**



The word terrorism remains ambiguous with states attaching various definitions to it. In the past terrorism was more of a domestic issue which was attributed less importance by the global community. The 9/11 attacks transformed the notions attached with this word forever and propelled the phenomenon to become a global issue. Now the word has become emotionally and politically charged with all forms of violence being clubbed together as terrorism. Hence inability to clearly define terrorism has provided the states an impetus to distort the idea as per their will. This is the reason that distinction between freedom fighters and terrorists remains elusive.

Another notable feature has been inability of the states involved to address root causes of surging terrorism all over the world. Perhaps, this can be called



'Intellectual terrorism'. Currently terrorism is particularly being associated with Muslims which is ironical as they are the primary victims of this scourge. The effects of GWOT go beyond the direct costs which are explicit. If indirect costs of this war that encompass economic, war funding, war veterans care etc., are considered the damage would be around \$3.3 trillion for US alone as per New York Times.

The collective damage suffered by all states combined would be an enormous figure. The world's expensive slide into violence and unrest continued last year, with conflict, terrorism, and political instability costing the global economy \$13.6 trillion (£9.3 trillion). The 2016 index, which analysed 163 countries and territories, rates Syria the least peaceful country, followed by South Sudan, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Somalia. The state structures of Afghanistan, Iraq, Yemen, Syria, and Libya are completely destroyed and if the war were to end today, the world has an enormous task of rebuilding and reconstruction of these countries. Yet, the numbers always fail to reflect the broader costs of terrorism our societies have paid. The fatality statistics don't account for the possibility of unprecedented social and psychological cost.

The indirect cost of terrorism in terms of psycho-social impact is much higher. Terrorist attacks have the potential to gravely impact economic markets and exact an enormous toll on the global economy. Deployment in the Global War on Terrorism is associated with adverse mental health, increased risk of suicidal thoughts and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The social norms, traditions, and lifestyles of war hit areas have been disrupted completely. Some other impacts include: separation of family members; disruption of social services; hunger and starvation; and, abduction and sexual abuse etc.

Interactive Session

The interactive session focused on various aspects of the impact assessment of GWOT in our societies: linkages between subversion and terrorism; Islamophobia; impact of GWOT on Pakistan; Need for Pakistan to have its own narrative on GWOT; and the way forward. The house was in general on agreement that the last 16 years of global war on terror have morphed into more complex issues than we had back in 2001.



There are disagreements amongst scholars on the definition of the term "Terrorism". Academically we can define terrorism as "the deliberate killing of civilians" but it cannot be applied in all the situations. Concurrently, States have used the GWOT to their own ends e.g. the definition of the term "terrorism" is being exploited, abused and politicised in many regions and states to victimize Muslims. The situation in Kashmir and Palestine has been made more complex with terrorism and freedom struggle being in two opposite sides.

Subversion and terrorism both are intertwined in the contemporary setting. In terrorism there are two types, one is High terrorism and other is Low terrorism. Low terrorism is the incidents of terror happening in state, while high terrorism is the state sponsored terrorism which makes



issues of terrorism more complex and multifaceted.

Religion is open to interpretations and manipulation by political actors. No religion inherently preaches violence. Today narrative on terrorism is directed toward Islam, but in reality, Islam has been wrongly used by political actors to achieve their goals by spreading religious extremism. This trend has gained more prominence since President Donald Trump's ascendance to power in Washington.

Punitive approach needs to be coupled with the addressing of socio-economic wellbeing of people, issues of self-determination, and power distribution in society. Reintegration of rogue elements back into society should be the course of action post military operations. In this regard, religious and political leadership need to join hands with the military to prevent them from going back to old ways.

Pakistan is at the crossroads of two contending world orders: liberal western and Muslim. It is caught in this net of terrorism partly because of its flawed policies, and partially due to external manipulations. It needs to adopt proactive approach and let go of reactive policies as followed in the past. There is no doubt that Pakistan more than any other country wants to resolve issues of Afghanistan. Pakistan wants a stable Afghanistan which is free from external influence and acting as conduit for stability and progress in the region.

There is need for Pakistan to have consciousness of its own identity as a Muslim state, and observe its role in the Muslim world. In order to rise above the pressure of western world order, Pakistan needs to strengthen its bond with likeminded Muslim countries and further build up support for each other. It needs a robust domestic and foreign policy and a

comprehensive narrative about Pakistan in the world.

Wrap up by the Chair

While wrapping up the discussion, the Chair stated that in simple terms, terrorism is deliberate targeting of innocent people. However, lack of a clear definition is the cause of our today's problems with GWOT. This enables entities and states to use and abuse "terrorism" as an instrument to further their own interests. The effect of GWOT goes beyond boundaries and nations. But associating particular religion or its followers as sole perpetrators of the phenomenon is unjust and misleading. Today Pakistan remains the top most country which has made tremendous contributions to the cause of GWOT. The world needs to recognize that GWOT cannot just be won through military force; people from all walks of life need to make their contribution and play active part to bring this war to its logical and just conclusion.





SESSION 2

**Taking the Brunt and Fallout on Human
Aspirations and Rights**

Chair: Ambassador (R) Arif Kamal





Session-2: Taking the Brunt and Fallout on Human Aspirations and Rights Chair: Ambassador (R) Arif Kamal
Erosion of international legitimacy: Case studies Speaker: Mr. Ahmer Bilal Soofi
Terror or freedom struggle? Speaker: Professor Nazir Ahmed Shawl
Pakistan's report card Speaker: Brig Inayat Hussain (DMO)



Erosion of International Legitimacy: Case Studies by Mr. Ahmer Bilal Soofi

International legitimacy is defined by international law which is a combination of treaties and multilateral instruments which have a linkage with domestic law of States. So, while talking about the rule of law in Pakistan, one should be cognizant of the implementation of these laws in the backdrop of treaty obligations conferred on Pakistan. Political sovereignty of a State is subject to its treaty commitments and international legitimacy is determined through international conventions coupled with domestic law.

As far as legitimacy is concerned, Article 2(4) of the UN Charter restricts the idea of

territorial expansion. It implies that after the year 1945, waging war to acquire territory is unlawful and not legitimate. Notwithstanding the law there are, however, instances of erosion of the principle of legitimacy for example Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Palestine and Kashmir. Nonetheless, as a general principle, proxy interferences are not legitimate. This is the reason behind State denying linkage with any spy when he is arrested from a foreign land. On the other hand, there are questions of legitimacy on the sanction regime as well, particularly in connection to violation of human rights. In case of Iran, the US sanctions violated laws of human rights of Iranians and neighbouring countries who wanted to carry out trade with it.



In this half of the century, a major hurdle in upholding the ideals of legitimacy rests in the notions of terrorism and related military actions. A terrorist is different from an ordinary criminal and the steps taken to deal with the menace require special efforts. This is required both in the kinetic and non-kinetic domains. However, special preference should be given to law enforcement domain.

The way forward rests in developing a counter narrative for dealing with violations of legitimacy in the international arena. On the other hand, the regional economic cooperation of Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, India China and Pak-China's corridor needs to be facilitated. A rebuilding of economic zone needs to be given a legal space by a possible legal corridor related to Pak-China cooperation.

Terror or freedom struggle? By Prof Nazir Ahmed Shawl

Terrorism has become a defining word of the 21st century. However, it is crucial to understand the difference between terrorism and quest for liberation. In Kashmir, India's objective has been to discipline and assimilate Kashmir into its territory. It has done this by domestication of Kashmiri people through selective use of force and death as disciplinary mechanisms. Whereas the latter is reflected through military presence, surveillance, punishment and fear, former is disbursed through extra judicial force and authorized by law. It has

given birth to both political and indigenous armed resistance. The Indian Government is portraying a misleading scenario for Kashmir's liberation movement and labelling it for terrorism. However, their right of self-determination is protected by international law.

Hence, the international community must appreciate the fact that this liberation movement is neither similar to nor can it be equated with terrorism. To argue, we should look towards the general aspirations for indigenous struggle. To realize this, the UN Security Council resolution promises them the right of self-determination. This aspiration remains to be realized by the Kashmiri people. The post BurhanWani upsurge has affected every nook and corner of the occupied state. The state operated terrorism is targeting the unarmed but the resilient population, and has labelled this struggle as terrorism.



To recall, the Indian intervention in East Pakistan was completely inadmissible in international law. It is an uncontested fact that people of Jammu and Kashmir are validly exercising their right to demand self-determination against a communal racist and oppressive Indian regime. This clearly shows that Indian support and illegitimate intervention through MuktiBahini was wrong by law in East Pakistan. It is an illogical assertion when India projects that Pakistan's political and diplomatic support



to Kashmir liberation is foreign terrorism and an intervention. It is to be reminded that Pakistan is a legitimate party to the Kashmir dispute, recognized by UN Security Council.

The liberation movement in Kashmir started in 1931, 16 years before Pakistan was born. If it were orchestral as claimed by India through cross border infiltration of terrorists then military operations would not be rified against civilian population in occupied Kashmir and the army of almost 1 million would not be required. Since 9/11, global community has come together against the perpetrators of terrorism. Those who indiscriminately target the innocent population to achieve objectives for which they themselves have little support from their own people should also be declared state sponsored terrorists.

UNSC resolution 1566 on terrorism reaffirms the imperative to combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations by all means reminding the states that they must ensure any major step taken against terrorism complies with the international law in particular, human rights, refugee crisis, and humanitarian law .The Resolution also emphasizes on enhancing dialogue and enhancing understanding among civilizations to prevent indiscriminate targeting of different religions and cultures. With respect to the Chapter 11 of UN Charter, the General Assembly should consider amending its rules and procedures. Meanwhile,UNGA should urge states to implement the declaration on the rights of indigenous people

Pakistan's Report Card by Brig Inayat Hussain

It is pertinent to view Pakistan's fight against the menace of extremism, militancy and resultant terrorism from a prism of resilience and great resolve. Given the peculiarities of the war particularly in the



Western zone with 2611 km long porous border with Afghanistan, the fight was indeed crucial and tough. Owing to the compulsions, Pakistan's counter terrorism efforts were launched in the Western zone amidst fragile societal fabric of agencies in FATA including the FR regions. This area is subject to peculiar administrative setup with set of laws based on old traditions, suited to a buffer zone, difficult logistics and complex human terrain, and number of formal and informal roads across the border, historically used for illegal movements for trade, and crossing. In this regard, border management between Pakistan and Afghanistan is the key.

Firstly, as a consequence of the Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan, the militants were pushed from Afghanistan to Pakistan. Given the scale of challenge as a strategy, selective operations and peace agreements were undertaken with militants in order to deal with the situation. Despite the efforts, in 2008 militancy reached its peak. This particular situation necessitated a revision of military campaign, which entailed clearance of areas from periphery to the core; the periphery being Swat, Upper Dir, Bajour, Mohmand and SWA and core being NWA.

Amidst the revised campaign plan, it included inapt handling of Afghan jihad and external support of non-state actors. Out to these key strands four were found to be critical which included ideology and



leadership acting as software, financial support as hardware and spaces including swift flow of information in society. Our customized strategy to deal with it included a stronger narrative to deal with ideology, de-capitalization of leadership and people centric operations alongside choking financial support of terrorists.

While aiming to undertake social economic development and Counter terrorism efforts, information manoeuvre acted as bedrock for political processes and economic activities. Aimed for legitimacy for military actions and assisting de-radicalization and countering extremism, political processes included national consensus and formulation of legal framework and governance reforms. The military action comprised strategy of Hold-Build-Consolidate and Transfer process whereas in economic domain it included management of TDPs, rehabilitation and rebuilding youth development and employment all of these aimed at restoring writ of state on militancy affected areas.

Major areas were cleared through a highly successful landmark Zarb-e-Azb which was launched on 15th June 2015. Through this operation Pakistan Army was successful in uprooting militancy and terrorism to a great extent from the Pakistani soil. However, dismantling terrorist infrastructure and capturing large quantity of weapons and war making material still remained of prime importance.

Furthermore, another key threat emerged in last few years across Durand line in the form of emergence of Daesh or IS-KP. Daesh with its transnational terror agenda is steadily gaining ground posing a direct threat to the region and beyond. Just to highlight the nature of threat from across Afghan border, Pakistan has pictures of sanctuaries of TTP, Daesh, Jamat-ul-Ahrar, using these areas, besides of other places in

Afghanistan to launch attacks inside Pakistan.

The terrorists in these areas, adjacent to border have direct impact on Pakistan's apparatus with increasing trend of physical attacks and firing. There have been more than 610 cross-border attacks in Pakistan from Afghanistan, which resulted in martyrdom of 27 officers and soldiers with 24 injured. In addition, there is a threat present inside Pakistan emanating from the presence of more than 2.7 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan. They are meshed in the society and have provided a readily available space to militants.

The operation, Rad-ul-fassad, which aimed at eradicating the residual was launched on 22nd Feb. 2017, to sustain the progress of peace. The focus is stabilization of western zone, dismantling support of terrorists, stabilizing heartland specially Punjab and dilution of resolute potential of terrorists. In CT domain, army is assisting Government for implementing National Action Plan for facilitating initiatives like Counternarrative.

Similarly, nationwide intelligence based operations remain mainstay of Pakistan's CT. All efforts on Rad-ul-fasaad have been successful in form of terrorist capturing and also capturing of large scale weapons and ammunition, most of which were very skilfully handled. On the whole Pakistan army has inflicted a cumulative loss of Rs. 4.7billion from the terrorist economy and recovered 360 tons of explosive material with a potential of creating 32,000 IED's. This material could have allowed the terrorists to carry out 5 bombings or IED attack for 17 years and would have resulted in over 100,000 casualties.

Amidst our 16-year long struggle, we have suffered over 74,000 casualties nationwide with economic loss estimated at



\$123 billion. The military alone has paid a heavy price. Over 5,400 soldiers and officers sacrificed their lives in fighting, while 18,000 plus were wounded. It is worth highlighting that officer to the soldier ratio is highest in the world in Pakistan, with one officer per 12 soldiers. This speaks volumes of quality of junior leadership in the Pakistan Armed Forces. The quality of junior leadership on the field has been inspirational.

In particular the return of 96% of IDP's to their homes with over 322,000 families returned is a big achievement. While launching soft-prong strategies three main tiers include: Development, youth employment and de-radicalization. While kinetic prong continues to provide safe and stable environment in the area, soft-prong is geared towards winning hearts and minds of tribal people and developmental projects including infrastructure development, with a total number of 89 km of roads network, 91% construction completed alongside DI Khan to Bannu 713 km roads NWA and Khyber, it also includes Tank-Gomal-Wana roads, Tank-Jandola-Makeen roads. The developments in social sector include construction of vocational colleges and cadet colleges, which indeed is an achievement for Pakistan. Recently, 59 officers from FATA were part of passing out in PMA. Alongside state of the art medical facilities are constructed which includes the Sheikh Fatima hospital, in addition to facilities for power irrigation and recreation.

The dividend of these efforts is \$1.7 billion which has reached out to 5 million population of FATA. This is just the beginning and lot more needs to be done within the ambit of FATA reforms. Hence, for future stability, Pakistan is raising 73 FC wings, 29 are already raised and operationalized and deployed in KP and Baluchistan. In addition, 750 border posts are being constructed to plug notified and un-notified gaps. For this purpose, fencing of the Durand Line commenced since 1st

May and Rs. 56 billion have already been spent on fence along 80 km of border which is already completed.

In a nutshell, sustained peace is contingent upon dealing with long term challenges, which include: elimination of terrorist facilitators in mainland that include their sympathizers, continued intelligence based operations, exporting stability to Afghanistan in order to continue working with the resolute support mission in Afghanistan, enhancing cooperation with ADSF for border support mechanisms like hotline communication and border flag meetings, early return of Afghan refugees, sustenance of peace achieved, bringing a closure to military presence in FATA primarily through reforms and comprehensive rehabilitation of TDP's. Needless to say, that the peculiarities of success in this war rests on the notion of 'whole of nation approach'.

Interactive Discussion

During the interactive discussion it was recognized that at the strategic level there was great deal of cooperation between Pakistan, ADSF, US and NATO forces. At the operational level Pakistan has meetings with its counterparts and friends in Kabul like tri-lateral anti-Daesh meetings at the DGMO level where stock of the situation is taken and then responses are generated.

Secondly, the triangular nature of Kashmir issue exhibits different facets of the dispute. One of the facets is that there is an international apathy and United Nations preventive diplomacy has remained dormant in this regard. Today in the evolving global scenario, Kashmiris are once again placed at a disadvantage. On the other hand, the proactive role of the Pakistan Government and the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Government must remain a priority.



Thirdly, distinction between freedom struggle and terrorism is very clear. There are two venues to understand this i.e. Palestine and Kashmir, for these two venues the rules are very different. For Kashmir and Palestine, the UN is clear about their right of self-determination. Self-determination remains a credible struggle under international law. With the change in law of terrorism under UNSC 1566, for self-determination legitimacy is restricted to military targets only and extension to civilian targets would delegitimize it.

prevalent in the international arena whether the idea of GWOT is coming to an end or not. In this regard, there is need to draw distinction between terror as an instrument of change and the phenomenon that we call global war on terror- GWOT. On one hand, it can be asserted that the phenomenon of GWOT is closer to its end. Hence, there is a need to go back and revisit the accumulated losses and gains of the phenomenon.

Wrap Up by the Chair

The chair opined that it is important to recall that the GWOT has been the mega war of our times. It had a profound impact on international legitimacy, human aspirations, besides losses that are psychological and material in nature. There are variant views





SESSION 3

Perspectives on Post - GWOT Dynamics

Chair: Mr. Andrew Korybko



Session-3: Perspectives on Post-GWOT Dynamics

Chair: Mr. Andrew Korybko

Transforming nature of world order

Speaker: Professor Ye Hailin

Approaches to peace building, stabilization and integration

Speaker: Dr. Arshi Saleem Hashmi



Transforming nature of world order by Professor Ye Hailin



There is a need to revisit history to understand transforming nature of the world order post 9/11. In one word, the world order unfolding before us can be best termed as 'disorder'. Before GWOT, US had a

global worldview as to how to shape the world according to its interests and ambitions. The call for global war against terrorism that resonated from US after 9/11 attacks was also seen as an extension of this aspect. However, US over the years has been unable to achieve its objective. Gradually it has abandoned its global agenda of changing the world and instead worked towards getting rid of the baggage that GWOT brought with it. This shift in US global policy is more evident in Trump's protectionist and 'America First' syndrome. Hence, it can be said that US is no more interested in shaping the world like it did in the past. Consequently, we see emergence of multiple powers or orders across various regions.

It is generally opined that the core reason



behind US detachment from global issues is its waning influence as against the rise of other major powers, despite the fact that US remains superior in terms of economic and military power. No state can come comparably close to the power that US holds, not even China. Many have suggested that China wants to fill the gap that US is creating by its policy shift. However, China has neither the intention nor the capability to take on such a role. So, the question arises, who would run the world? It must be noted that while US may not be interested in shaping the world anymore but does not like any other country to step into its shoes. It has, therefore, adopted 'containment' strategy against any state that has defied the US.

The new world order that has yet to emerge is expected to be different than the American dominated world order. Historic trends of the changing world orders indicate that the nature of the change is neither indictable nor measurable; rather it would be a simultaneous and natural process. The power dynamics in the world system transform according to their own course and take a long time.

Currently, major powers are more interested in their respective domestic and regional issues that impinge on their national interests. It is the middle or medium sized powers that are more prone towards pursuing global issues or agenda. The trend to look for regional solutions to regional issues has regionalized the world, creating uncertainties within the region as well as the global level. This is evident on the counter terrorism front as it is being viewed more as a domestic issue by states. This change in the world order has been underway for many years; however GWOT was the moment when it actually saw transition from unipolarity to multi polarity. Hence it can be predicted that we would witness the emergence of regional frameworks to solve mutual problems but we are uncertain about

when it would happen.

**Approaches to peace building,
stabilization and integration by
Dr. Arshi Saleem Hashmi**

To understand and devise approaches to peace building, stabilization and reintegration, it is important to view the problem at hand in a different paradigm. A shift in thinking from a realist world view to a peace paradigm is imperative to seek solutions to the terrorism issue that world faces today. The irony is that terrorism has been explained in theory and practice in realpolitik terms. Even the idea of peace is considered as mere absence of war, an explanation with realist roots. At various levels of conflict, we are witnessing the security dilemma: confrontational, lethal, "bite-and-counter bite" behaviours where, at the end of the day, everyone is worse off than they were before. The conflict has become self-stimulating and self-perpetuating. The peace paradigm stands in stark contrast to realist explanations on terrorism as former talks about inclusivity, people centric and bottom to up approach.

Peace building approach is inevitable to bring sustainable peace in post war societies. Despite the end in violent activities, insecurity and fear continues which indicates that end of war is merely a state of negative peace. Structural violence persists in the affected societies owing to presence of hostilities and fears against each other. Positive peace is a state where not just physical violence but propensity to resort to it is also eliminated from people's mind. Challenge to adoption of such approach would remain as long as post war societies are built through outside-driven approach. Inside-driven approach, wherein people are the focus and drivers of solutions, can bring positive peace.

So the essence of peace paradigm is the concern to understand the root causes of the conflict. Mere elimination of war is not



enough to bring sustainable peace in the society. Instead, extensive conflict analysis must be undertaken by all stakeholders. Peace building efforts must be maximalist in nature with detachment from minimalist approach. This can be done through proper justice and security system, local conflict resolution and normalizing the law and order situation. It should also include reconciliation, institutional building and political and social transformation. The time period for post war construction through such an approach can take decades to reap fruits. Pic-25 There are many justifications for military or punitive approaches that led to GWOT. Simultaneously, a regional/local approach to solve issues behind and arising out of terrorism should also be adopted. A global view of the issue prevents those in charge from viewing the local dynamics of the terrorism affected settings. Instead of a winning mentality dominated by military actions against terrorists, localisation of issue with the spirit of conciliatory mentality should be adopted.

The global powers in GWOT have unfortunately over emphasized the physical and superficial elimination of terrorism in the form of hard power measures neglecting the deep-rooted causes that facilitate or engender replication of terrorist acts. It is essential to deal effectively with the deep-



rooted origins of political violence in failed or failing state, of which terrorism may be a

manifestation or a symptom. Instead of merely “manage” or “settle” conflicts that have led to terrorism, the need is to take steps to “resolve” and/or “transform” conflicts. There is a dire requirement for a shift of priorities from the pursuit of the U.S. national security to the search for human security of ordinary people in the terrorism affected areas such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria and other areas.

Interactive Session

The interactive discussion encompassed issues related to post-war political stabilization, grey zone conflicts, probability of third world war in the wake of shifting orders, future of UN in a 'region-based world order' and emerging alliances in South Asian region.

Grey zone conflicts in the form of Russian annexation of Crimea and China's overtures in South China Sea indicate that consensus among great powers on such issues would remain elusive. From the perspective of China and Russia, legitimacy of their actions derives from the historical claim that they have had over these areas since decades. While from the US perspective, their efforts are synonymous with aggression with dubious legal grounds. Hence, it can be predicted that there may be more conflict than cooperation arising out of such differences amongst major powers. The emergence of multi polar world order may erode US primacy over world affairs but it would also make the world more fragile and 'disordered'. Presence of nuclear bomb would prevent large-scale conflict but small-scale engagements within regions would become a routine.

Despite end of war, violence recurs in societies due to unattended peace building by the responsible authorities. The key to bringing positive peace in post-war societies lies in the political stabilization and



engagement of the society. This can also address the psychological trauma and fear that people living in conflict zones have about their life and security.

Future of UN in multi-polar world order would remain ceremonious yet important. Due to presence of five veto powers, it has already lost its relevance as peace builder in active conflict zones. However, it provides a platform where all states engage and can raise issues of mutual concern. Devising regional framework does not entail that UN would lose its relevance. Instead, it just suggests viewing things from a local perspective.

Wrap up by the Chair

In his concluding remarks, Mr. Korybko deliberated on the transitional nature of post-cold war world order featuring sub-state nationalism and socio-political movements in various parts of the world. The nature of international relations is changing; the sub state actors, which may at one time be a part of a constitutional whole, are becoming independent, affiliating with cross-border brotherhood or becoming part of a hybrid war. It was recognized that multipolarity may play a positive role but there

are also certain risks involved. Hence, the need for cautious optimism to reap maximum benefits. In the context of stability and security, it was agreed that the nature of warfare is rapidly changing and becoming more asymmetrical and non-conventional, hence the counter mechanisms should also be framed accordingly to deal with them effectively.

The role of global organizations like the U.N will be important for the international community in providing support, operational capacity and assistance for resolving and managing regional issues with the help of regional countries. In this regard, regional organizations and coalitions are gaining influence, efficacy and operational dominance in the global conflict resolution and peace building processes.

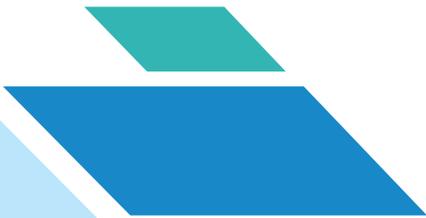




SESSION 4

**Emerging Order and Dynamics of
Peace Building**

Chair: Maj Gen (R) Dr. Noel I. Khokhar





Session-4: Emerging Order and Dynamics of Peace Building

Chair: Maj Gen (R) Dr. Noel I. Khokhar

Inter-State Relations: cooperation vs containment

Speaker: Mr. Andrew Korybko

De-radicalization and reintegration within societies

Speaker: Dr. Rohan Gunaratna

Stabilization and trans-regional connectivity: Pakistani potential

Speaker: Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed

Interstate relations: Cooperation and containment by Mr. Andrew Korybko

The world is undergoing structural changes under which uni-polarity is seemingly eroding with multi-polarity gaining ground. This consequently has various impacts most important of which are: inclusive containment and exclusive containment. Comparison between the policies adopted by China and US can give better understanding of the contemporary world system.

USA has a policy of imposing its values on its partners while China, on the other hand, respects the value of their partners. US focuses on globalization through maritime trade while China is actively propagating the policy of convergence of nations. To preserve the current world order and to ensure its hegemony, US has strategically aligned with India. Conversely, China promotes diversity and has multiple stakeholders. China has aligned with Asia and Africa as part of their globalization





initiative, an example of their policies is OBOR under which they are aiming to create strong economic ties.

China now has new economic partners and CPEC will prove to be the spine of the future multi-polar world order. With Europe on a steady decline the future of the Chinese will depend upon its partners such as Africa. Big powers are using hybrid warfare to increase their social influence even in those societies that are geographically far away. The US is the prime example of this as it is trying to sabotage CPEC by creating instability in the region. To counter this, the Chinese need to participate more actively in diplomatic channels and UN peace missions.

The Indian Ocean will be the centre stage of competing interests of nations and global affairs. US military presence in the South China Sea and the Indo-Japanese partnership are efforts by the US to maintain the status quo. China should, therefore, target Eurasia and Africa more for inland projects and focus on trade via Indian Ocean to gain increased cross-continental connectivity while simultaneously ensuring its increased military might. There is no doubt that China requires more market places, beyond the ones it already has, and with the decline of Europe and the West it is important that it begins exerting its influence in the Indian Ocean region.

To make the global economy more equitable for the Silk Road globalization, the

institutions need to be modernized and modified to cater to the demands of the future. Since the Chinese grand strategy is to break containment through a network of road, rail and sea lanes, it is important that Pakistan becomes an integral part of the new converging world and guard its interests in every way possible.

De-radicalization and Reintegration within societies by Dr.Rohan Gunaratana

There are two aspects to fighting terrorism: a front-end strategy and a back-end strategy. What needs to be borne in mind is that one can contain terrorists but not stop individuals from entering the folds of terrorism. Therefore, as terrorists are individuals who are part of societies, the target should be societies for more effective de-radicalization. The problem arises when extremist ideas are exposed to the society and they begin to pose serious security challenge. It gets severe when the terrorist elements are glorified and revered by certain section of our society.

In such scenario, approaches to counter-terrorism include: counter-terrorism operations which includes “fighting fire with fire”. This strategy although effective, will not by itself produce the desired outcome. The second strategy is of rehabilitation and reintegration. This



strategy encompasses winning “hearts and minds” to transform beneficiaries through multi-faceted activities. While the third



approach is community engagement aiming at “inoculating” vulnerable segments of the community against radicalization.

Rehabilitation is considered as a key to achieve the best possible de-radicalization results which can make an individual a productive member of the society. Global approaches to rehabilitation and reintegration include: specialist government body, ideally a civil body including religious institutes; reengineering prisons and robust reintegration strategy. The most essential components of rehabilitation and reintegration are: intelligence gathering; high prison standards; psychological counselling; religious counselling; and after-care training. Therefore, the best models for rehabilitation should include religion, education, vocational training, social creative arts, psychological counselling, ideological shifts and financial help.

Around the globe, many Global Rehabilitation Initiatives have been launched out of which some are operational and some have become defunct. The Egyptian program which is now defunct focused on the de-radicalisation of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Group of Egypt. It allowed the threat groups to renounce violence and produce a corpus of ideological literature renouncing Al Qaeda. Singapore's program on the other hand is still active and is considered the best in the region. The world's oldest de-radicalization program is in Malaysia and was created by the British. Due to a lack of political support Yemen's program could not sustain itself, hence collapsed. Pakistan's program in Swat has been extremely successful and has rehabilitated 2155 adults and children so far. In Spain, the rehabilitation programme focuses on prevention and cultural integration of individuals and the creation of a similar programme for Muslim radicals.

From the above examples, it can thus be

said that the global approaches to community engagement include: media sensitivity; political reform; economic empowerment; and religious guidance. It can therefore be said that rehabilitation and community engagement are long-term processes whose success can be determined overtime for which government partnership with private sector and civil society is paramount.

Stabilization and trans-regional connectivity: Pakistan's potential by Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed

Hybrid wars aimed at regime change are not a new phenomenon. They have been happening in the past and continue to happen in the present. Pakistan has suffered the most in terrorism and has been successful in eliminating terrorist from its soil. Therefore, the country's recent global role refers to its current role where it hosts the world's largest refugee population and is the future conduit for economies poised to



become world trading hub. Pakistan's potential is determined by its role as a pivotal player in the region and its location to play that role. Pakistan is all set to become the pivot of the world where all present and future geopolitics will revolve.

There will be three important future trends which will directly impinge on Pakistan's future role: evolution and emergence of China from regional to a global



power; global balance of economic and political power that is shifting from East to west and the resurgence of Asia; and emergence of greater South Asia where it will not remain a geopolitical entity but will become a geo-economic concept.

The emergence of a greater South Asia as a geo-economics concept is driven by economics, ports, energy, railway, roads and pipelines with CPEC as the centre piece. The greater South Asia not only means the South Asian subcontinent and countries like Nepal, Myanmar, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Maldives but also China, Iran Afghanistan, Myanmar, Kirgizstan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. The whole region will be connected via pipelines, energy, economics, diplomacy, defence and other projects.

In this context, Pak-China relation is unique and has been reinforced via CPEC. Both countries protect each other's interests and there has always been neutrality in interests and relations of both countries. CPEC has given strategic outlook to Pakistan making it the hub of economic activity thus binding both nations through mutual interests.

Unfortunately, the region around Pakistan has been unstable since 1979. The status quo was rocked with the revolution in Iran, the military intervention of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, the Afghan jihad and the rise of terrorism in the post-cold war era. All these factors have created impediments to stabilization. Political interest and ideologically driven foreign policies have been the trend especially after 9/11 and its most recent example is Trump's South Asia strategy which focuses on India to put pressure on Pakistan. What needs to be noted here is that when political interests decide to confront or contain a country, it always leads to a disaster.

Currently, there are two parallel tracks in the world, namely: connectivity through the Silk Road; and confrontation. The seeds of a new Cold War are being fermented in the region. This began in August 2016, when India and the USA signed a Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Association (LEMOA). Under this, the Indians have allowed the Americans to use their naval and air bases based on reciprocity. The quadrilateral military exercises between Japan, India, USA and Australia are also an indicator of future conflicts and confrontations. Based on the strategy of confrontation and conflict, efforts are being made to foment a new cold war in the region.

Pakistan's potential is vital and it has a key role in future geopolitics. Therefore, the best way forward is through connectivity and cooperation so that strategic stakes can be increased between the states.

Interactive Session

During the interactive discussion, it was brought up that why China was not ideologically driven and how resurgence of Russia over the years has made it more receptive to the changing trends. On one hand, there are conservatives who stick to traditional partnerships and on the other hand, there are progressives who want to reintegrate the world into a multi-polar world order. Thus, Russia values China's great power status and balancing strategy and wants to be part of its Silk Road connectivity.

It was discussed that how despite all past follies Pakistan has been undeterred in achieving its strategic goals of which nuclear bomb is the prime example. At present, there are multiple power centres in Pakistan and an independent judiciary therefore, things in Pakistan are changing. The national interest of the country is kept at the forefront while formulating national and foreign policies.



The probability of Pakistan becoming battlefield of future wars, the theory of Thucydides trap was brought up where China will bunk this phenomenon and the US will endure that it does not breach the sovereign integrity of any state in the region.

Wrap up by the Chair

The emerging world orders as well as the trends are pointing towards a greater conflict and that is not the direction Pakistan should follow. It is important that each state should look towards peace building initiatives to ensure stability instead of confrontation and conflict.

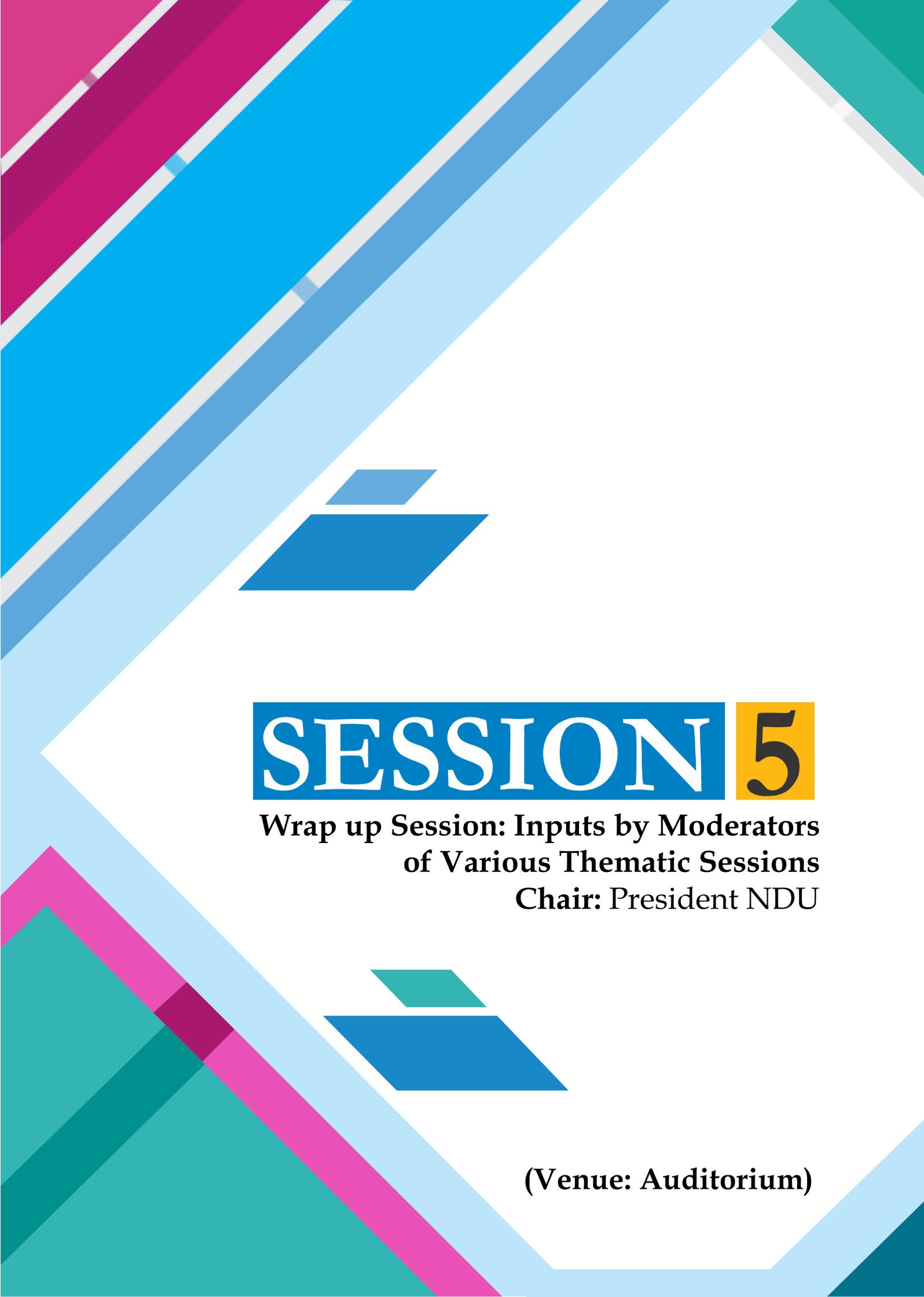
The current setting indicates that we have moved forward from a bipolar world to a

unipolar world underlined by terrorism. The structure is now transitioning towards a multipolar world order with the big players acting as conflicting players and balancers. Thus, when the transition will be made, there is likely to be disorder and chaos. Historically speaking, a multipolar world has never been stable. On one hand, it consists of conflicting interests and on the other hand, it is a place where all conflicts were eventually downloaded to local conflicts. Thus, it can be said that the world is being localized.

India-Pakistan relations are of great significance if stability is to be achieved in the region for which dialogue is the key. It is therefore essential that Pakistan puts its own house in order and ensure victory against the menace of terrorism while formulating futuristic policies so that all possible challenges can be overcome with ease.

n relations are of great significance if stability is to be achieved in the region for which dialogue is the key. It is therefore essential that Pakistan puts its own house in order and ensure victory against the menace of terrorism while formulating futuristic policies so that all possible challenges can be overcome with ease.





SESSION 5

**Wrap up Session: Inputs by Moderators
of Various Thematic Sessions**

Chair: President NDU



(Venue: Auditorium)



**Wrap up Session:
Inputs by Moderators of Various Thematic Sessions
Chair: President NDU**

(Venue: Auditorium)

Remarks by one of the session Chairs on the outcome of deliberations

Wrap up / Vote of thanks by the President NDU



**Feedback on Deliberations by
Ambassador Arif Kamal**

Ambassador Arif Kamal, on behalf of the session chairs, while giving a summary of the proceedings of the seminar commended the quality of the discussion. He reported that in a key prognosis, it was pronounced that GWOT as a phenomenon has run its course and it may now close to its logical end. However, on a differing note, it was argued that the war is not ending rather it is transforming into new forms. Conversely, it was argued that terror as an instrument of change would persist though the GWOT as a phenomenon is nearly exhausted.

It was argued that the fall out of GWOT on international legitimacy and human aspirations has been too glaring. Failure to address the root causes of the phenomenon, therefore, promoted a war psychosis in parts of the world. Concurrently, the phenomena gained space for Islamophobia and at times rekindled the notion of the “Clash of Civilizations.” In some ways, it strengthened the notions of unilateralism in and otherwise era of eroding uni-polar order.

Some of the presenters believed it is possible to calculate the direct cost of the war on terror in human and material terms.



However, it is not easy to calculate its indirect cost. For example, the war has, in fact, destroyed the whole of social and cultural fabric of countries like Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. Even if GWOT comes to a close today, we have a gigantic task before us to rebuilding societies and states. Not to mention the psychological cost millions of people from these war-torn areas will have to pay for decades to come.

The house was broadly in agreement that some states have used and abused the GWOT to advance their local agendas also blurring the erstwhile clear lines between freedom fighters and terrorists. Some would call this phenomenon as intellectual terrorism. In fact, the people's right to resist occupation as recognized under the international law had increasingly come under stress in the post 9/11 scenario.

The transformation in the current order is already showing signs of a new cold war which is imminent through the 'US led Western Globalization versus Chinese led Silk Roads Globalization'. Therefore, the newer challenges relate to questions such as cooperation versus containment. Hence, addressing the hot-beds of conflicts and bottom-up approach would have to be adopted if we are dreaming peace.

For four decades on, Pakistan has taken the brunt of conflict situations in its neighbourhood and has tried to steer itself out of the security mess created by others. No doubt Pakistan has made the largest

single contribution in the war against terror, the demise of Al-Qaeda for example, and supplementing military operations with the drive towards rehabilitation and re-integration. Concurrently, there is a widespread acknowledgement of Pakistan as standing at the confluence of major regions and by that token its ability to play a greater role in trans-regional connectivity and economic growth. This should augur well for post war peace building endeavours.

The way forward must recognize that the global war on terror and what might lie beyond this war ought to be factored in while drawing policy parameters. The military actions would need to be effectively backed up by efforts aimed at de-radicalization and integration as critical aspects of peace building and harmonious living. The global order that has been the backbone of the GWOT is complex and transforming. Lastly, in the midst of global transformations, Pakistan may well start looking beyond consciousness of vulnerability and take up its natural role in the era of connectivity and growth for stability and economic progress for all.

Wrap up Remarks by President NDU Lt. Gen. Majid Ehsan HI (M)

In his concluding remarks, President NDU opined that it must be realized that war brings with it the politico-economic and psycho-social effects which permeate distress, hatred and impatience in the very roots of a society for a long time. Hence, we have learnt the dire need for stabilization and peace as opposed to ethnicity, extremism and terrorism. The answer does not lie in war and violence, instead it lies in peace and harmony. Second, we also agree the dynamics of peace and progress in the Asian region and beyond depend upon the resolution of long standing issues such as Kashmir according to the people's will and their right to preside over their destiny. We



must come to terms with the distinction between a terrorist and a freedom fighter. Third, various approaches to peace building i.e., integration, de-radicalization and stabilization have emerged as silver lining in the cloud. The task ahead is to pick up the threads and look beyond the GWOT by adopting these approaches. Fourth, for the development of our region and connectivity through the economic and energy corridors carry significant importance and Pakistan can play a pivotal role in it.

Pakistan is one of the only countries in the world at present which can look beyond the

GWOT. Although, the war is still on in many disturbed regions of the world but we in Pakistan can claim that as a nation we have fought this war for sixteen years and we have brought stability in most parts of the country. Lastly, Pakistan stands out in the region because of the geography and history of this part of the world. A role awaits Pakistan for building structures of peace and this is the right time that we should start talking about it and planning about it and we all need to, as a nation, to work for implementing it in the very near future for the sake of our generations who are witnessing the aftermaths of GWOT in a very confused manner.

In the end, the President NDU thanked the presence of intellectuals and practitioners and appreciated their valuable contributions to the discussion that made this Seminar productive and result-oriented.





ANNEXES



ANNEX A:

PROGRAM



PROGRAMME

13 NOV (MON)		
Registration & Inauguration		
(Venue: ISSRA Hall)		
09:00-09:50	Registration	
10:00-10:05	Recitation	
10:05-10:10	Opening remarks by DG ISSRA	
10:10-10:20	Welcome remarks by President NDU	
10:20-10:35	Keynote address by Chief Guest: President AJK	
10:35-10:55	Group Photo (Session Chair & Speakers) / Refreshments	
Session-1: GWOT: Impact Assessment		
Chair: Dr. Rohan Gunaratna		
(Venue: ISSRA Hall)		
11:00-11:20	Interplay of actors and factors Speaker: Dr. Tahir Amin	
11:20-11:40	Politico-economic and psychological dimensions of the war Speaker: Dr. Elsadig Bakeit Elfakih Abdalla	
11:40-12:20	Interactive discussion	
12:20-12:30		
Session-2: Taking the Brunt and Fallout on Human Aspirations and Rights		
Chair: Ambassador (R) Arif Kamal		
12:30-12:50	Erosion of international legitimacy: Case studies Speaker: Mr. Ahmar Bilal Soofi	
12:50-13:10	Terror or freedom struggle? Speaker: Professor Nazir Ahmed Shawl	
13:10-13:30	Pakistan's report card Speaker: Brig Inayat Hussain (DMO)	
13:30-14:20	Interactive discussion	
14:20-14:30	Wrap up by the Chair	
Working Lunch		
(Venue: NDU Banquet Hall)		



14 NOV (TUE)

09:15-09:55	Arrival of guests
09:55 hrs	Guests to be seated
09:55-10:00	Recitation
Session-3: Perspectives on Post-GWOT Dynamics Chair: Mr. Andrew Korybko (Venue: Auditorium)	
10:00-10:20	Transforming nature of world order Speaker: Professor Ye Hailin
10:20-10:40	Approaches to peace building, stabilization and integration Speaker: Dr. Arshi Saleem Hashmi
10:40-11:20	Interactive Discussion
11:20-11:30	Wrap up by the Chair
11:30-12:00	Refreshments
Session-4: Emerging Order and Dynamics of Peace Building Chair: Maj Gen (R) Dr. Noel I. Khokhar (Venue: Auditorium)	
12:00-12:20	Inter-State Relations: cooperation vs containment Speaker: Mr. Andrew Korybko
12:20-12:40	De-radicalization and reintegration within societies Speaker: Dr. Rohan Gunaratna
12:40-13:00	Stabilization and trans-regional connectivity: Pakistani potential Speaker: Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed
13:00-13:50	Interactive discussion
13:50-14:00	Wrap up by the Chair

14:00-15:00	Working Lunch (Venue: NDU Banquet Hall)
-------------	---

Wrap up Session: Inputs by Moderators of Various Thematic Sessions Chair: President NDU (Venue: Auditorium)	
15:15-15:25	Remarks by one of the session Chairs on the outcome of deliberations
15:25-15:35	Remarks by the Chief Guest: CJCS
15:35-15:40	Wrap up / Vote of thanks by the President NDU



ANNEX B:
**& SPEAKERS
PROFILES**



Session-1: GWOT: Impact Assessment

Chair: Dr. Rohan Gunaratna

Interplay of actors and factors

Speaker: Dr. Tahir Amin

Politico-economic and psychological dimensions of the war

Speaker: Dr. Elsadig Bakeit Elfakih Abdalla



Dr. Rohan Gunaratna

Dr. Rohan Gunaratna is an international terrorism expert and Head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. He served as counter terrorism instructor for GIGN, CTSO, D88, US NAVY SEALS, Swiss Federal Police, NYPD, and the Australian Federal Police, and conducted field research in conflict zones including Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Kashmir, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Colombia. Author and editor of 12 books including *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror* (Columbia University Press), Gunaratna is also the lead author of *Jane's Counter Terrorism*, a handbook for counter-terrorism practitioners. He also serves on the editorial boards of the journals *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* and *Terrorism and Political Violence*.



Dr. Tahir Amin

Prof. Dr. Tahir Amin is Vice Chancellor Baha Uddin Zakria University (BZU) Multan. Previously he has served as HOD IR Quaid-E-Azam University, and director National Institute of Pakistan Studies. He was also the Iqbal Chair at the Centre for International Studies, University of Cambridge (1997-2001). He holds a PhD in Political Science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1988), a Masters in International Relations from Carleton University, Canada (1978), and a M.Sc. in International Relations from Quaid-i-Azam University (1976). He received a King Faisal Scholarship to study at MIT, and a Fulbright Award at Harvard University (1992).

His research focuses on questions of world order, Pakistan's foreign relations, domestic politics of Pakistan, Kashmir, terrorism, and the politics of South and Central Asia.



Dr. Elsadiqelfakih

Dr. Elfaqih is Sudan's Ambassador to Jordan and former Secretary-General of the Arab Thought Forum, Amman, Jordan. He specializes in political communication, international relations and diplomacy. Dr. Elfakih holds a PhD in political communication and diplomacy, and Master of media philosophy, and many specialize diplomas in areas such as: "Global Financial System", "Foreign Policy", "Fellowship On Broadcasting", "Specialization in International Development", "The Public Economy", "Rural and Social Development", "Higher Diploma in mass Communication", "News in the Mass Media, "News Editing & Media", "Negotiation Through a Third Party", "Excellence in Media Management", "Conflict Prevention", "Security Policy; International Relations and Information Technology", "Information and Communication Technology for Development" and "Training of Trainers" at the British Broadcasting Corporation .

He has held many leadership positions in media, political, diplomatic, academic, research, and administrative areas, including in the Council of Ministers and the Presidency in the Sudan and diplomatic posts in Washington and London. He has worked at IRCICA in Istanbul, and served as a political expert at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Qatar in Doha.

Session-2: Taking the Brunt and Fallout on Human Aspirations and Rights Chair: Ambassador (R) Arif Kamal
Erosion of international legitimacy: Case studies Speaker: Mr. Ahmar Bilal Soofi
Terror or freedom struggle? Speaker: Professor Nazir Ahmed Shawl
Pakistan's report card Speaker: Brig Inayat Hussain (DMO)



Ambassador (R) Arif Kamal

An accomplished Pakistani career diplomat, Ambassador Kamal attained highest representational positions in the bilateral domains. He has served as Pakistan's Ambassador to Qatar, Jordan and as Counsel General Jeddah-Saudi Arabia.

In the post-retirement phase (2007-September 2017), Ambassador Kamal served as Director of Global and Regional Studies at the Institute of Strategic Studies, Research & Analysis



(ISSRA), within the National Defense University of Pakistan. His role there drew upon years of experience as a diplomat and allowed him to return to academia and research.



Mr. Ahmer Bilal Soofi

Ahmer Bilal Soofi holds an LLM in international law from the University of Cambridge. He is the founding President of the Research Society of International Law and the Senior Partner of the well-reputed law firm ABS&Co with offices in Lahore and Islamabad. He served as the Federal Minister for Law and Justice, Parliamentary Affairs and Human Rights, in the caretaker government in 2013.

Mr. Soofi often represents Pakistan as an expert in international law matters, providing, for example, legal counsel before the International Court of Justice (ICJ), International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID) and International Chamber of Commerce (ICC). He works continuously towards implementing and improving legislation in Pakistan relating to international human rights law and international humanitarian law.

Mr. Soofi is invited frequently to lecture on various aspects of international and comparative law issues relating to Pakistan at leading national institutes such as the National Defense University Islamabad, the Command and Staff College Quetta, and the National University of Sciences and Technology Islamabad. He has written over 150 articles on various issues of international and comparative law in leading national newspapers and national and international journals. Currently, he writes regularly for the Dawn.



Prof Nazir Ahmed Shawl

Mr. Nazir Ahmed Shawl is an author and a human rights activist. He graduated from the Govt. College Baramulla. He received his postgraduate education in Botany and Education from Kashmir University Srinagar and Himachal Pradesh University Shimla.

He got associated with State Institute of Education Srinagar, remained associated with National Council of Educational Research and Training New Delhi with various UNICEF Assisted educational projects. He found politics constantly touching the peripheries of his life leading him to become a Human Rights defender.

In 1992 he migrated to Pakistan contributing regularly to national newspapers. He has



remained associated as an executive member of All parties Hurriyet Conference. He however migrated to United Kingdom to carry forward the Kashmiris rallying aspiration for their right of self-determination. He has organized a number of Kashmir conferences in collaboration with various think tanks including RUSSI.

At present he is chairman south Asia center for peace and human rights. He is also chief patron Kashmir Concern UK. He is an author, poet and analyst. His book speaking Silence was selected for international poetry festival in 2014 held at Geneva Italy. He is also the author of the book "Kashmir tormented past and Bruised present." His another book "Weeping wisdom" is under publication.



Brigadier Inayat Hussain

Brigadier Inayat Hussain is serving at 'Military Operation Directorate', as 'Director Military Operations' since July 2016. He was commissioned in Pakistan Army in October 1991 and Joined 2nd Frontier Force Regiment (Guides). The Brigadier is a graduate of Armed Forces War Course from National Defence University Islamabad, Command and Staff College Quetta, and Command and Staff College Australia.

His varied command, staff and instructional experience include 'Platoon Commander' at Pakistan Military Academy Kakul, 'Instructor Class - I' at Command and Staff College Quetta, 'Brigade Major' of an Infantry Brigade in 'Operation Al-Mizan' and 'General Staff Office-I' at Military Operations Directorate. He commanded 102 Brigade in Peshawar, and his parent unit 2nd Frontier Force Regiment (Guides) in 'Operation Al-Mizan' and at 'United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)'.

Session-3: Perspectives on Post-GWOT Dynamics

Chair: Mr. Andrew Korybko

Transforming nature of world order

Speaker: Professor Ye Hailin

Approaches to peace building, stabilization and integration

Speaker: Dr. Arshi Saleem Hashmi



Mr. Andrew Korybko

Andrew Korybko is a political analyst, journalist, and radio host for the Sputnik news agency



in Moscow, as well as a regular contributor to several online outlets such as Geopolitica.Ru, Oriental Review, The Duran, Global Research, Regional Rapport, and formerly Katehon. He's also a member of the expert council for the Institute of Strategic Studies and Predictions at the People's Friendship University of Russia.

Andrew specializes in Russian affairs and geopolitics, specifically the US strategy in Eurasia. His other areas of focus include tactics of regime change, color revolutions, and unconventional warfare used across the world. His book, "Hybrid Wars: The Indirect Adaptive Approach to Regime Change", extensively analyzes the situations in Syria and Ukraine and claims to prove that they represent a new model of strategic warfare being waged by the US.

He graduated from The Ohio State University with majors in International Relations & Diplomacy, International Studies (focusing on Eastern Europe), and the Russian language in 2010 and master's in International Relations from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) in 2015. He began working with Sputnik in 2014 when it was still the Voice of Russia, and has been with the company ever since.



Professor Ye Hailin

Mr. Ye Hailin is the Director of the Center for International Strategic Studies of the Research Institute for Indian Ocean Economies, and expert on international issues of CASS. He graduated with an M.A. in Law from the School of International Relations of Beijing University in 2000. He was a public servant in the central government from 2000 to 2004 and served as a third-rank secretary in Chinese embassy in 2004 to 2006. He has been working in the National Institute of International Strategy of Chinese Academy of Social Science (NISS CASS) since Feb. 2006. Currently he is the Director of the editorial of South Asian Studies of the Institute of Asian Pacific Studies of CASS, and the Secretary-General of the Center for South Asian Studies of CASS. His areas of research cover the political and international relations of the South Asian region, as well as anti-terrorism and nontraditional security studies. He has published multiple monographs including Pakistan – a Pure Nation and has translated Space War. He has also published over 70 academic papers.



Dr. Arshi Saleem Hashmi

Dr. Arshi Saleem Hashmi specializes in religion and violent conflicts. She is an associate professor and head of department of Peace and Conflict Studies at the National Defense



University (NDU) Islamabad. She has studied at the American University (AU) and at SAIS, John Hopkins University. She attended the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University under US -South Asia Leadership program to study counter terrorism. Arshi has worked with the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life and the Middle East Institute in the U.S. She has been a Kodikara fellow that resulted in the book, Conflict Transformation from Ethnic Movement to Terrorist Movement, published by the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Colombo in 2008. She is a member of Women without Borders (WwB) Vienna and its project Sisters Against Violent Extremism (SAVE). She has been a speaker at Tedx Women 2012 in New York and Omega Women Conference in New York in 2012. In 2014, she was selected as Rotary International Peace Fellow at Chulalongkorn University-Bangkok and studied the conflict Resolution process in Mindanao, Philippines and South Thailand. She is widely published and often appears as a political analyst on Pakistani television.

Session-4: Emerging Order and Dynamics of Peace Building

Chair: Maj Gen (R) Dr. Noel I. Khokhar

Inter-State Relations: cooperation vs containment

Speaker: Mr. Andrew Korybko

De-radicalization and reintegration within societies

Speaker: Dr. Rohan Gunaratna

Stabilization and trans-regional connectivity: Pakistani potential

Speaker: Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed



Maj Gen (R) Dr. Noel I. Khokhar

Has served as Commandant National Security College, Dean of Faculty of Security Studies, Director General Institute of Strategic Studies Research and Analysis at National Defence University and was awarded Hilal-e Imtiaz (Military) in recognition. Chairman BOG Alumni Association of NDU, holds masters degree from Quaid e Azam University and Kings College London and have contributed in three books and working on the fourth in collaboration with KDU Sri Lanka. Special research interest is in National Security.



Dr. Rohan Gunaratna

Dr. Rohan Gunaratna is an international terrorism expert and Head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. He served as counter terrorism instructor for GIGN, CTSO, D88, US NAVY SEALS, Swiss Federal Police, NYPD, and the Australian Federal Police, and conducted field research in conflict zones including Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Kashmir, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Colombia. Author and editor of 12 books including *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror* (Columbia University Press), Gunaratna is also the lead author of *Jane's Counter Terrorism*, a handbook for counter-terrorism practitioners. He also serves on the editorial boards of the journals *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* and *Terrorism and Political Violence*.



Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed

H.E. Mushahid Hussain Syed is chairman of Senate's Defence Committee and a specialist on international, political, and strategic issues. Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed has been writing regularly on national and international affairs on the media, politics of the Muslim world, Pakistan's foreign policy, and regional security issues. He has authored three books and is a Member of the Board of Governors of Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), a leading think tank. He was elected as a Member of the Senate of Pakistan in March 1997 for a period of six years. He holds the portfolio of the Ministry of Information and Media Development as a Federal Minister and prior to his induction in the Federal Cabinet, he was Advisor to the Prime Minister on Information, Tourism, Culture, Sports and Youth Affairs.



National Defence University
Sector E-9, Islamabad Pakistan
www.ndu.edu.pk