



**POST SEMINAR REPORT**

**INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR**

**PAKISTAN'S  
CONTRIBUTIONS/ROLE IN  
REGIONAL SECURITY  
AND PEACE**



**29 JANUARY 2019**

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**Lieutenant General Amer Riaz, HI (M)**  
President  
National Defence University

# FOREWORD

The phenomenon of terrorism has existed in one form or another; however, it became worldwide after the events of 9/11 and the Global War on terror. Pakistan's role and contributions in this protracted war is exemplary as it was the direct victim of this menace having its roots embedded in the complex burden of world history, ideology and politics. Losing 80,000 human lives, bearing the economic brunt measuring more than \$128 billion along with huge influx of refugees from Afghanistan putting socioeconomic constraints, our fight against terrorists over the past decade or so has seen many battles, operations, setbacks and outcomes.

I believe that our fight in this War on Terror is a prime specimen of victory against extremist ideologies and violent factions, which would not have been possible without the solid resolve of our armed forces, and sacrifices of the nation as a whole in both material and non-material sense. Pakistan Armed Forces development of new strategies to deal with this unconventional threat has been greatly successful. However, unfortunately, despite bearing the heaviest cost of fight against terrorism, we are denied due recognition by the international community. Pakistan has also made tremendous efforts and sacrifices for regional and international peace and security, which need to be recognized and acknowledged in order to show support for the cause of tackling this global concern.

I congratulate DG ISSRA, Major General Asif Ali, HI (M), Director Defence Studies, Brigadier Masroor Ahmed (Retd) and his team for such a timely effort as this event with its insightful deliberation would surely enable the International community to revisit their perceptions and orientation towards Pakistan in the times to come.



**Major General Asif Ali, HI (M)**  
DG ISSRA

# PREFACE

Pakistan has been fighting extremism and terrorism to ensure long lasting security; forging economic ties and building a more peaceful environment for a more prosperous Asia. The events that followed the US invasion of Afghanistan had affected Pakistan's security concerns, its national outlook and economic conditions. Pakistan's armed forces and nation has been tackling this global threat self-reliantly and with devotion and professionalism.

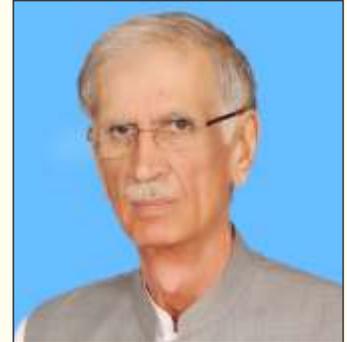
The hallmarks of our success in this war is articulated by the recent advances in national domain like the implementation of FATA reforms, democracy back in place, the improvement of Baluchistan's security situation and the international community willing to join CPEC. The way Pakistani Nation and security forces have dealt with terrorism, porous and insecure borders and internal security situation of the country is indeed remarkable. These achievements unequivocally predict that in the coming years, Pakistan's socioeconomic growth will witness an unprecedented rise. It is therefore safe to say that Pakistan's worst days are gone

This One day International seminar conducted at ISSRA is part of the quest to bring forth the story of Pakistan's vital and indispensable contributions for regional security and peace. The intellectually rewarding and fruitful discourse enabled the international representatives to realize the material and non-material brunt faced by this nation in this noble cause. I hope that this report would prove to be a journal of Pakistan's contributions to regional and global security and peace, and its on-going resolve to uproot terror and extremism from its soil and at large..

# OVERVIEW OF GUEST SPEAKERS

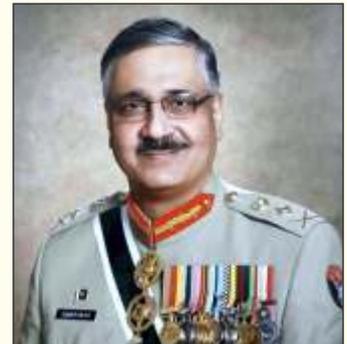
## Mr. Pervez Khattak, Honorable Defence Minister

Mr. Pervez Khan Khattak is serving as the Minister for Defence since 20th August 2018. Previously he had been 16th elected (22nd overall) Chief Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa from 31st May 2013 to 6th June 2018. He also served as the Irrigation Minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and twice Minister of Industries & Labor. Mr. Khattak hails from Manki Sharif village in Nowshera district and received his early education from Aitchison College Lahore, following which he completed his undergraduate degree at Gordon College, Rawalpindi. Having reformist views on Pakistan's political system, he prioritized accountability in his own government, increased education enrolment, instituted reforms in the police and security sector, energized anti-polio campaign and planned infrastructure projects such as improving the transportation network. He also worked to revive the local economy by helping to rebuild tourism in the area while for the long term; he promoted industrialization of the economy.



## Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee General Zubair Mahmood Hayat, NI (M)

General Zubair Mahmood Hayat Nishan-i-Imtiaz (Military) was commissioned in Artillery Regiment on 24th October 1980. He is a graduate of Fort Sill Oklahoma, USA, Command and Staff College Kimberley, UK and National Defence University, Islamabad. He has wide experience of command, staff and instructional appointments. He has commanded an artillery regiment, mechanized division artillery, an infantry Brigade and an Infantry Division. He has been Adjutant at PMA, Brigade Major of an Infantry Brigade and Army and Air adviser at Pakistan embassy in UK. He has also been Chief of Staff of a strike Corps, Private Secretary to COAS and Director General Staff Studies Directorate at GHQ. He has also held the appointment of Director General Strategic Plans Division (SPD). He has commanded 31 Corps Bahawalpur and serving as the Chairman Joint Chief of Staff Committee since 28th November 2016.



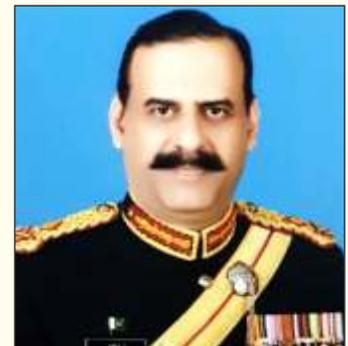
## Lieutenant General (Retd) Naeem Khalid Lodhi, HI (M), Former Defence Minister

Lieutenant General Naeem Khalid Lodhi was commissioned in 1974 and joined Corps of Engineers in Pakistan Army. He has served in various command assignments as Commander Corps Engineers, GOC and Corps Commander. Also served in staff as Deputy Engineer in Chief and Director General Staff Duties at GHQ. After graduating from Military College of Engineering, Command and Staff College Quetta, and National Defence University Islamabad, he remained on the faculty of all the three prestigious institutions. Also holds Masters Degree in International Relations. He served as Secretary Defence for a short tenure and minister of defence during care taker government in June 2018. He also served as a successful CEO and MD of a leading Corporate Organization. He is presently a freelance writer and an eminent defence analyst. He attended NSW 4 at NDU and since then, regularly visits NDU as a guest speaker on strategy and nuclear matters.



## Major General Muhammad Aneeq Ur Rehman Malik, DG Ops & Plans, JSHQ

Major General Muhammad Aneeq Ur Rehman Malik was commissioned in Mechanized Infantry Battalion in April 1988. He is a graduate of Command and Staff College Quetta, & National Defence University Islamabad, and has diverse experience of Command, staff and instructional appointments. Has commanded his parent unit and a brigade each in Operation Al- Mizan and along international border. Has served as Brigade Major of an Infantry Brigade, Grade-II Staff Officer, Chief of General Staff Secretariat and Colonel Staff of Infantry Division employed in Operation Al-Mizan. Has been on the faculties of School of Infantry and Tactics, School of Armour and Mechanized Warfare, Command and Staff College and National Defence University. Has attended Company Commander Course and United Nations Military Observer Course in Germany, served as United Nation Military Observer in Sierra Leone and headed Training Mission in Bahrain. Has performed as Director Military Training (Combat) at GHQ. Presently, he is serving as Director General Operations and Plans at Joint Staff Headquarters.



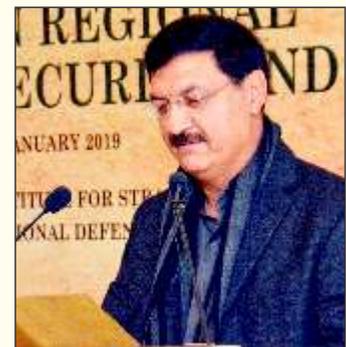
## Brigadier Adil Iftikhar Warraich, Director Military Operations, GHQ

Brigadier Adil Iftikhar Waraich was commissioned in Pakistan Army in October 1995 and joined an Infantry Regiment. He has served on various Command and Staff appointments which include Brigade Major of an infantry Brigade, Instructor Class B at School of Infantry & Tactic Quetta, Directing Staff at Command Directorate, General Headquarters. He has commanded an infantry Regiment at Siachen. The Officer is a graduate of Command and Staff College Quetta, Turkish Army Staff College and NDU, Islamabad. Presently, he is serving as Director Military Operations at Military Operations Directorate, GHQ since 2018.



## Mr. Ihsan Ghani, Former National Coordinator, NACTA

Mr. Ihsan Ghani is a senior bureaucrat from police group, who held the post of National Coordinator, NACTA. He joined civil service of Pakistan in 1989 after retiring from Pakistan Navy while serving for more than ten years. He has held various key positions during his service career. He has been the CSO to Prime Minister, Deputy DG Intelligence Bureau, DG National Police Bureau, and IG KPK.



## Ambassador Riaz Khokhar, Ex Foreign Secretary

Ambassador Riaz Khokhar has served as Pakistan's Foreign Secretary from 2002 to 2005. As a career diplomat, he has been Ambassador to the People's Republic of China, Mongolia, United States, Jamaica, Bangladesh and Bhutan. He has also served as Pakistan's High Commissioner to India from 1992 to 1997. He has previously served as a foreign policy and defence aide to Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, Mustafa Jatoi, Benazir Bhutto and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Ambassador Riaz Khokhar has also served as a diplomat in Moscow, Stockholm, Lisbon and New Delhi. He is nowadays working as a private consultant and Senior Fellow at the China-Pakistan Joint Think Tank at the National University of Science and Technology (NUST), Islamabad.



## Ambassador Abdul Basit, Former Ambassador to India

Ambassador Abdul Basit is a retired Pakistani diplomat who served as the high commissioner of Pakistan to India. He was appointed to this position in 2014 and was based at the Pakistani High Commission in New Delhi. Previously, he served as Pakistan's ambassador to Germany from May 2012 to March 2014. Mr. Basit holds a Masters in international relations from Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad and joined the Foreign Service of Pakistan in 1982. During his career, he has been posted at Moscow, New York, Sana'a, Geneva and London. He has held various diplomatic assignments at Pakistan Missions abroad which include; Moscow (1985-1988), New York (1991-1994), Sana'a (1994-1997), Geneva (2001-2003) and London (September 2003 - August 2008). He has also been the spokesman for foreign office from the year 2009-2012 and has also been the Additional Secretary Europe from 2010-2012. Apart from delivering lectures on the topic of Pak-India relations, he also hosts the TV talk shows on various topics of International Relations.



## Mr. Owais Ghani, Former Governor Khyber Pakhtunkhwa & Baluchistan

Mr. Owais Ghani is one of Pakistan's most eminent and respected public personalities. He holds the honor of being one of only three people in Pakistan's history who held the Governorship of two provinces. He began his political career in 1996, which saw him play an active and progressive role within the establishment in the KPK provincial cabinet during 1999-2002 and as Federal Minister for the Environment in 2002. In 2002, he was also appointed as the Governor of Baluchistan, and oversaw a difficult period of the province's recent political history. Mr. Ghani was appointed as the Governor of KPK in 2008, gaining a reputation for his integrity and strong stance against anti-national elements. Mr. Ghani has maintained a bi-partisan stance and is considered an instrumental authority on tribal issues emanating out of KPK. He was the Provincial Minister for Industries, Trade, Minerals, Labor, IT and Transport from 1999 to 2002, and Federal Minister for Labor, Manpower, Overseas Pakistanis, Local Government and Zakat in 2002. Presently he is Senior Fellow and Member Board of Directors at NUST Global Think Tank Network (GTTN).





## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The International seminar titled “Pakistan Contributions/Role in Regional Security and Peace” was organized at Institute of Strategic studies, Research and Analysis (ISSRA), National Defence University (NDU) on 29th Jan 2019. The aim of the activity was to highlight Pakistan's role as a nation in regional security and peace.

The audience of the seminar included foreign ambassadors of various countries to Pakistan along with senior International media persons and other representatives from civil/military dignitaries. The chief guest for opening session of the event was Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, General Zubair Mahmood Hayat, NI (M) and for closing session, the honorable Federal Minister for Defence, Mr. Pervez Khattak graced the event with his presence.

The outcome was accentuation of the

Pakistan's efforts in the fight against terror and creation of peace in the country and the region at large. Findings of the seminar are discussed below:-

Pakistan is often misinterpreted or misunderstood by the international media, which underestimates the role and sacrifices the country has endured over the past years as well as Pakistan's potential to be an important economic and strategic partner for the world powers.

Unfortunately, Pakistan's losses and sacrifices remain underreported by the international community. An example of which is the estimates of losses in drone attacks which are reported at **158** civilian deaths by the international media but in reality stand at more than **2,657**.

Pakistan has been a frontline state in



GWOT and provided multi-faceted support to international community including shipment of the US and NATO equipment to and from Pakistan through its ground lines and air lines of communication which included over **2.3 million** air cargoes by the US and approx. **500** thousand cargo containers through Ground Lines Of Communication (GLOC).

Pakistan Navy has also contributed towards regional maritime security through a collaborative approach to meet contemporary challenges like terrorism, piracy, narcotics, arms and human smuggling by being an active member of **Combined Task Force 150** and **151**.

Pakistan is one of the leading troops contributing country with the legacy of deploying over **200** thousand troops in more than **46** UN Missions in **28** countries till today. Presently, around **6000** Pakistan's military and police peacekeepers are deployed in over **9** UN Missions.

Operation Zarb-e-Azb and Operation Rad-

ul-Fasad, being the largest military operations against terrorism in the country have garnered support from different segments within and outside the country. These operations have targeted the militant's hideouts, isolated their bases, destroyed their financiers and severed their links to their supporters across the country.

Operation **Rad-ul-Fasad** has been launched by Armed Forces of Pakistan with the support of Local Law Enforcement Agencies to disarm the society and eliminate terrorist's sleeper cells across the country.

Despite being overburdened and resource constrained, Pakistan has hosted close to 5 million Afghan refugees for decades and advocates peace and reconciliation in Afghanistan owing to the interrelated and complex nature peace and security of both neighbors.

Effective border security, country wide disarmament, choking of financial support of

terrorists, implementation of National Action Plan (NAP) and budding counter violent extremism narrative are hallmarks of this Pakistan's successful CT efforts.

To sustain peace gains, various non-kinetic initiatives have also been taken that include **FATA merger**, socio-economic development of underdeveloped areas, all-inclusive approach, packages like '**Khushhal Baluchistan**' and effective border management. In developmental domain the strategy adopted is 'build, better than before', whereas, for de-radicalization, **5 de-radicalization centers** have been established.

The key players which can bring peace in Afghanistan are the US, Afghan state and Afghan Taliban. Unfortunately, none of these players are genuinely interested in bringing peace in Afghanistan.

Afghan state is completely under the US influence. Afghan security forces and Afghan government are getting funds from the US and once they exit Afghanistan, the Afghan Government and institutions will collapse.

Pakistan fully supports the Afghan led and Afghan owned reconciliation and peace process in Afghanistan. And in this regard, it continues to play its part. Both the countries have recently initiated and operationalized **Afghanistan-Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity (APAPPS)** to strengthen cooperation against the menace of terrorism and synergize bilateral efforts towards a normalized region.

Recently, Pakistan has signed anti-terrorist cooperation Memorandum of Understanding with Afghanistan to collectively foil the designs of enemies of peace in the region. Recent surge in reconciliation process is a positive development and should be pursued to its logical end.

The physical preventive measures that

Pakistan army is undertaking in order to curtail any terrorist activity originating from its western border includes placement of border management apparatus in form of fencing and fortification and construction of additional check points along the porous border.

However, domestic efforts alone cannot eradicate this transnational trouble therefore; Pakistan is also making regional efforts in this regard. For that matter, participation in regional and multilateral organizations and forums including SCO, ASEAN, 'Quadrilateral groups' for Afghan peace process and heart of the Asia conference are efforts to promote regional peace.

The critical issues between Pakistan and India remain unresolved and are major source of hindrance between improving bilateral relations. The region cannot get out of this hostile impasse and turmoil until India being a regional power lets go of its hegemonic designs as manifested through the Cold Start Doctrine, alleged surgical strikes and its penchant to bully its neighbours.

Despite the grant of discriminatory favors to India by US in the realm of nuclear supply group, strategic trade authorization, signing of communication and security agreements and declaring India as major defense partner has and will further deteriorate the strategic balance of the region.

Despite numerous proactive statements, a belligerent attitude and border violation, Pakistan has acted with restraint. Pakistan has even opened the Kartarpur corridor for the Sikh Pilgrimage.

To dispel misperceptions in few quarters about CPEC, it was reiterated that CPEC is a manifestation of deeper relations of China and Pakistan for the betterment of the region at large. It is neither against any country nor has

any hidden agenda. CPEC is an economic project aimed at linking region with economic opportunities for participant countries. The project will bring prosperity thus reducing spaces for terrorists operating in the region due to socioeconomic loopholes and increased security.

Terrorism is not a domestic issue it is in fact regional and international matter as it is consequence of global strategy and spillover effect of regional turmoil. Pakistan being a state has taken all possible initiatives to curb this transnational threat and as a result of these steps there is a visible decline in extremist and terrorists activities.

Pakistan is a symbol of resilience, courage and peace and it has transformed itself from victim of terror to the victor of terror. '**Paigham-i-Pakistan**', 21st constitutional amendment, speedy trial courts, implementation of parliament acts and projection of country's soft image through festivals are few initiatives to make peace enduring.

Pakistan's nuclear weapons are part of Pakistan's belief system in terms of strategic

stability and security. Pakistan emphasizes upon the stability which nuclear weapons have induced into the uneasy peace situation prevalent between the two countries and propagates a mutual strategic restraint regime to augment the stabilizing effects of nuclearization.

The '**do more**', rhetoric does not apply on Pakistan, keeping in view the sacrifices and contribution of the country in making the region peaceful and stable. It is time that the world acknowledges the sacrifices made by Pakistan. Sacrifices of **80,000** nationals by a single nation, huge financial losses along with intangible sufferings including trauma and fear should not be denied. The positive perception of Pakistan does not suits 'global players' and hence they have initiated media war against it.

Pakistan is more relevant today than ever, and its armed forces have been striving for both, internal and external peace to ensure national and regional prosperity. Fortunately, the country now has a thriving democracy, political stability, social and economic development and national cohesion. It is working towards consolidating gains and a shared vision.



# RECOMMENDATIONS

The condensed recommendations in the light of overall deliberations can be summarized as under:-

The International community should acknowledge Pakistan's unequalled sacrifices in WOT; keeping in view the highest military, economic, political and social cost that Pakistan has paid.

Terror activities have plummeted to record low across the country while peace has been completely restored, however, owing to the fact that the miscreants operate from across the border, armed forces along with LEA and other state institutions should keep up the counterterrorism measures and necessary guards against this evil menace.

Keeping in view the evolving nature of conventional as well as unconventional (hybrid) threats, emanating at regional as well as global front, a continuous enhancement of

operational/tactical capacity is inevitable for Pakistan armed forces.

With the current government in place, Pakistan should further expand its peace efforts with India, Afghanistan and other countries. Although Pakistani efforts have been acknowledged by international community, yet, there is a need to further recognize and appreciate Pakistan's regional peace and Counter Terrorism efforts.

Peace in Afghanistan and Pakistan is connected to each other. Pakistan has done much more for peace in Afghanistan than any other country. Effective border control coordination, regional peace approach, enhanced economic cooperation and CBMs can take the peace efforts forward in a constructive and mutually beneficial direction.

Persisting Afghan issue along with Indian offensive acts are threats to sustainable



peace. To support Pakistan there is a need to help in peaceful resolution of Afghanistan and other regional issues along with respectable repatriation of Afghan refugees.

The emergence of terrorist entities such as Daesh in neighbouring countries calls for deeper international cooperation, patience and persistence for enduring peace.

Pakistan is now more than ready to play its part as a regional peacemaker. It is now the duty of the regional and international players to think forward and look beyond the present security challenges to consider what might threaten all of us in future.

On diplomatic front, Pakistan's domestic and security scenario has visibly improved, yet its reputation internationally appears misconstrued. Pakistan's diplomatic efforts need to be structurally grounded to eventually jumpstart data driven campaigns and counter

narratives for perception management.

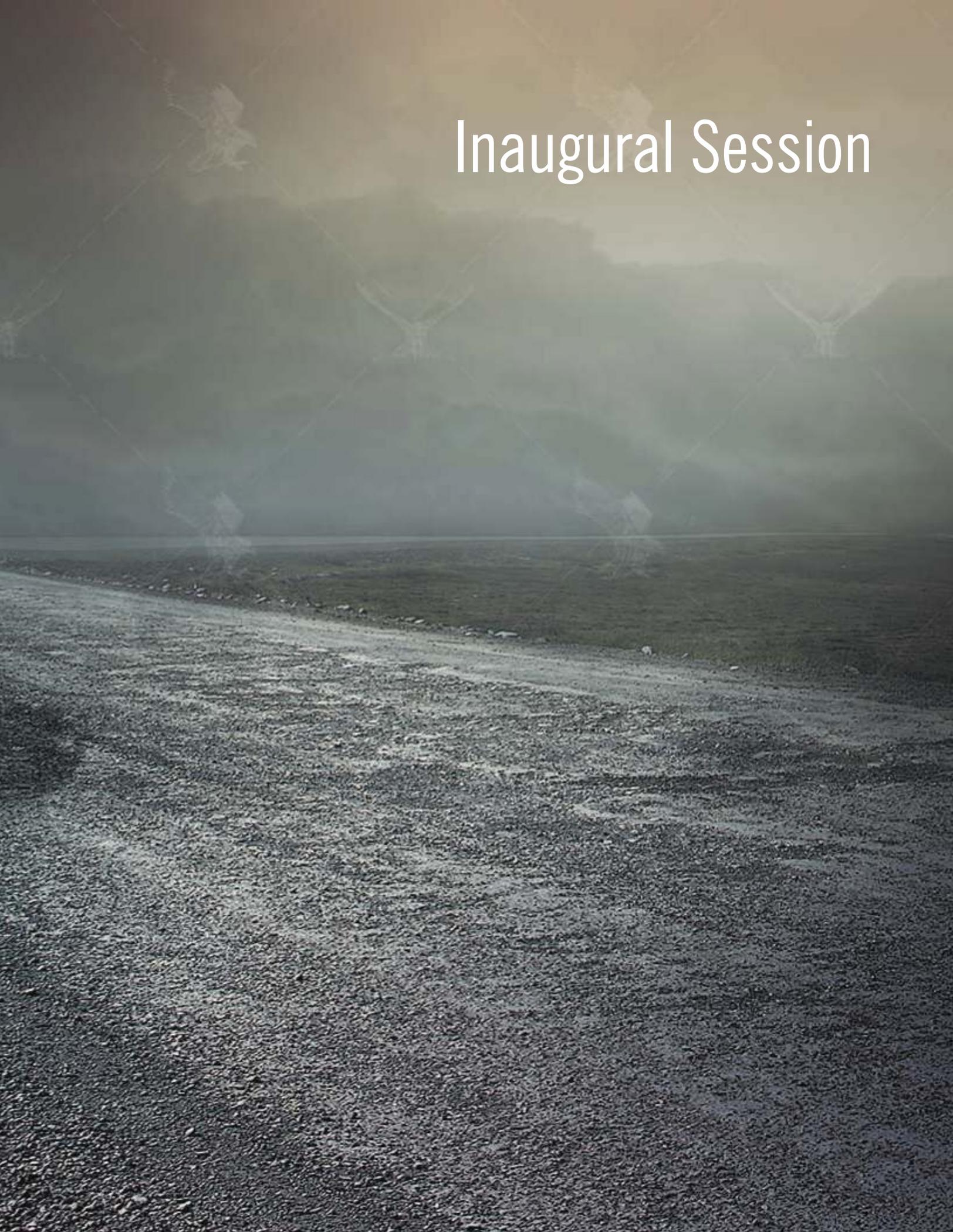
Pakistan should remain firm on its Kashmir stance. Indian aggression in Indian occupied Kashmir should stop immediately, as Kashmir is a disputed territory and illegally occupied since 1947. Its status has to be decided by the people of Kashmir who have been granted right of self-determination by United Nations Resolutions. However, UN resolutions are being defied continuously. Indigenous Kashmiri political struggle is being suppressed by use of brute force and atrocities. Pakistan should continue its political and moral support for Kashmir cause.

The super powers like US should adopt a balanced and responsible policy in South Asia to avoid insecurity, threat perception and arms race in the region, its discriminatory demeanour will only increase the chances of conflict and de stability in the region.





# Inaugural Session

A grayscale photograph of a misty, mountainous landscape. The foreground is a wide, gravelly path or beach that curves from the bottom left towards the center. The middle ground shows a dark, flat expanse, possibly a field or a body of water, leading to a range of mountains in the background. The mountains are shrouded in a thick mist or fog, creating a sense of depth and atmosphere. The overall tone is somber and atmospheric.



# CONTRIBUTION IN REGIONAL SECURITY AND PEACE

29 JANUARY 2018

INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES  
NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD



## Synopsis of the Seminar Proceedings

### Inaugural Session

The seminar started with a brief inaugural session. It was attended by all the guest speakers and participants. The Chief Guest for opening session of the event was Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, Gen Zubair Mahmood Hayat, NI (M) who graced the event with his presence. DG ISSRA gave the opening remarks. Salient points of the speeches made by DG ISSRA and the honorable Chief Guest are as under:-

### Opening Remarks by DG ISSRA

DG ISSRA welcomed the guests to international seminar, "Pakistan Contributions/Role In Regional Security and Peace". He showed his profound gratitude for the dignitaries for gracing the event. He highlighted how the topic of the seminar was well synced with the current

world trends especially the subject of war on terror, as it has become one of the most significant debating topics.

He began his address by shedding light on the change in the country's security situation and linking it to a direct result of successfully conducted operations; Zarb-e-Azab and Rad-ul-Fasad. Terrorism that struck the region included not only violence, destruction, suicide attacks and killings of innocent people but also encompassed political instability, low foreign direct investment, and decreased economic growth. These factors created a chaotic and unstable regional environment.

After facing terrorism induced violence for almost two decades, Pakistan has achieved significant improvement in the country's overall security landscape.

Pakistan has been fighting the war on terror since September 2001. The country has faced

the brunt of the war, both in terms of human and economic losses. As per latest figures, more than **80,000** people have lost their lives whereas the direct and indirect economic losses to the country have been around \$128 billion.

In view of the deteriorating national and regional security situation, the Pakistan army took the initiative to launch operation Zarb-e-Azb to uproot terrorist of all hues and colour and dismantle sanctuaries of terrorist's networks without discrimination from its soil. The success of the operations can be gauged by figures, according to which the number of terror related incidents in the country immediately fell down by almost **40-45%** after the inception of Zarb-e-Azb. As per latest reports, the numbers of terrorist related fatalities were at their peak in 2009 and have decreased by over **89%** as of last year.

A report published by the Institute for Economics and Peace sums up the success of the operations in the following words,

**“Pakistan was the only country in the ten most impacted countries that saw a decline in deaths and the reduction in deaths from terrorism. This is in part attributable to Operation Zarb-e-Azb by the Pakistani Army; a military effort which started in mid-2014”.**

The army's efforts to eradicate terrorism from its soil did not stop at the hard power approach alone. Keeping in view the inability of its neighbors to curb trans-national terrorism, Pakistan army is now fencing and fortifying the entire length of its Western border. In addition, the military has also been assisting in civil administrative matters of the tribal agencies. The focus has been to rehabilitate the social sector, especially healthcare and education, with the sole aim of empowering the locals. In order to bring back normalcy to the locals, the army also organized a cricket match in



**Miranshah's Younus Khan Stadium** in cooperation with PCB and PSL's franchise Peshawar Zalmi in North Waziristan Agency. This normalcy to the region has come at the cost of the lives of almost 24000 security personnel, a hefty price indeed.

The Law enforcement agencies of the country are working hard to maintain a security framework that would allow sustained normalcy in the society. These agencies have been at the forefront in preventing hostilities, targeted assassinations, kidnappings, sectarian assaults and the development of militant wings supported by political forces.

Not only in FATA but also in the other parts of the country, such as Karachi, the operation launched by Rangers has brought a halt to years of bloodshed stemming from sectarian, ethnic and political fissures. As a result of targeted operations in the province and efforts

by political government, the security situation in Balochistan has greatly improved. The Baloch miscreants now appear to be frustrated with the lack of local support due to which many militants and commanders of banned organizations are now surrendering to the security forces.

Pakistan has not only been able to bring internal peace and stability but has also contributed tremendously to regional peace and

security through active diplomacy, undeterred moral support and material assistance to its allies.

Pakistan's ranking as one of the largest troop contributing country in the world in the United Nations along with one of the highest peacekeepers' casualty figure is a reflection of the country's unwavering commitment in promoting regional and global peace.



In addition, the military has been frequently conducting joint exercises, holding competitions and has exchange programs only to help improve the ability of itself and its allies to deal with multiple security threats and jointly maintain regional peace and stability.

In the words of Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 'with faith, discipline and selfless devotion to duty, there is nothing worthwhile that you cannot achieve.' Therefore, with the

support of the nation and unflinching resolve of the security forces, Pakistan shall and will always continue to prosper.

He concluded his remarks by mentioning that it was his earnest hope that the inputs of the seminar would further address questions related to Pakistan's efforts in bringing regional peace and stability.



INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR  
**PAKISTAN'S  
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 29 JANUARY 2019  
 INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES, RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS (ISSRA)  
 NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD



## Keynote Address by CJCS

The honourable chairman started his address by highlighting the significance of the activity with relation to evolving regional security dynamics where Pakistan has emerged stronger after facing years of turmoil.

He mentioned that the seminar holds great importance for Pakistan especially since it has contributed and paid a huge price for attaining peace and stability. The current regional environment remains volatile due to continued instability around axis of powers. This emerging instability is due to many factors one of which includes the growing conventional Asymmetry in the region. The development of the ballistic missile defense system has not only torn out the deterrence control but also added to the discriminatory nuclear politics of the international players. A secure region is closely intertwined with a politically stable, secure and economically sound Pakistan. Pakistan is a stakeholder in the shared human destiny of peace, prosperity, cooperation and security. While the country faces challenges, Pakistan is the zipper of Eurasia and therefore a geo-

economic pivot.

Pakistan is often misinterpreted or misunderstood by the international media, which underestimates the role and sacrifices the country has endured over the past years as well as Pakistan's potential to be an important economic and strategic partner for the world powers.

Pakistan's environment cannot be linearly compared with any other region. Like all developing countries, human development and socio-economic security are now the top priority of the policy makers. This cannot be achieved without a secure and stable region.

The conflict in Afghanistan has affected Pakistan. The infiltration of terrorists pushed the country towards instability. Pakistan has recently witnessed meaningful success in the Afghan peace process by facilitating dialogue. It is hoped that all real stakeholders will make sincere efforts to ensure that peace in Afghanistan is obtained.

Pakistan's **“Paigham-Pakistan”** is a fatwa issued by country-wide clerics denouncing terrorism and suicide attacks in all forms. Due to the efforts of the armed forces and the nation, terrorism incidents have been curtailed and normalcy has returned to troubled areas.

Pakistan has hosted close to 5 million Afghan refugees for decades where as in Europe there are stringent anti-immigration laws which stop refugee movement. Despite being overburdened and resource constrained, Pakistan has been extending hospitality to these Afghans for almost four decades, however, it is now time that these refugees return back in a dignified manner.

The estimated death of security personnel stands at a staggering **8,200**. The high causality rate was also acknowledged by the US Secretary of Defence, James Mattis, who in a statement remarked,

**“Pakistan has lost more troops total than all of NATO coalition combined in the fight against terrorism,”**

Unfortunately, Pakistan's losses and sacrifices remain underreported by the international community. An example of which is the estimates of losses in drone attacks which are reported at **158** civilian deaths by the international media but in reality stand at more than **2,600**.

Operation Zarb-e-Azb and Operation Rad-ul-Fasad, being the largest military operations against terrorism in the country have garnered support from different segments within and outside the country.

These operations have targeted the militant's hideouts, isolated their bases, destroyed their financiers and severed their links to their supporters across the country.

In order to ensure security along the Pak-



Afghan border, Pakistan is fencing and fortifying the entire length of its border. Out of the 2611 km, 843 km have already been fenced. The erection of check posts will further help curtail trans-national terrorism and terrorist infiltration.

The country's geo-strategic location, its economic potential and its diplomatic influence in the world can be used to usher the region on an upward trajectory of growth and development. This is reaffirmed by the words of Paul Kennedy, according to whom; Pakistan is one of the world's pivotal states.

Externally, the strategic security environment of the region is far from stable. As a consequence of ongoing war on terrorism in the region, non-cooperation of countries and hegemonic designs of individual states, the regional atmosphere has become more vulnerable to evolving threats.

Under such a scenario, the government and the armed forces are now cooperating in the security and economic fields as well as in

cultural and people-to-people exchanges so that the country seizes opportunities and rises up to the challenges.

Pakistan is more relevant today than ever, and its armed forces have been striving for both, internal and external peace to ensure national and regional prosperity. Fortunately, the country now has a thriving democracy, political stability, social and economic develop-

ment and national cohesion. It is working towards consolidating gains and a shared vision.

Kashmir continues to remain a flash-point between Pakistan and India. There can be no lasting peace in the region without a just settlement of Kashmir. The Indus Water Treaty (IWT) is under immense stress because of India's nefarious designs. Any move to stop





Pakistan's waters will have serious repercussions and will be met with a befitting response.

In the real world, there will never be a wholesome consensus on the challenges to global and regional peace. Pakistan is now more than ready to play its part as a regional peacemaker. It is now the duty of the regional and international players to think forward and look beyond the present security challenges

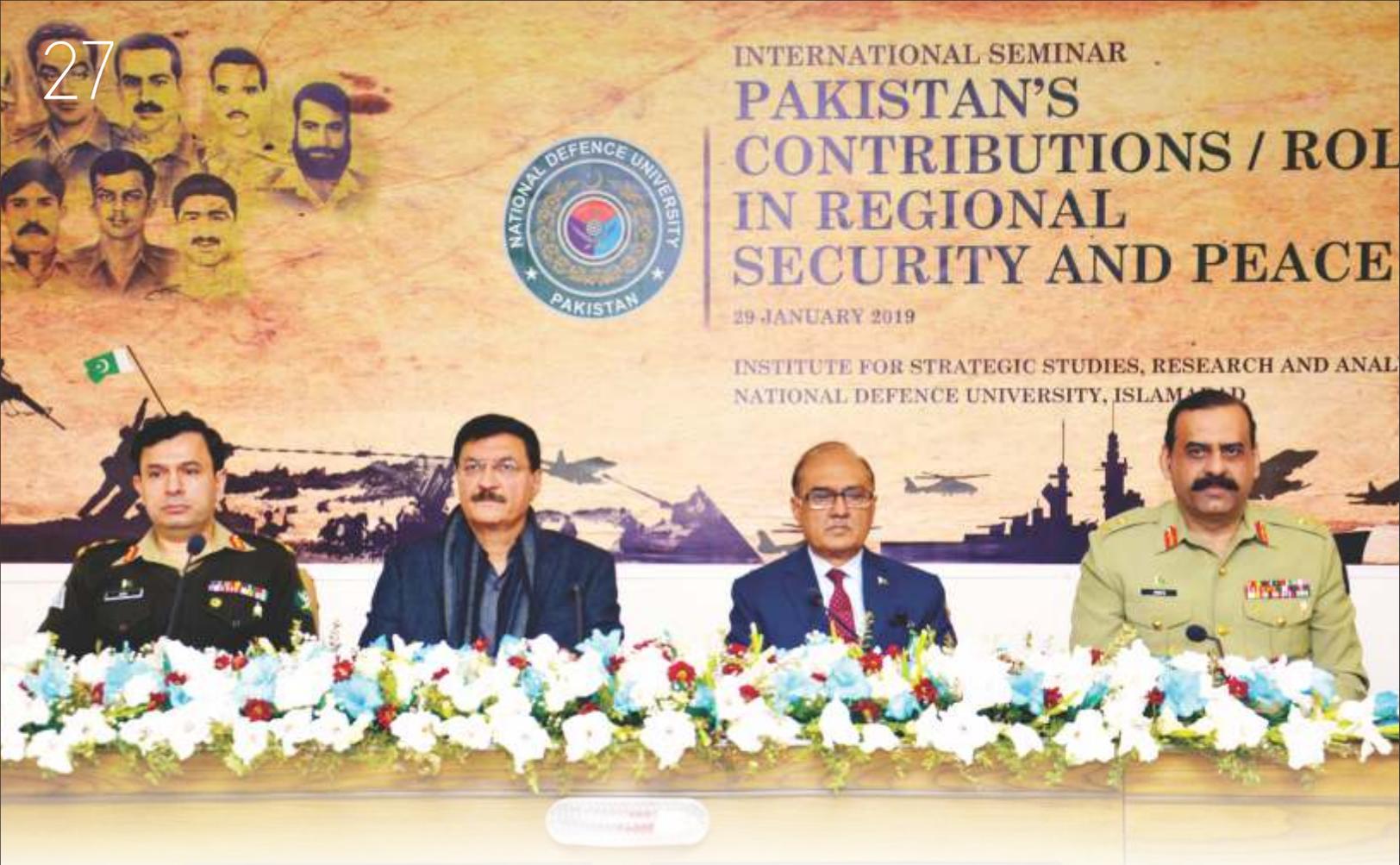
to consider what might threaten all of us in future.

The Chairman at the end hoped that the discussion in the seminar would address questions related to the so-called inadequacies of the institutes, governments and policymakers which are hampering long-term peace and stability.

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Session — I





## Pakistan's Contributions in GWOT

The first session was chaired by Lt Gen (Retd) Naeem Khalid Lodhi, HI (M), followed by enlightening discussions by the worthy panelist. The panelist included Major General Muhammad Aneeq Ur Rehman Malik, DG Ops & Plans, JSHQ, Brigadier Adil Iftikhar Waraich, Director Military Operations, GHQ and Mr. Ihsan Ghani, Former National Coordinator, NACTA. The brief synopsis of the session talks is as under:-

### Introductory Remarks by the Chair Lt Gen (Retd) Naeem Khalid Lodhi, HI (M), Former Defence Minister

The Chair Lt Gen Khalid Naeem Lodhi thanked the participants for gracing the occasion. He said that Pakistan's contributions in the Global War on Terror not only got recogni-

tion regionally but also globally. He highlighted three dimensions of the situation:-

**The first** is regarding the ignorance of the physical and mental torture to the individual, families and nations go through along with the losses incurred in terms of human lives or the losses endured in economic or financial terms. The traumatic impact stays till generations to come.

**The second** dimension urges exploring the reasons why South Asian region became the epicenter of terrorism. Was it because of the region's socio-political reasons or there were some other external factors which fabricated into this sort of epicenter?

**The third** aspect is to find out how the Pakistan Army that was originally and fundamentally equipped and trained to fight normal conventional wars, transformed itself into an



outfit that could successfully fight back terrorism and extremism which is a very intricate sort of operation.

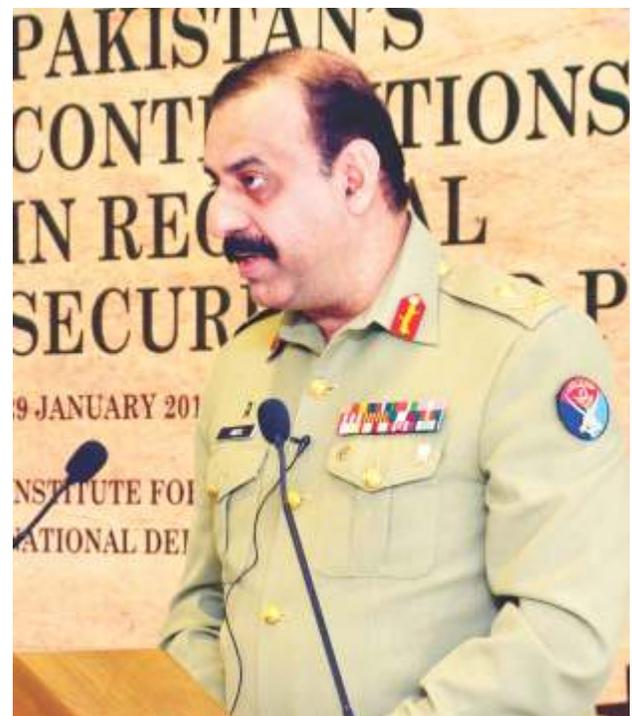
The successes are indeed commendable. He stressed that these dimensions need further deliberations and discussion so as to understand the whole scenario that has developed around WOT and Pakistan's forgotten contributions in this regard.

## Security Perspective of Pakistan by Maj Gen Muhammad Aneeq-Ur-Rehman Malik, DG Ops & Plan, JSHQ

The talk was themed around sharing Pakistan's perspective of regional peace and security and Pakistan's centrality to peace and security of the region. He emphasized that since 9/11, Pakistan has been engaged in War on Terror for almost two decades and has made tremendous sacrifices both through blood and treasure. Pakistan is a veritable pivot of civilizations, cultures, geo-economics, geopolitics and regional connectivity. Strategically, it is located at the confluence of South Asia, Central Asia, West Asia, Middle East and Persian Gulf. Indeed, it is located at the heart of Eurasia and

a hub of greater South Asia. Geography is the greatest strength for Pakistan as it is contiguous to two emerging powers, two most populous nations and two nuclear powers. The country's Islamic heritage goes back to almost a millennium and combines traditions of central Asia, and West Asian architecture, language, poetry and literature. It is located at the center of Islamic crescent. In a nutshell, Pakistan is a country of immense importance.

There is profound transformation in international politics, global strategic contestations and economic landscape. Strategic posturing is being complemented with tariffs, sanctions, regulatory buffers, offensive military posturing, and withdrawal from various arms and nuclear treaties. Global geography is being leveraged and reshaped. Trade volatility, populism, hypernationalism and new regionalism is taking the preference over globalization and multilateralism. Also, the erstwhile wars and open conflicts are transforming into grey hybrid conflicts where there is blurring distinction between combatants and non-combatants. Space is the new frontier. Its weaponisation is



leading to space colonization and opening-up a new realm of conflict and arms race. Enhanced use of cyber space and algorithmic warfare is posing new challenges to national security and state control. There is growing trend of militarization of world affairs and evasion of traditional paradigm of diplomacy. Presence of foreign military bases in the Gulf, Arabian Sea and in the South and Central Asia are likely to persist. The future belongs to information technology, big data, cloud computing, 4th industrial revolution, robotics, cyber space and renewable energy.

Pakistan's pivotal role in security and socio-economic domains is of great importance. It has a pivotal role in socio-economics of the region. Pakistan is a steadfast advocate of human rights, religious tolerance, and right of self-determination for people under foreign occupation. Pakistan is bulwark which has protected region from non-state threats. If Pakistan were to fail in its efforts, the entire region would be in chaos. For nearly two decades, Pakistan has been a frontline state in global war on terror, but the story goes back to four decades. Pakistan has provided multi-faceted support to international community in the War on Terror including shipment of the US and NATO equipment to and from Pakistan through its ground lines and air lines of commu-

nication which includes over 2.3 million air cargoes by the US approx. and 500 thousand cargo containers through ground lines of communication.

Pakistan Navy has also contributed towards regional maritime security through a collaborative approach to meet contemporary challenges like terrorism, piracy, narcotics, arms and human smuggling by being an active member of combined task force **150** and **151**. Presently, Pakistan Navy has been invited to participate in European Naval Force Operating on anti-piracy and armed robbery in the Red Sea and Western Indian Ocean by European Union. Pakistan Air force has actively participated in the war against terrorism in the shape of Intelligence, surveillance and Reconnaissance (**ASRs**) and close support missions. Pakistan is one of the leading troops contributing country with the legacy of deploying over **200** thousand troops in more than **46** UN Missions in **28** countries till today. Presently, around **6000** Pakistan's military and police peacekeepers are deployed in over 9 UN Missions.

Coming towards South Asia, the region is characterized by volatile nature of Indo-Pakistan relationship, continued instability in Afghanistan, nuclear concerns especially nuclear submarine patrols, growing conven-



tional asymmetry and threat to strategic stability besides issues of terrorism and extremism. As regards the situation on the eastern border is concerned, unresolved Kashmir issue continues to remain a flashpoint of regional instability. Kashmir is a disputed territory and illegally occupied since 1947. Its status has to be decided by the people of Kashmir who have been granted right of self-determination by UN Resolutions. However, UN resolutions are being defied continuously. Indigenous Kashmiri political struggle is being suppressed by use of brute force. The grave human rights situation is evident from the figures of past 30 years. Recently, martyrdom of Burhan Wani, massive civilian killings and torture followed by most recent killings of December 2018 and killing of 31 people in the backdrop of **Operation "All-Out"** launched to quell indigenous uprising, marks the worse human rights scenario in Indian occupied Kashmir.

As per the June 2018 UN Human rights Report on Kashmir, impunity for human rights violation and lack of access to justice are the key human right challenges in the Indian occupied Kashmir. Enforced and involuntary disappearances in Kashmir continue till date. Pallet guns have been used to disperse unarmed gatherings of people. As per Amnesty International Report states, more than **8400** Kashmiris have lost their eyes and more than 9300 people suffered other injuries due to pallet guns. Sexual violence remains a key on going human rights concern in the Kashmir. More than **1100** women have been gang raped. The all-Party Parliamentary Kashmir Group in UK has released its first ever report in its 30 years history on 30th October, 2018. The report has expressed concern over the present human rights situation in the occupied Kashmir and condemned excessive state violence. Security forces are also using chemical weapons, white

phosphorous grenades against people resulting into indiscriminate deaths and injuries. This use of chemical weapons goes back to 1999 and chemical weapons are also used to destroy houses. These acts are in contravention to international law and abuse against basic human rights of people of Indian occupied Kashmir.

Constant revision of military doctrines is also being undertaken to create space for conventional war against Pakistan. Indian military thoughts are premised on Cold Start Doctrine which is predominantly Pakistan-specific. Indian strategy is now transforming into Cold Start Plus by shifting its offensive formations to forward locations and peace time relocation of integrated battle groups.

India is leading arms importer around the globe. The growing Indian force differential is 80 percent Pakistan specific, is a potential source of concern and detrimental to regional peace. The year 2018 has seen exponential increase in Indian defense budget which is touching almost 64 billion USD. The naval deterrence petrol by India is further destabilizing the region. India is also developing its offensive navy capabilities. As per their naval Chief, Indian Navy is looking at inducting 56 warships and submarines and the process for bringing in a third aircraft carrier has been started. India has unleashed grey hybrid conflict against Pakistan which is being translated into indirect strategy, negatively affecting Pakistan's internal security environment especially in FATA, Karachi and Baluchistan where she sponsors TTP, Baluch sub-nationalists and other terrorist groups. Apprehension of a serving Navy Officer of India ,Commander Kulbhushan Yadhav, proves Pakistan's claims as he corroborated Pakistan's findings about Indian heinous network of subversion, and espionage working

in Pakistan. Alongside, Indus Water Treaty (IWT) has come under stress due to the statement of the Indian PM Modi, where he desires to gradually manipulate the IWT in order to enhance its control over Pakistan's share of water. These efforts are disregarded to the spirit of obligation which will have serious repercussions in the region.

The super power US has built strategic partnership with India to counter rising power China and incentivize and embolden India and modernize its armed forces. Grant of discriminatory favors to India in the realm of nuclear supply group, strategic trade authorization, signing of communication and security agreements and declaring India as major defense partner will further induce strategic instability in the region as it would enable India to use civil nuclear facilities for military purposes as well. Despite numerous proactive statements, a belligerent attitude and border violations, Pakistan has acted with restraint. Pakistan has even opened the Kartarpur corridor for the Sikh Pilgrimage. Pakistan's role for regional peace and security is evident from the statement by the incoming **CENTCOM** Commander General Kenneth F. McKenzie Jr. who has said that he will make Pakistan a priority engagement as Pakistan is a nuclear power and sits at the nexus of Russia, China, India and American geopolitical interests. As Pakistan and Afghanistan are brotherly countries being conjoined twins. Peace in Afghanistan means peace in Pakistan. Pakistan fully supports the Afghan led and Afghan owned reconciliation and peace process in Afghanistan. And in this regard, it continues to play its part. Both the countries have initiated and operationalized **Afghanistan-Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity (APAPPS)** to strengthen cooperation against the menace of terrorism and synergize bilateral efforts towards a normalized region. Recently, Pakistan has



signed anti-terrorist cooperation memorandum of understanding with Afghanistan to collectively foil the designs of enemies of peace in the region. Recent surge in reconciliation process is a positive development and should be pursued to its logical end.

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a fate-changer for the economy and interconnectivity of the region. However, an unprecedented prejudice and anti-CPEC campaign have been unleashed by hostile elements including India at various international forums. Efforts are aimed at creating controversies and mistrust among the people in the mega project. To dispel conditioned misperceptions in few quarters about CPEC, he reiterated that CPEC is a manifestation of deeper relations of China and Pakistan for the betterment of the region at large. It is neither against any country nor has any hidden agenda. CPEC is an economic project aimed at linking region with economic opportunities for participant countries. The project will bring prosperity thus reducing spaces for terrorists operating in the region.

Presently South Asia is witnessing emerging challenges to strategic stability such as conventional instability, conventional asymmetry, Indian pro-active strategy, development of

ballistic missile defence, and discriminatory nuclear global politics. Due to these developments, full spectrum deterrence within the ambit of credible minimum deterrence will be Pakistan's cardinal strategic options.

Pakistan's nuclear weapons are part of Pakistan's belief system in terms of strategic stability and security. Pakistan emphasizes upon the stability which nuclear weapons have induced into the uneasy peace situation prevalent between the two countries and propagates a mutual strategic restraint regime to augment the stabilizing effects of nuclearization.

Since its inception, Pakistan has been an ardent adherent of the UN Charter and plays its active part in international peace and stability based on universal values of justice, equality and tolerance. With a stable and peaceful Afghanistan on Pakistan's west, the country also seeks peace and stability on its east. In the end, he quoted by the Guardian to overturn many prejudices, and said "...so manifolds and obdurate are the clichés about Pakistan that you periodically need a whole book to shatter them".

## Pakistan's Contributions in War on Terror (including ALOC/ GLOC and Cost of War by Brigadier Adil Iftikhar Warraich, Director Military Operations, GHQ

The second speaker of the session, Brig. Adil Iftikhar presented '**Pakistan's Contributions in War on Terror**' and highlighted immense socio-economic cost paid by Pakistan in Global War on Terror. It was emphasized that Pakistan has contributed in this

global cause through direct deployment and logistic support to the US and NATO forces. Pakistan has distinguished its efforts against global malevolence through largest counter terrorism deployment of the world as it deployed **200,000** troops for the cause. Furthermore, Pakistan has been able to eradicate the terrorist hideouts and sanctuaries from its soil; however, to eliminate the terrorists' sleeping cells and their foreign connections Operation Rad-ul-Fasad has been launched and is still in full swing. Moreover, intentions of Pakistan are very clear that it would neither allow its soil to be used against anyone nor would bear anyone's soil to be used against it.

Pakistan unlike many other countries of the world is situated in a complex region having multi-dimensional threat paradigm. In this regard, Western border of the country poses sub-conventional threat along with conventional threat on the East. It was also explained that although conventional threat is latent, yet, is a contemporaneous challenge for the country. Therefore, Pakistan Army is currently fighting on conventional front at Eastern border along with sub-conventional threat on the western front. Furthermore, for western border



management Pakistan has built **1171** border posts against **274** posts of Afghanistan. Pakistan's Counter Terrorism (CT) strategy is 18 years long which is well deliberated, conceived and implemented. The CT efforts can further be divided into four phases including 2001-2007, 2008- 2013, 2014-2016 and 2017-present. The **first phase (2001-2007)** was of selected operations and peace agreements, **second (2008-2013)** was of revised campaign and major operations, **third phase (2014-2016)** describes indiscriminate military operation against all terrorists groups followed by **ongoing phase (2017-present)** aimed at elimination of sleeping cells.

As a result of these operations **46,578 Sq. km** area has been cleared and **17,614 terrorists** have been removed along with recovery of

400 tons of explosive. Stressing upon potential damage that the recovered explosive could have done, it was deduced that the explosive was enough to make **32,000 IEDs**, blast 13 bombs per day for 17 years causing a minimum count of **100,000** casualties. During the campaign terrorists bore financial loss of **4.7 Billion Dollars**.

Besides self-made efforts Pakistan is supporting regional peace through logistical support to regional and international powers in terms of **ALOCs** and **GLOCs**. As Afghanistan is a land locked country having weak security forces, Pakistan has helped in peace efforts there through active support of **ISAF** countries by providing shortest and cheapest route. Presenting statistics it was notified that from 2010 till 2019; **500,000 containers** have used

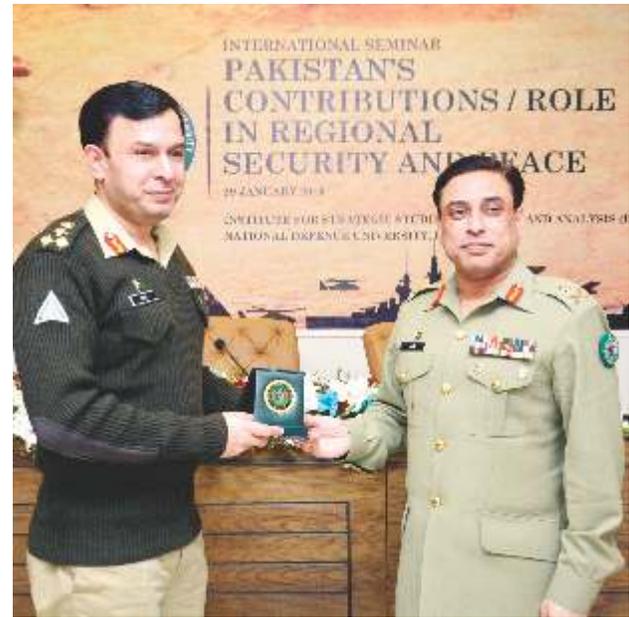


the route provided by Pakistan with an average of **3,000 containers** per year in domain of GLOCs. From 2001 till 2008 there was no charging on containers, however, after 2008 administration duties and port clearance charges have been paid by ISAF countries. Pakistan has borne direct cost of **4.19 Billion USD** along with the indirect cost of **137.2 Billion USD** and amalgamated loss is 180 Billion USD. Besides financial loss Pakistan has gone through the huge human life cost as it lost **80,000 citizens** including **24,000 military personals**.

While highlighting the ongoing counter terrorism efforts of the country, the speaker highlighted that initiative of operation Rad-ul-Fasad has also been launched by Armed Forces of Pakistan with the support of Local Law Enforcement Agencies on 22 February 2017, to disarm the society and eliminate terrorists' sleeper cells across the country. Moreover, effective border security, countrywide disarmament and explosive control, choking of financial support of terrorists, implementation of National Action Plan (NAP) and budding counter violent extremism narrative are hallmarks of this operation. The speaker asserted that Pakistan has not only reinforced national peace but has also contributed towards regional commitment through elimination of rouge factors from its soil. The signs of stability in country are visible and Pakistan as a nation is building peace brick by brick.

To sustain peace gains various non-kinetic initiatives have also been taken that include FATA merger, socio-economic development of underdeveloped areas,

all-inclusive approach, packages like Khushhal Baluchistan and effective border management. When shedding light on the socio-economic development efforts he highlighted that three prongs of the initiative



include development, youth employment and de-radicalization. In development domain the strategy adopted is 'build, better than before', whereas, for de-radicalization, **5 de-radicalization centers** have been established that have de-radicalized **4,820 individuals** with success rate of **99%**. Additionally, to avoid reversible affect from Afghan soil, proper border management is in order and, for that matter, raising of **33 wings** of FC have been planned, out of which 29 have already been raised; **843 forts** have been planned, out of which **223** have already been built; **2611 km fencing** has been proposed, **843 km** of which has already been completed along with **16 notified routes**.

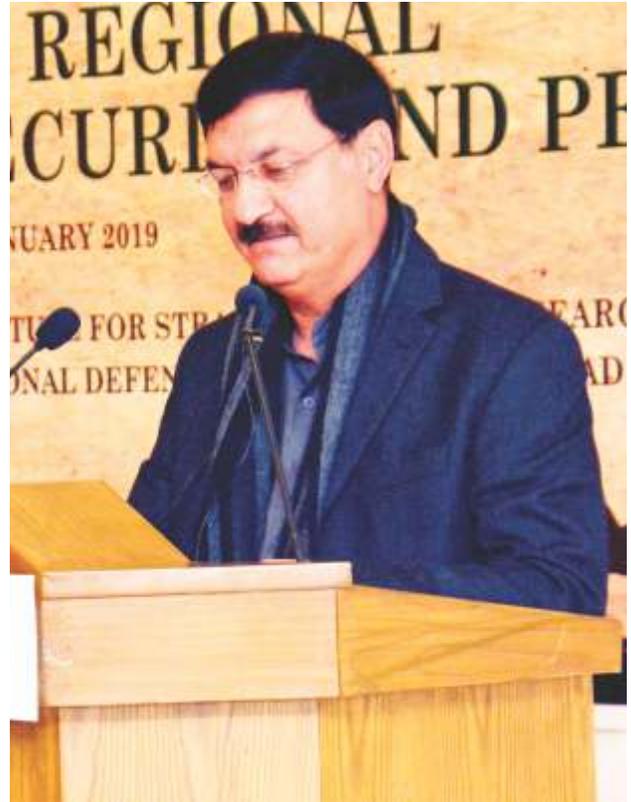
To conclude it was opined that peace has been achieved through military initiatives, however, persisting Afghan issue along with Indian offensive acts are threats to sustainable peace. Pakistan has done a lot in GWOT and there is a dire need to appreciate and admire its efforts and sacrifices for the global cause. To support Pakistan there is a need to help in peaceful resolution of Afghanistan and other regional issues along with respectable repatriation of Afghan refugees.

## Pakistan's Contribution in Countering Terrorism and Extremism in the Region by Mr. Ihsan Ghani, Former National Coordinator, NACTA

The third speaker of session one, Mr Ihsan Ghani, Former National Coordinator, NACTA gave talk on 'Pakistan's Contribution in Countering Terrorism and Extremism in the Region'. To set the context, speaker highlighted that word terrorism has manifold connotations and several countenance according to the environment; however, irrespective of the definition and form, terrorism and extremism in all its shapes results in casualties, destruction, anarchy, chaos and devastation.

Due to its geo strategic position Pakistan has suffered a lot in last 7 decades. Moreover, since its inception Pakistan has always been in international, regional and domestic conflicts causing serious implications for its national security. Pakistan has acted as frontline state in international conflicts for many times. Firstly, it became frontline state against communism during cold war era and afterwards against terrorism and extremism. The indulgence in such matters left no choice except to invest in security at the cost of health, education and development. The 'whole generation' has seen nothing but war, turmoil, destruction and terror.

Terrorism is not a domestic issue, it is in fact a regional and international matter as it is consequence of global strategy and spillover effect of regional turmoil. Pakistan being a responsible state has taken all possible initiatives to curb this transnational threat and as a result of these steps there is a visible decline in extremist and terrorists activities. Pakistan's



counter violent extremism (CVE) policy is the most effective and landmark policy in region. APS incident was key driver behind formulation and implementation of this national policy with evident results.

Pakistan is a symbol of resilience, courage and peace and it has transformed itself from victim of terror to the victor of terror. **Paigham-i-Pakistan**, 21st constitutional amendment, speedy trial courts, implementation of parliament acts and projection of country's soft image through festivals are few initiatives to make peace enduring. However, domestic efforts alone cannot eradicate this transnational trouble therefore; Pakistan is also making regional efforts in this regard. For that matter, placement of border management apparatus in the form of border fencing, participation in regional and multilateral organizations and forums including SCO, ASEAN, 'Quadrilateral groups' for Afghan peace process and Heart of Asia conference are efforts to promote regional peace.



It was hoped that with new government in place, Pakistan will further expand its peace efforts with India, Afghanistan and other countries. Although Pakistani efforts have been acknowledged by international community, yet there is need to further recognize and appreciate Pakistan's Counter Terrorism efforts. Regarding Afghan issue it was urged that all stakeholder and players should join their hands and put in efforts with sincerity to get Afghanistan out of turmoil. Pakistan is already playing its role through in-discriminatory action against all terrorists groups; however, its efforts are either being impacted by enemies or suspected by Afghanistan. He concluded by explaining that peace in Afghanistan is equally significant for Pakistan, China and region and to achieve this, effective border control coordination, regional approach, economic cooperation, snubbing transnational crimes and CBMs can take the peace efforts forward in a constructive and mutually beneficial direction.

## Interactive Session

During interactive session, questions were asked regarding Indian factor in Pak-Afghan Relations, US withdrawal, failure in narrative building and prospects and challenges for CPEC.

In response to a question asked about the strong Indo-Afghan cooperation, it was expressed that in a regional context, stronger party always influence the weaker and so is the case of Indo-Afghan cooperation. It was added that India exploited the strategic space left by Pakistan in Afghanistan in its favor. The mistakes on both sides and international conspiracies have resulted in mistrust between two brotherly states; however, the resolution of the Afghan issue is not impossible. Pakistan and Afghanistan enjoy cultural, religious, ethnic and geographical affiliation which is absent in case of India.

Furthermore, as a result of WOT, educational structure of country has been ruined. During the war, as a result of deliberate efforts under the ambit of 'Operation Cyclone' curriculum was redesigned, explicit Jihad ideology was injected and Madrassas were misused. Now, in the post 9/11 situation global dynamics have been transformed consequently there is a need to reinstate education in ideological domain.

Regarding US withdrawal from Afghanistan it was added that domestic, politico-economic compulsions and resistance in Afghanistan has left US with no other option except to leave Afghanistan in turmoil. The US withdrawal will expectedly create chaos in Afghanistan which



will have spillover effects on regional countries.

In response to a question raised by a foreign diplomat, it was clarified by the panelists that the 'do more', rhetoric does not apply on Pakistan, keeping in view the sacrifices and contributions of the country in making the region peaceful and stable. It is time that the world acknowledges the sacrifices made by Pakistan. Sacrifice of 80,000 nationals by a single nation, huge financial losses along with intangible sufferings including trauma and fear should not be denied. As far as reason of narrative failure is concerned the positive perception of Pakistan does not suits 'global players' and hence they have initiated media war against it.

Regarding CPEC it was highlighted that development and security cannot be separated. Security ensures development and development sustains security but unfortunately, due to unusual security situation Pakistan diverted developmental resources to the security hence dropping the speed of development. CPEC will bring in jobs and opportunities for skilled and educated youth therefore will sustain security gains through socio-economic development.



## Concluding Remarks by Chair

In his concluding remarks, the chair expressed that the session provided a platform where Pakistan's security paradigm was projected to the world. Pakistan's claims of counter terrorism efforts can be checked against the definition of sovereignty which say that a country should be able to exercise its writ in a holistic manner and control its territories within its borders. By comparison with countries grappling with terrorism like Libya, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Sudan etc., the Pakistan's claim is well in place as it delivered up to its promise of tackling and eradicating terrorism inside its boundaries. Pakistan achieved success on this front with the help of

international community and the friendly countries.

The credit also goes to the resilient people of Pakistan and valiant action of its Armed forces. One crucial factor owing to the success of the armed forces has been the close affinity between the Pakistani people and its armed forces providing confidence and moral support to each other. To conclude, sustainable peace in Pakistan is only possible if there is peace in Afghanistan which also depends on Pakistan's eastern neighbor India's orientation and intentions. Pakistan aspires to move forward politically and economically with all its neighbors and with the world at large. It is Pakistan's earnest desire to live with mutual harmony with its neighbors and continue practicing it.





# Session – II





# PAKISTAN'S CONTRIBUTIONS / ROLE IN REGIONAL SECURITY AND PEACE

29 JANUARY 2019

INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES, RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS  
NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY, ISLAMABAD

## Pakistan Regional Situation: Implications on Peace and Security

The second session of the seminar was chaired by the Ambassador Riaz Khokhar, Ex Foreign Secretary of Pakistan and the worthy panelists included eminent speakers Ambassador Abdul Basit, former ambassador to India and Mr. Owais Ahmed Ghani, Ex- Governor KP & Baluchistan. Brief summary of the session proceedings is as under :

### Opening Remarks by Chair Ambassador Riaz Khokhar, Ex Foreign Secretary

The chair initiated the session by explaining that in terms of South Asia, peace is directly proportional to the development prospects in the region. Peace and development have not been achieved as South Asia remains below in the Human Development Index due to the strained bilateral relations of Pakistan with both India and Afghanistan. In terms of interconnectivity, he argued that it has remained deprived and the regional cooperation has been less than the potential.

The critical issues between Pakistan and

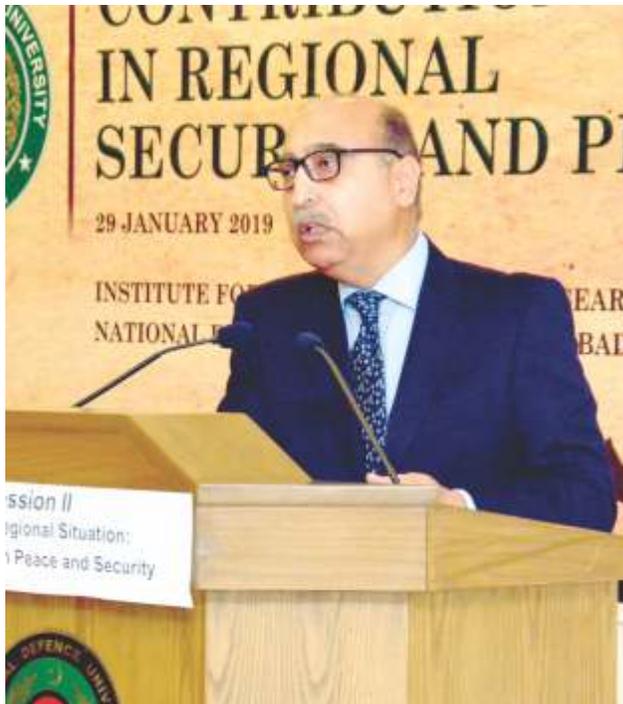


India in improving the relations have remained unresolved and are a major source of hindrance. He stressed upon India's unwillingness to negotiate with Pakistan. From that very first day of independence till the dawn of first half of 21st century, India is crushing the resistance movement in Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK). The IOK region, he further added, is the biggest armed camp stationed with more than 700,000 troops of Indian military forces. With the brief overview of contemporary scenario, he opened the session for the speakers.

### Pakistan-India Relations

## and Its Impacts on Regional Security by Ambassador Abdul Basit , Former Ambassador to India

The speaker initiated his lecture by quoting



Victor E. Frankel who said: “between stimulus and response; there is a space. In that space it is our power to choose our response”. South Asian region continues to be a flashpoint. Pakistan and India bilateral ties keep on teeming with disputes. Consequently, South Asia is the least integrated region in the world with intraregional trade being less than five percent. The two major powers of the region have been unable to get out of the proverbial cul-de-sac and decide whether hostility should be continued or the path to conflict resolution should be adopted. Politics in South Asia cannot be understood without considering the various internal and external variables in contemporary scenario such as Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and influence of global powers like the US and

China.

The region cannot get out of this hostile impasse and turmoil until India being a regional power lets go off its hegemonic designs as propagated through the Cold Start Doctrine and alleged surgical strikes. India is unwilling to negotiate with Pakistan since the Mumbai Attacks which gave India the excuse to use terrorism as an alibi for delaying discussions on core issues without acknowledging that Pakistan itself has been a victim of terrorism. A major factor in India's stubbornness towards conflict resolution particularly in pre-election scenario is its internal politics in which anti-Pakistan rhetoric is used to garner votes. On the other hand, all political parties in Pakistan and the new Government are desirous of normal relations with India. India has declined any opportunity in this regard. It has been forthcoming in terms of minor aspects like trade but evades the resolution of core issues like Kashmir, which for, Pakistan is not merely a territorial dispute but a living issue. The world ignores the Kashmir issue due to mercantilist interests and has a passive approach towards suffering of the Kashmiri people. Moreover, India is trying to isolate Pakistan in the South



Asian region as evident from the cancellation of the SAARC summit scheduled to be held in Islamabad in 2016. It also whipped up notions against Pakistan at the FATF forum and its latest acquisition of the S-400 missile system from Russia contributes to more power imbalance in the region.

The increasing Indian role in Afghanistan is threatening to Pakistan because of the former's intentions to destabilize the latter through the Durand Line. The on-going Afghan peace process talks need to be dealt with in Pakistan diligently because the Indian factor will persist even after the talks conclude. By diverting Pakistan's attention to its western border, India is trying to side-line the Kashmir issue. One can rightly hope that if both countries can resolve their disputes and develop mutual trust, the sky shall be the limit for their relations and economic synergies will thrive. But a step forward by Pakistan is met by two steps backward by India resulting in the region being set back to square one. History of attempts for resolution and CBMs to resolve bilateral disputes between India and Pakistan has resulted in vain. India has a penchant to bully its neighbours and Pakistan is its only South Asian neighbour that has not bowed down to it. It was expressed that there is hope for improvement of relations however, the chances are bleak. For Pakistan, the real worry ought to be India's increasing role in Afghanistan and therefore it should direct its efforts to prepare for countering Indian aspirations in the region.

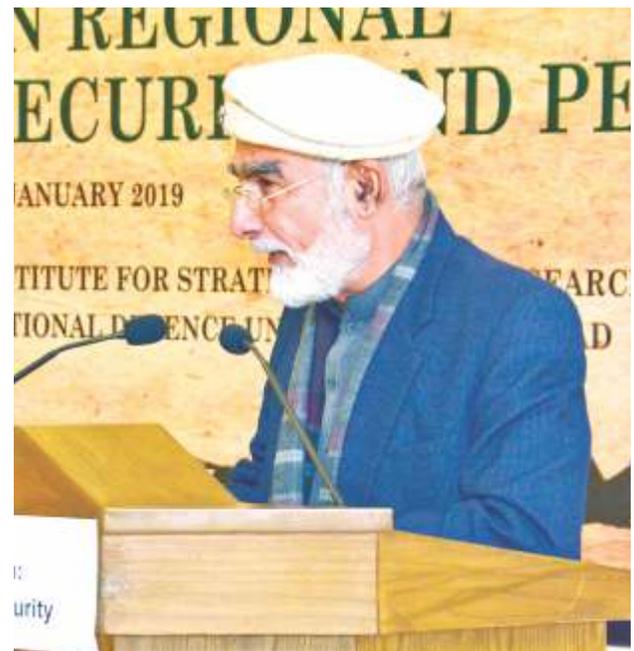
## Pakistan's Contributions to Bring Peace in Afghanistan by Mr. Owais Ghani, Ex-Governor KPK/Baluchistan

Mr. Owais Ghani started his presentation by uncovering the nature of conflict in Afghanistan by claiming it primarily a civil war. The conflict

in Afghanistan is of political nature and it calls for a political resolve not a militaristic one. Successive military invasions and foreign actors' involvement has only worsened the situation.

People of Afghanistan suffered gravely from four-decade long civil war. Many states of world face civil wars and only resolve for civil war is to reach a negotiation between actors involved in conflict through dialogue process. Unfortunately, in case of Afghanistan two consecutive foreign military invasions, first the Soviet Union and then the US invasion in 2001, have further deteriorated the situation. Civil wars have a shelf life; they die down slowly with time. However, involvement of foreign players has distorted this conflict. It created polarization in Afghan society by creating Pashtoon vs non-Pashtoon divide. Speaker insisted that if the foreign actors leave Afghanistan now the Afghan civil war will end peacefully with the passage of time and a new moderate society will emerge.

Prospects for peace in Afghanistan remain dim as the conflict has taken worst shape and form because of involvement of number of





players. He numerated 12 actors which are actively pursuing their agenda's and self interest in Afghanistan i.e. US, Russia, India, Pakistan, China, Japan, Saudi Arabia, Middle Eastern countries, Central Asian republicans, Taliban, Afghan state and International Narcotic Mafia. Decade's old war has dislocated more than half of country's population. More than 6 million Afghani reside in Pakistan and many of them are not registered. Pakistan has been catering these Afghan refugees for years. Till now Afghan government is not interested in welcoming their citizen back home.

One of the key players in Afghanistan war is international Narcotic Mafia. Afghan economy is narco-based. It is the world's largest Narcotics producing country. In year 2017 production of narcotic increased by 63%. Today there are 7.6 million drug addicts in Afghanistan.

The key players which can bring peace in Afghanistan are the US, Afghan state and Afghan Taliban. Unfortunately, none of these players are genuinely interested in bringing peace in Afghanistan. Many argue that the US exit will revive peace in Afghanistan, but it might not prove beneficial. Afghan state is completely under the US influence. Afghan

security forces and Afghan government are receiving funding from the US, once they exit Afghanistan, the Afghan Government and institutions will collapse. On the other hand, Afghan nation is against the US influence. Pakistan has openly manifested its support towards Afghan nation against foreign invasions.

Role of Pakistan in Afghan conflict has been peripheral as it is probably the only country which has suffered the fall outs and brunt of GWOT. There is no doubt that peace in Afghanistan will bring peace in Pakistan and the whole region. However, that prospect for peace in Afghanistan remains "dim" unless there is a radical change. In the meantime, what Pakistan can do is to "wait, watch and manage the situation" to sustain peace and stability.

## Interactive Session

In the interactive session, the participants asked questions related to different conflicts within South Asian region, so as to inquire about the way forward in these conflicts or their future.

In response to a particular question about which format of peace talks in Afghanistan was





better, it was opined that there are number of countries involved in Afghanistan and at least two formats of peace talks – the US led, and Russia led are visible. Major Powers or the formats initiated by them may carry some similarities and differences, but what one needs to understand is that these formats are interest driven. There have already been two rounds of talks between senior US officials and representatives of the Taliban. However, no significant breakthrough has been achieved that could pave the way for structured peace talks. On the other hand, while the Moscow meeting has delivered some positive results by bringing together the Taliban representatives, Afghan leaders and regional countries; no political settlement of the Afghan crisis is possible without the US support.

Concurrently, the 'Moscow format' aims mainly at building greater regional understanding on the issue. This initiative signifies a certain shift in the Russian policy, beyond merely reactive patterns, to adopt the role of a more proactive player in Afghanistan and in the region. The US participated in Russia led peace talks in Moscow as observer in November 2018. It marked a shift from the long-standing US position that any peace negotiations should be led by the Kabul government.

On the question of Pakistan's incentive for peace talks in Afghanistan despite it being blamed for instability in the country, it was explained that Pakistan and Afghanistan cannot be separated from one another in their quest for peace in their respective countries. Therefore, Pakistan's incentive relates to; first, bring peace in Afghanistan; second, remain connected in the hopes for a durable peace in the country and third, Pakistan also wants to ensure that a post US Afghanistan is not used against it as the launching pad for attacks. Moreover, whatever the border politics between the governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan (Durand line issue), the cultural, religious and social relations between the two countries are too important to be ignored.

In response to a question about SCO and its impact to improve Pakistan-India relations, it was stated that one can hope that the regional arrangement can play a role in improving the relations of Pakistan and India. However, it seems very difficult in the presence of long-standing Kashmir dispute. Unless the issue of Kashmir is resolved, one is always afraid that we will come back to ground zero.

In view of the upcoming Indian elections, a question was raised about the possibility of false flag operation (surgical attacks) by the current Indian government to gain more votes. However, it was pointed out that at this point in



time, it would be counter-productive for the BJP who is now seen as contesting a very difficult elections and congress is expected to gain more votes.

## Wrap-Up by the Chair

In his concluding remarks, Ambassador Riaz Khokhar agreed with the view that the prospects seem dim for improvement in Pakistan India bilateral relations. Pakistan is still making peace efforts towards India articulated by the recent Kartarpur corridor. However, the Indian government under Prime Minister Modi is not happy with this initiative of Pakistan. The elections are almost going to start in which there is a compulsion in Indian domestic politics to bash Pakistan in order to secure the vote bank. Though BJP still seems strongest of all Indian political parties but overall it will be a tough election for BJP.

With regards to Afghanistan, Pakistan should remain hopeful in its quest for peace in the country. However, putting together the jigsaw puzzle of internal impediments and external factors, the situation does not portray a hopeful picture. One wishes the US best in its endeavors to bring peace in the country particularly when President Trump has announced to withdraw its forces in 18 months. Last but not the least, there is no other region in the world that needs peace more than South Asia. Pakistan is ready to do its part but with dignity and honor. Pakistan is on record stating that if India were to join CPEC, it will bring benefits to not only the whole region, but also to India itself. However, it needs to be remembered that Pakistan can go too far, but would not compromise on its integrity and national interest.

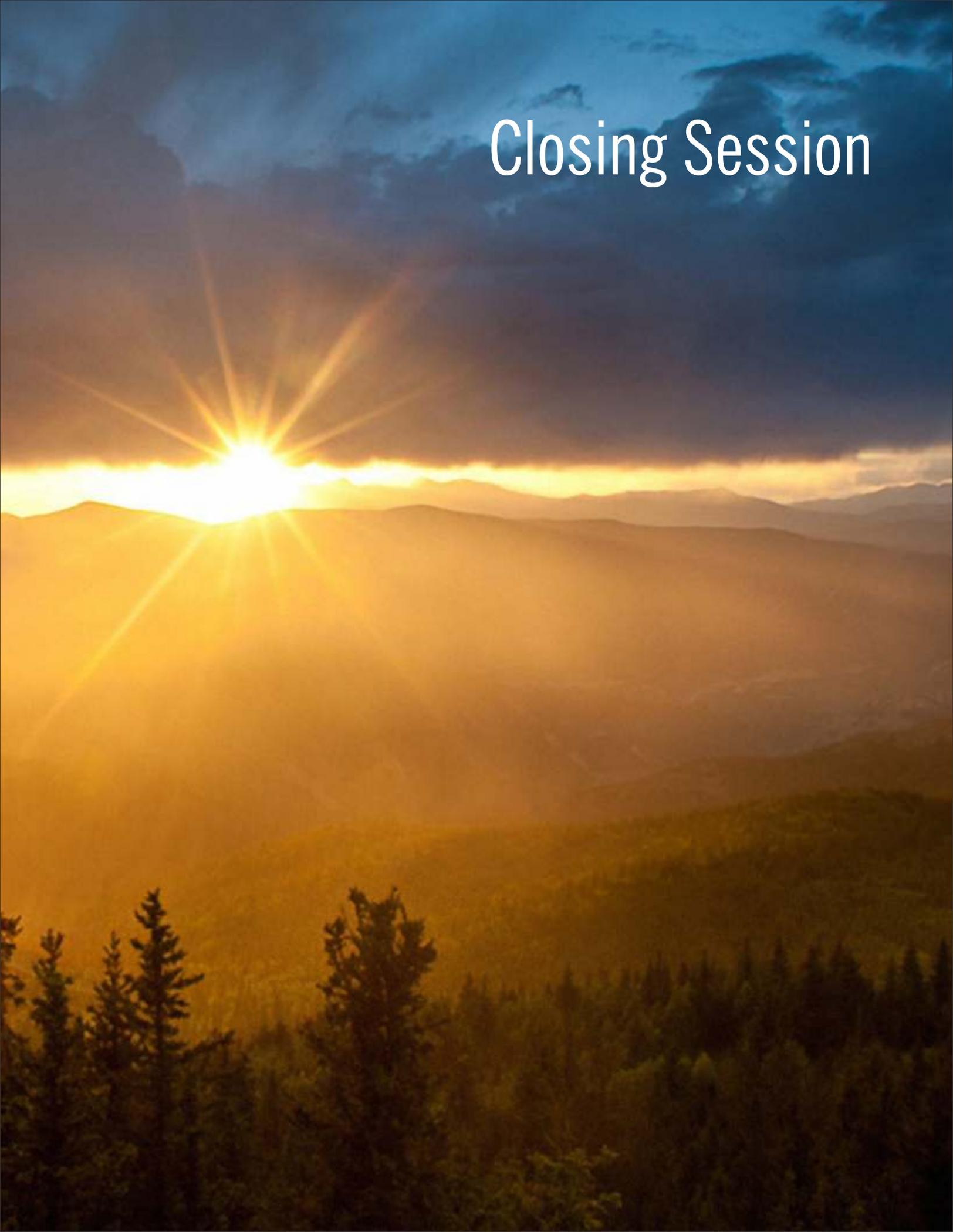
In terms of latest reconciliation processes of Afghanistan, the ambassador explained that peaceful resolution of war in Afghanistan is just several heartbeats away. Afghanistan quagmire is not the reason of internal instability and infighting



only, but external factor equally plays itself at the same time. He further added that the great game is going to unfold in Afghanistan where multiple powers are eyeing settlement of Afghan war vis-à-vis their own interests. He added that one should be optimistic about the peaceful and political resolution of the Afghan conflict while hoping for the best and preparing for the worst. Pakistan is making sincere efforts to facilitate the whole process. The friends of Pakistan are also urging for the same. Moreover, ambassador opined that such peace process is equally important for Middle East as well. Conclusively, he once again elucidated that if there were no development there would be no peace. Pakistan must opt for peace with both its neighbours with dignity and honour. The regional connectivity initiatives like CPEC and BRI will enhance and flourish the region. India can also become a part of it and Pakistan has time and again desired the same.



# Closing Session





## Concluding Remarks by Chief Guest, Mr. Pervez Khattak, Defense Minister

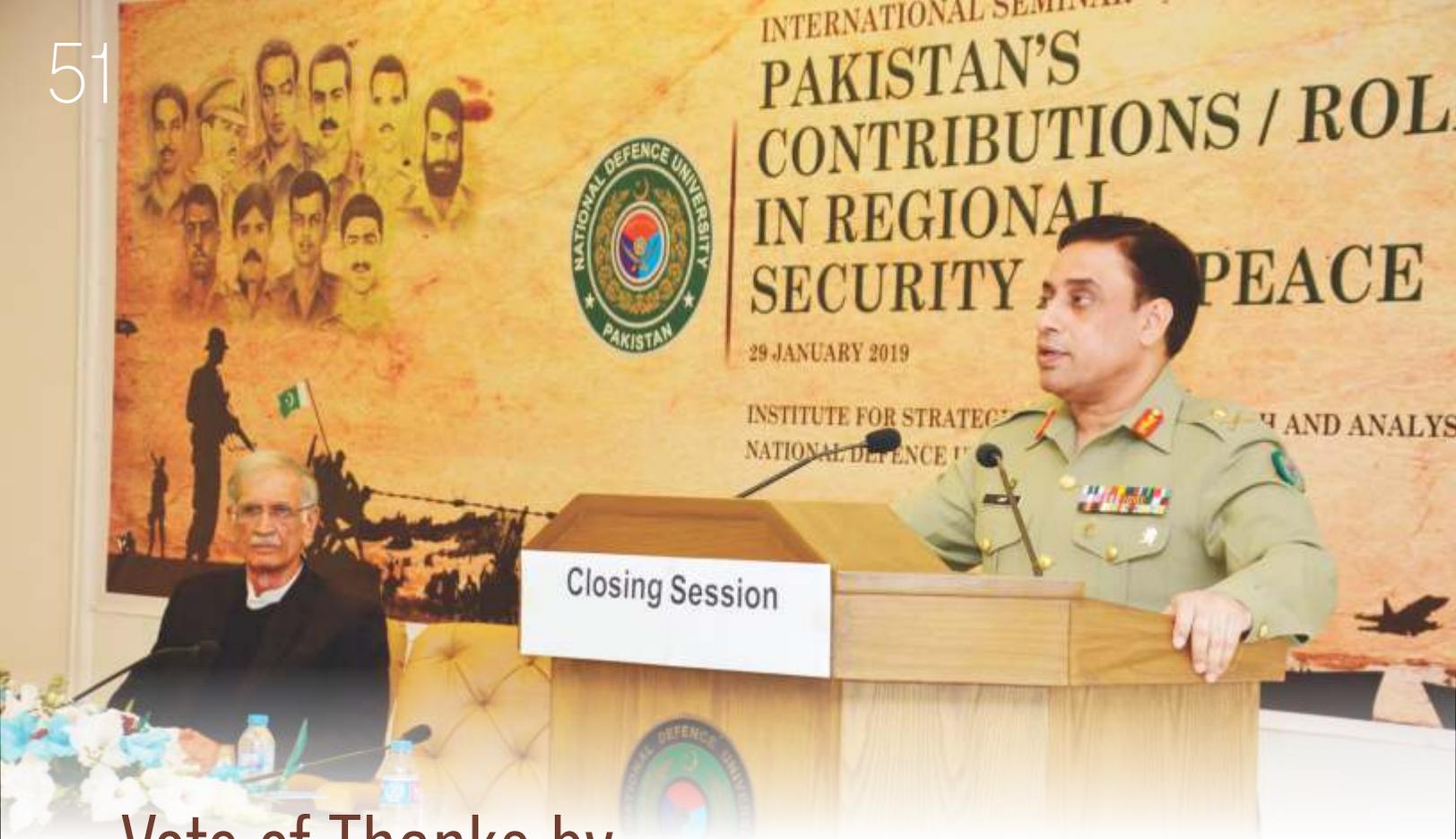
In his concluding remarks, Mr. Pervez Khattak, Defense Minister of Pakistan, highlighted the Pakistan's contributions for regional peace and security in the region. The actual losses, effects and outcomes following the USSR and US invasion, involvement of terrorism through different factions and deradicalization efforts as attempt to secure borders were also discussed.

He stressed the importance of the topic and pointed out that the country has been fighting extremism and terrorism to ensure long lasting security; forging economic ties and building a more peaceful environment for a more prosperous Asia. However, it was proposed that there is a need to build a proactive and persistence regional strategy for sustainable peace and security in the region as well as Pakistan. The main contours of the address are as follows:-

- Being the front line state, Pakistan has been fighting the war on terror since September 2001. So far, the war has cost the country colossal damage to the economy, infrastructure and human lives. The military operations against the terrorists displaced millions of people from Swat district of KPK and FATA. Terrorism activities also adversely impacted Pakistan's image in the international community. The rising incidents of terrorism and cross border attacks forced Pakistan to adopt an aggressive posture towards terrorist without discrimination.
- Pakistan not only suffered human and economic losses but also widespread social deterioration. The introduction of Kalashnikov culture, the drug menace and widespread smuggling of contrabands has impacted the country very negatively. The poppy and opium production in Afghanistan have increased to a record high of 63% in 2017. This has directly impacted Pakistan. After the US invasion of Afghanistan, the number of drug users in the country rose from 50,000 to 7.6 million.
- Despite the conflict and tensions in the region, Pakistan has achieved progressive improvement in the country's overall security situation in recent years. The success of Operations; Rah-e-Haq, Rah-e-Raast, Rah- e-Nijat, Zarb-e-Azab and Rad-ul-Fasad, have played a critical role in creating opportunities for economic development and foreign investment. The operations have indiscriminately targeted terrorist organizations like al-Qaeda, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan

(IMU), the Chechen Islamic Jihad Union (IJU), Emirate-e-Kaukav, East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM) and factions of the TTP. The eradication of these groups from Pakistan's soil and dismantling of all training centres have helped achieve regional stability and global security.

- Peace in Pakistan and the region will not be sustainable if the regional players do not join hands. It is our earnest desire to have lasting peace in Afghanistan, which is important for stability and progress of the region. Border management and repatriation of Afghan refugees will contribute in peace and security in the two countries and the region.
- Hegemonic ambitions of individual states and the prevalent environment of illegal occupation, injustice and infringement of human rights shall breed retaliation and extremism. Reports by the United Nation's on human rights are now a testimony of brutality in the Indian-occupied Kashmir. The indiscriminate violence, the Indian occupied forces have unleashed on the innocent Kashmiris has set new limits to atrocities. The indiscriminate use of pellet guns, killings of civilians and the torture, rape and murder of men, women and children are tools that are being used by the Indians to quash the spirit of freedom of the Kashmiris.
- It is time to dispel suspicions and reconcile differences. Because of the globalized nature of emerging threats, an economically stable Pakistan is critical to the security of the region and the globe. Pakistan is an important stakeholder and without its support, peace in Afghanistan and the region is not possible.
- The vast length of shared border, close proximity of people and the mutual cultural and religious practices have made peace in Afghanistan vital to Pakistan's stability. Keeping up with its precedence, Pakistan has been pushing for peace in Afghanistan and has restarted the peace process for which the Afghan Taliban and the US officials have started meetings in order to negotiate and bring an end to the 17-year war in the country.
- Pakistan is now resurging from economic miseries. The multi-billion project, CPEC, launched in 2015, is a planned network of roads, railways and energy projects which will facilitate inter-regional connectivity. Certain regional forces have been trying to sabotage the project only to achieve individual motives. The arrest of the Indian spy Kulbhushan Yadhav from Balochistan in March 2016 is a testimony of that. The entities colluding to harm Pakistan ought not to forget that the resolve of the nation and the armed forces to fight for the country is now unbeatable.
- The emergence of terrorist entities such as Daesh in neighbouring countries calls for deeper international cooperation, patience and persistence for enduring peace.
- In the end, it was hoped that the discussion provided an intellectual platform for policymakers, stakeholders, academicians and students to deliberate on the perils of terrorism and understand Pakistan's efforts in bringing peace and stability to the region.



## Vote of Thanks by DG ISSRA, Major General Asif Ali, HI (M)

DG ISSRA concluded the seminar by highlighting and analyzing the reviews about Pakistan's contributions/role in regional security and peace. He appreciated the recommendations made on military and civil responses to the growing dimensions of threats in the region. Salient points of his address are as follows:-

- Pakistan has been facing protracted violence for decades and with sustained efforts of the nation and security forces the security landscape of the country has improved.
- Policy makers now need to assist and get together for sustainable development, regional peace and economic growth by appropriately addressing the challenges posed by terrorism. The government should also strive to increase the capacity of national organizations and to make full use of development strategies and Pakistan's success story for effectively addressing the menace; while identifying the need for international cooperation and support for addressing all issues related to extremism.
- He added that the seminar on “Pakistan contributions/role in regional security and peace” was one more milestone in the series of deliberative exercises undertaken at NDU. The range and quality of inputs were indeed thought-provoking and stimulating. The process was carried out with a clinical and constructive approach. He congratulated all distinguished experts and scholars.
- DG ISSRA also thanked the distinguished panellists and other guests who joined the endeavour. It was hoped that the recommendations made in this seminar will provide strategic/policy guidelines and help in outlining a mechanism to enhance and strengthen the Pakistan's international position

on the war on terror. The issues raised in the interactive session would help crystallize the policy recommendations for the concerned departments and policy makers of the country.

- DG ISSRA particularly thanked the organizing team at ISSRA for successfully conducting this in-time academic discourse on a topic of extreme significance especially when Pakistan has successfully curtailed terrorism from its soil.
- In the end, DG ISSRA expressed gratitude for the Defence Minister of Pakistan Mr. Pervaiz Khattak for having spared his valuable time and gracing the occasion as Chief Guest in the afternoon. Special thanks to CJCSC and all the respectable guests was also extended who participated in the intellectual activity.





# Some Glimpses of the Seminar





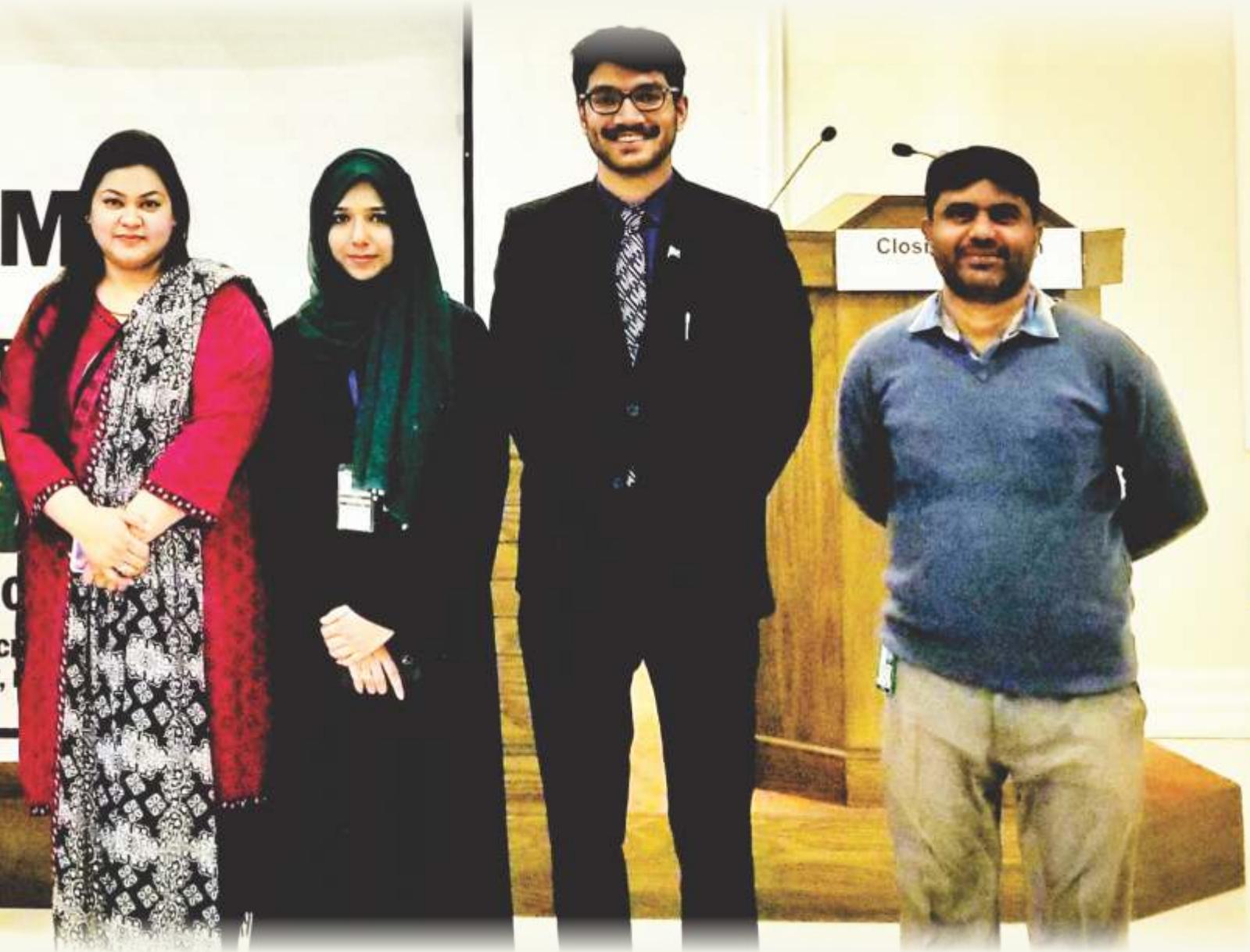






# THE TEAM





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