POST SEMINAR REPORT

“Strategic Environment & its Fallout on Regional Security & Economic Development”
A Joint Seminar of NDU Islamabad with Party School of the Central Committee of CPC & PLA National Defence University

National Defence University Islamabad
(03-04 April 2012)

Institute for Strategic Studies; Research and Analysis (ISSRA)
National Defence University
Islamabad
“Strategic Environment & its Fallout on Regional Security & Economic Development”
A Joint Seminar of NDU Islamabad with Party School of the Central Committee of CPC & PLA National Defence University

National Defence University Islamabad
(03-04 April 2012)
Sponsor
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Director Global Studies

Compilation is based on minutes recorded by a team of Researchers at ISSRA led by Research Associates Mr. Muhammad Shabbir and Ms. Kiran Ahmed and Research Officer Ms. Beenish Sultan
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POST SEMINAR REPORT

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“Strategic Environment and its Fallout on Regional Security and Economic Development”

The seminar held on 03-04 April 2012, was a joint undertaking of NDU Islamabad with two Chinese think tanks namely: Party School of the Central Committee of CPC and PLA NDU. The deliberative exercise was geared to review the evolving strategic environment and thus identify key security and development issues while underscoring the importance of enhanced Pakistan-China bilateral cooperation.

To recall, the idea of a joint strategic review at the think tank level was conceived at the Seventh Round of Pakistan-China Defence and Security Talks held at Chaklala in January 2010. The seminar was thus structured as a deliberative exercise amongst experts, supplementing the inter-governmental track. The forum also enabled NDU Islamabad to activate its bilateral agreement with the Party School of the Central Committee of CPC (dormant since its signing in the year 2007) and to upgrade the agenda of its ongoing cooperation with PLA NDU Beijing.

The seminar was a two-day exercise carried out in five thematic sessions, besides the inaugural. Each session entailed presentations by two panelists, one from each sides, and interactive discussion amongst a galaxy of informed audience. The following table provides a bird-eye view of the structure and thematic focus of the event:-

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THEMATIC FOCUS

The academic exercise enabled a revisit of issues in regional security and economic development in the backdrop of evolving strategic environment and in this context, brought into the fore significance of Pakistan-China cooperation.

The discussion rested upon premise that the evolving environment is characterized by erosion of uni-polarity and ‘Rise of the Rest’. The US remains a dominant power but engaged in reordering its priorities and relying upon proxies and other methods in the pursuit of its goals. The contemporary scenario is distinct by China’s ‘peaceful rise’ and the greater role that comes in its wake. It is in this context that a clinical study of the dynamics of Afghanistan situation and Indo-US strategic partnership is necessitated.

The current flux in the evolving scenario offers challenges as well as opportunities. The strategic convergence between Pakistan and China carries the potential of playing critical role in alleviating the situation and mobilizing structures of peace and progress. In this context, there is need to flag the potential for Pakistan's economic partnership with China, consistent with the broad Asian advancement and to identify contours of regional economic interdependence and the potential for taking comprehensive steps towards promoting cooperation by way of bilateral and regional programs.

PARTICIPATION AND PROFILE

The seminar provided an impressive galaxy of participation inclusive of policy-relevant experts and academia dedicated to the study of issues in regional security and economic development. This is illustrated in the professional standing of session chairs (five) and presenters (nine) in the five thematic sessions. Concurrently, the audience represented a broad spectrum of policy relevant circles, think tanks, academia, NDU faculty and students (Anx C).The interaction amongst presenters and the audience provided a stimulant for discussion on the occasion.
A SUMMARY RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS

At the inaugural, DG ISSRA welcomed the participants while introducing the format and modalities of the two day-long scholastic exercise. He spoke of the significance of scholastic and intellectual collaboration amongst the institutions as an index of the time-tested and solid strategic convergence of interests between Pakistan and China. In this context, he underlined the need for a focused and result-oriented intellectual discourse, commensurate with the standing and profile of this forum.

Session – One

The first thematic session was chaired by Ambassador Riaz Khokhar with the Pakistani speaker: Dr. Maria Sultan and the Chinese speaker: Col Pan Zheng.

The session firstly focused on emerging trends in the strategic environment and its future projections in the wake of extra-regional presence and role of non-state actors; and how they impinge on shaping the regional landscape. Secondly, it reviewed the impact of nuclearization of the region and its linkages with the broad international politics. Last but not the least, the perceived containment of China by the US directly or through proxies was amongst the major issues in the discussion.

Session – Two

The second session was chaired by Ambassador Rustam Shah, with him being the Pakistani speaker himself along with the Chinese speaker: Mr. Qin Zhilai.

The session extended thoughts on US objectives and projected withdrawal from Afghanistan. This was reviewed in the context of domestic Afghan environment with reference to multiple elements: capacity of governance, economic development and harmonious ethnic relations. The session shared concern that the transition should rest upon participation of all segments of the Afghan society and unfold a stable Afghanistan that is friendly to all its neighbors. Invariably, Pakistan and China have common stakes in promoting the process.
**Session – Three**

The third session was chaired by Dr. Riffat Hussain with Dr. Tahir Amin speaker from the Pakistani side and Commander Guo Ruipeng the Chinese speaker.

In the session Indo-US partnership was reviewed with multiple angles: firstly, amidst shifting US priorities that require a pillar in its policy of China’s containment. Secondly, it signified a rapprochement between two world orders: ‘Indic’ and ‘liberal world order’, ostensibly against the rival world order. Nevertheless, this partnership is a complex phenomenon and ought not be oversimplified.

**Session - Four**

The fourth session was chaired by Dr. Ishrat Hussain. The Pakistani speaker being: Dr. Ashfaque Hasan Khan and Chinese speaker as: Mr. Mu Zhanlao

The session was geared on the second day of the seminar with a focus on China’s spectacular rise as an economic giant, side by side with its political stature. It is likely to cross the threshold of becoming number one economy by 2030. China’s growth is the result of its peaceful rise. Similarly, a momentum and refinement in its further advance will indeed necessitate sharing of benefits with the neighborhood. Pakistan’s geo-strategic disposition ideally qualifies for making Pakistan a lead partner in regional economic and bilateral cooperation. Pakistan’s role in SCO and China’s role in SAARC would strengthen the focus.

**Session – five**

The fifth and last session was chaired by Dr. Tanvir Ahmed Khan. The Pakistani speaker being: Amb Khalid Mahmood and the speaker from the Chinese side: Mr. Liu Jianfei.

The fifth session was focused on the evolving global and regional scenario and the challenges and opportunities that come in its wake. It was opined that the emerging trends should, in essence, go to the advantage of Pak-China collaboration in view of the strength this all-weather friendship has acquired over the decades. This partnership may be further vitalized by way of strengthening strategic dimensions of cooperation, enlarging the economic content, and expanding people to people contacts.
FINDINGS

The findings of the seminar may be viewed with a five-fold focus:-

- Firstly, the global order is in a constant mode of transformation. Indeed it is due to the impact of the rise of China as a major power. This peaceful rise is making the US very nervous and forcing it to use proxies to sustain its dominance. As a result, the areas of its consistent engagement suffer dramatically. Thus, in the evolving strategic and security environment of regions like Central and South Asia, China may play a very significant role.

- Secondly, the US is using India as its ‘face’ in South-Asia. This indeed is a pressure tactic to tone down the impact of China's rise. It is being fuelled in every sector, including nuclear power, maritime strength and ideas like the ‘New Silk Route’. Hence, the Pak-China partnership may play a significant role in eliminating the negativities bound to emerge as a result of this situation.

- Thirdly, Pakistan and China have been enjoying deep rooted cordial relations. However, in the backdrop of evolving security situation of the region, it is time to take the friendship at another level by boosting cooperation in minute yet fundamental sectors. Bilateral cooperation at local level should now move beyond signing of MOUs to translating ideas into mutually beneficial structures.

- Fourthly, China is not only rising as a global major power but also as an economic giant. Thus, regional organizations like SAARC need to be rejuvenated and benefit from this rise. If China is invited in this organization by the members it will be equally beneficial for the entire member states and the region. China may not however, be able to sustain its growth momentum if its neighbors don’t benefit from its rise.

- Fifthly, the South Asian region, specifically Pakistan has been suffering from the hot beds of conflict since a very long time. A peaceful solution to the irritants like the Afghanistan issue, in the region is also in the interest of China. In this regard, if Pakistan and China combine their energies objectively it would facilitate in alleviating the situation and bringing peace to the region.
RECOMMENDATIONS

Broad consensus points as relevant in the follow up of the seminar are itemized below:

- Pakistan and China need to be more assertive and objective in their partnership. This is only possible if China is no more introvert towards Pakistan and the world.
- Steps should be taken to open up ways for Chinese engagement in the South-Asian region more assertively. China’s participation in SAARC and similarly Pakistan’s role in SCO should be promoted.
- In order to revitalize the bilateral relations, task forces should come into play with a view to carrying forward a five-pronged objective:
  a. Facilitate people to people contact. This may be done by establishing an entire network of student exchange programs and strengthening the institutional linkages. Possibility of Chinese universities opening campuses in Pakistan ought to be examined.
  b. Establish a more comfortable environment for wide ranging Chinese investments in Pakistan and mutual trade of goods and services.
  c. Create an institutional framework that unfolds wider and comprehensive Chinese participation in Human Resource Development in Pakistan.
  d. Promote local level participation in Chinese run mega projects as this would go a long way in cementing the relationship.
  e. Economic activity generated by Chinese ventures should also support social uplift of underprivileged and sensitive regions of Pakistan.
- At micro level, the NDUs on either side should consider introducing curriculum in keeping with the evolving regional environment and economic issues; and exchange apex level speakers on the issues.
- Pakistan-China cooperation should hinge upon reasonable level of expectations from either side. This would keep the entire dynamics of partnership intact and assure a qualitative upturn.
Security situation in the region is rapidly evolving with the revised US articulated coalition strategy for Afghanistan and the region, trajectory of Indo-US strategic ties, the downward spiraling of US-Pak relations and specially high profile presence of extra regional Navies in the North Arabian/Indian Sea. In this regard, Sino-Pakistan relations stand out as one of the few enduring friendships that have withstood the pressures of time and shifting geo-strategic conditions.

There is no doubt that the evolving environment is characterized by erosion of Unipolarity and ‘Rise of the Rest’. The US remains a dominant power but engaged in re-ordering its priorities and relying upon proxies and other methods in the pursuit of its goals. The scenario is distinct by China’s peaceful rise and the greater role that comes in its wake. Particularly, the withdrawal scenario is linked-up with the need for political engagement with insurgents and a ‘concord’ with neighbors. The edifice of peace in Afghanistan rest upon participation of all ethnic segments of the society from within and a favorable disposition towards all neighbors. Moreover, Western horizons are now clouded with an emerging economic predicament: the euro crisis, multiple pressures on dollar and the domino effect on various economies.

In this backdrop, strategic convergence between Pakistan and China carries the potential of playing critical role in alleviating the situation and mobilizing structures of peace and progress. In this context, there is need to flag the potential for Pakistan’s economic partnership with China, consistent with the broad Asian advancement and to identify contours of regional economic interdependence and the potential for taking comprehensive steps towards promoting cooperation by way of bilateral and regional programs.
RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS
INAUGURATION

The inaugural ceremony of the joint seminar by NDU Islamabad with Chinese Think Tanks: Party School of the Central Committee of the CPC and PLA NDU Beijing titled “Strategic Environment and its Fallout on Regional Security and Economic Development” (3-4 April 2012:) catered for welcoming remarks by DG ISSRA on behalf of NDU. The inaugural ceremony set the pace and direction of the five thematic sessions for two days long exercise.

Salient Features of Welcome Remarks

DG ISSRA Major General Ziauddin Najam at the very outset of the seminar, welcomed the participants while wishing them a very productive engagement in the scholastic pursuit. The essential points of his speech were:

- This two-day deliberative exercise is dedicated to a joint review of the strategic environment in our neighborhood and issues in regional security and economic development. The exercise is vital to carrying forward the wheel of bilateral cooperation between Pakistan and China.

- The scholastic and intellectual collaborations amongst institutions of Pakistan and China is only an index of the time-tested and solid strategic convergence of interests between the two nations. The deliberation should enforce the already existing understanding between the institutions and enable them to map-out and crystallize strategies on some of the vital international and regional issues.

- The themes for this seminar flag aspects of contemporary interest in our neighborhood. The panelists will focus on: the evolving strategic environment with particular reference to our neighborhood, address the evolving Afghanistan situation and what it means for us in the days ahead, share the perspectives on the Indo-US partnership and concentrate on enhancing bilateral cooperation in the backdrop of broad regional, particularly: economic and security issues.

- Strategic convergence between Pakistan and China carry the potential of playing critical role in remobilizing structures of peace and progress.
The scholarly endeavors of speakers from both the sides and active participation from the audience will generate a meaningful discussion and will help us in arriving at some tangible conclusions.
**THEMATIC SESSION-I**  
An overview of the evolving strategic environment – Central & South Asia  

**Session Chair:** Ambassador Riaz Khokhar

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SESSION ONE
AN OVERVIEW OF THE EVOLVING STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT – CENTRAL & SOUTH ASIA

Introduction

The first session was chaired by Ambassador Riaz Khokhar, the former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan. The session deliberated on major trends and developments in the South and Central Asian regions in the wake of global transformations. Dr. Maria Sultan from Pakistan and Col Pan Zheng from Chinese side gave presentations on the title, "An overview of the evolving strategic environment – Central & South Asia" followed by an interactive discussion among the participants. The session was wrapped up by the Chair.

Speaker 1: Dr. Maria Sultan

The first speaker of the seminar, Dr. Maria Sultan scratched the debate by sketching the contemporary strategic environment of Central and South Asia and emphasized the inevitable constraints which play their key role in the geo-strategic landscape of the region. To determine the trends of strategic environment and future projections the presenter underlined the three factors as:

1. Foreign & Local Actors
   Presence of foreign actors like US forces and local non-state actors pose a crucial sign in the policy matters of the region. USA maintains 42 bases in the region.

2. Nuclear Forces
   This region contains nuclear powers which increases the strategic importance both for peace and conflict situations. This reality cannot be ignored and it needs to be taken on top priority in the world.

3. Threat Perception
   Recent decade has witnessed serious consequences of conflicts. Afghan conflict is on the top which has destabilized the region due to its strategic position and importance for the world powers, especially for USA. Pakistan is among the sufferers.
The speaker chalked out the indicators of strategic importance which pose to be vulnerable as:

1. Major competitors in the form of world powers
2. New military technologies
3. Anti-Ballistic missile systems
4. Natural resources of the region as oil and gas reserves of Central Asian States. geo-strategic position and value of Iran and Afghanistan
5. Disputes/ conflicts like Kashmir and Afghanistan

Dr. Maria outlined the major challenges of the Central Asian region in the perspectives of economy and financial situation as:

- Fiscal and external sustainability
- Financial deepening and strengthening monetary policy instruments
- Growth, development, and poverty reduction

In the same manner, she also described the major challenges of South Asian Region which include Pakistan, India, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and Maldives. As South Asia has a strategically vital geographical location. It also has abundant energy resources and it has increased its importance due to Natural gas, Coal, Hydropower, Strategic minerals, Nuclear power and its strategic location enabling it to be the Energy corridor.

The presenter further elaborated that Afghanistan’s stability has become hostage to internal power-struggle. Lack of good governance, socio-eco deprivation, corruption and absence of rule of law are serious challenges, adding to public disillusionment. The fundamentally alien system of governance imposed upon Afghanistan is likely to collapse without active US support. Significant areas of Afghanistan remain hotbeds of Taliban’s / extremists while Pakistan is blamed of policy failures. US is also involved in the Central Asian region with its bases.

Pakistan’s Role & Contribution in War Against Terrorism

Pakistan has played its role as a responsible state but unfortunately it is not recognized well. Pakistan suffered 68 billion losses in ten years, 35000 dead-civilian and approximately 1,000 suicide attacks. Whereas net gains for Pakistan are too less as a Non-NATO ally. Pakistan seeks stable and peaceful Pakistan, Afghanistan, to de-
link afghan problem from the Phustoon non-Phustoon debate to organized crime and terrorism theatre, India–Pakistan stability and regional arms control agreement. The Afghan refugees are a very big issue that still stands unanswered even after the years of government formation in Afghanistan. The drugs issue and their production in Afghanistan was also emphasized by the speaker, as Afghanistan is the key to production of drugs and smuggling.

The presenter concluded that the conception of limited war will push the region into further instability. The danger of escalation will also increase. There is a need to settle the conflicts on merit. In addition, it is need of the hour to positively promote cooperation between South Asia and China which may be mutually-beneficial.

**Speaker 2: Col. Pan Zheng**

Col. Pan Zheng argued in his presentation that the situation in Central and South Asia should be analyzed in the backdrop of two main factors i-e the change in the US strategy and the influences of the Arab spring on the regional environments.

The US has shifted the centre of gravity to Central Asia mainly to contain China. For this purpose, it is interfering in the internal affairs of the countries of this region for example through consolidation of the powers of the Presidents of these countries to gain control over their armies, and through even ensuring America’s own physical presence in the region. US is likely to maintain agile and flexible forces/contingents supported by a well-equipped Air Force to achieve this end. As is obvious, military and economic cooperation are the main themes for the US in its priority list. US is also forging good ties with the dubious regimes of the region and also conspires with the opposition forces in those nations. US main leadership visits Central Asia and at the same time, hope to over-turn unfavorable governments; while China maintains only economic and security cooperation. The overall strategic environment is marked by contradictions as in the cases of Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. South Asian security environment is threatened by the refreshed Al-Qaeda, Taliban and hegemonic India’s continued strengthening of its capabilities.

China believes that Pakistan’s situation is mired by many factors including American policy of taking advantage of Pakistan during the GWOT, economic downturn and contradictions in the political and religious forces etc.
On the other hand, India is facing anxiety and embarrassment due to the factors including, its alienation by the neighbors, long-drawn LIC in J&K, urban terrorism, narco-terrorism and organized crime and internal insurgencies. However, in order to cope with China, India is enhancing and deploying its armed forces, based on a “two-front War” strategy with an aggressive posture on both land and sea. It is also increasing its diplomatic relations with the US, CARs, Myanmar, Nepal, Bangladesh, ASEAN and particularly Vietnam.

Thus, it is concluded that Pakistan and China are afforded a lot of opportunities in the Central Asian region, especially after the US retreat. The “Three forces” spoilage and Indian hegemony can be deterred by the strong unity between China and Pakistan. Pakistan should utilize then strategic opportunity, remove internal discord to improve national strength as the two nations steadily solidify their relations.

Interactive Discussion

The discussion during the interactive session focused on the evolving strategic environment with a three-fold focus: firstly, on the role of Extra Regional Forces in the area. It was opined that the entire pattern of the regional strategic environment has undergone a fundamental transformation. Nevertheless, it pays heed to the excessive foreign involvement in the region. In this overall ambit the importance of energy rich Central Asia and useful corridor- South Asia for the foreigners cannot be ignored. Thus, the major powers are concerned in maintaining physical presence in the region to ensure the protection of their own strategic and economic interests.

Secondly, concern was shown regarding the major challenges posed to the Central Asian region due to foreign involvement. It was opined that the entire region including South Asia and Pakistan in particular has suffered due to this presence. This is so because it not only gave the foreigners ample space to exploit the loopholes within the area. In fact it also made the regional states suffer in economic, social and security terms. The energy rich Central Asian Region has been the focus of major powers since quite a while now. South Asia provides a corridor to this region. Thus, the growing need of energy in the western countries leaves them with no choice but to gain access to this region.
Thirdly, the premise regarding China’s role in the evolving strategic situation of the region was also addressed. China’s rise as an economic power has shifted the world from uni-polarity to multi-polarity. The US and her allies are uneasy due to this rise. Nevertheless, the US shift of focus from the Atlantic to the Asia-Pacific is certainly to cater this rise. It is using all kinds of tactics to tone down this rise to maintain its global hegemony; using India as its ‘face’ in South Asia being one of the strategies. Thus, China may play a very vital role in tackling the evolving strategic situation of the region. It may provide a linkage between Central and South Asia. It may also facilitate a process of improving the security situation of the region and particularly of Pakistan.

The South Asian region suffers from threats and grave threat perceptions. The US led War on Terror being one of the concerns. Due to this instability was brought in Afghanistan which poured into the nearby states. China may help the entire region as a whole in this context. Specifically, its role becomes vital after the projected US withdrawal in 2014. What China may do is to act as a neutral ground for paving ways of bringing stability in the region. This would be beneficial for the entire stake holders and for China itself.

**Wrap-Up**

Ambassador Riaz Khokhar while summing up the discussion stated that the Central Asian Region ‘chess board’ is wide open and the main emphasis is going to be on the Asia Pacific. This is so because an obvious containment of China is vital to US interest. Certainly this strategy of containment is already underway but the question is how to strengthen this containment? And most importantly, what is the role of NATO in this regard? Whether it should be in the region or not? In addition, it is to be kept in mind that the US withdrawal from the region is very necessary because it is the main force behind the destabilization of the region. In this regard, Pakistan and China must strengthen their strategic dialogue to ensure that the US and India would not take advantage of the situation. Furthermore, SCO needs to be a little more aggressive in order to counter US bad intentions. Lastly, China has no problems with any of the muslim country rather there is only good-will which needs to be capitalized.
THEMATIC SESSION-II
Afghanistan Situation and Way Forward: Reviewing the strategic dimensions and implications of the regional approach

Session Chair: Ambassador Rustam Shah Mohmand

Speaker 1: Mr. Qin Zhilai
Speaker 2: Amb Rustam Shah Mohmand
Interactive Discussion
Wrap up by the Chair
SESSION TWO
AFGHANISTAN SITUATION AND WAY FORWARD: REVIEWING THE STRATEGIC DIMENSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE REGIONAL APPROACH

Introduction

Second session of the seminar was chaired by Ambassador Rustam Shah Mohmand, former ambassador of Pakistan to Afghanistan. The session offered deliberations on Afghanistan situation, the withdrawal scenario, need for political engagement with insurgents concord with neighbor states and possible role of neighboring states in Afghanistan’s future. Mr. Qin Zhilai from China and Amb Rustam Shah Mohmand from Pakistan delivered presentations on the title: "Afghanistan Situation and Way Forward: Reviewing the strategic dimensions and implications of the regional approach." the presentations sparked off a fruitful interactive discussion among the participants which was followed by the wrap up comments of session's chair.

Speaker 1: Mr. Qin Zhilai

From geopolitical perspective, Mr. Qin Zhilai’s paper highlighted three aspects of the situation in Afghanistan: the current situation, Afghanistan’s geo-political importance and future of Afghanistan in geo-political context.

After September 11, Central Asia became part of US Euro-Asia. Central Asia once again became spring board of major powers. Afghanistan has never been friendly towards foreign intervention. Any superpower involvement in Afghanistan has only written pain of war. The current US efforts of reconstruction and rehabilitations have also met with failure. The current predicament includes terrorism, drugs and political turmoil. The peace in Afghanistan is also important for China, Japan and Russia.

Afghanistan’s location in the center of the Asian continent gives it a geopolitically strategic significance. The northern part of Afghanistan borders on the southern end of Central Asia, respectively is adjacent to Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan from west to east; its northeast prominent narrow strip border with China; the east and southeast land is adjacent to Pakistan, the west is the junction with Iran. In view of the special geographical position of Afghanistan, changes in the situation in Afghanistan often impact on other countries in this region. Afghanistan is geo-strategically important
for Central Asia, Iran, China and Pakistan. From economic perspective, Afghanistan is route for trade and oil pipelines. Secondly, western world is also showing great interest in developing cordial relations with Afghanistan.

From a historical perspective, the unfortunate fate of Afghanistan is closely related to its special geographical environment. Afghan property is not rich, but it has been an important channel of human migration, business travel activities in Eurasia since ancient times, and a kind of interchange of civilizations. The same time, due to this unique location, the people of Afghanistan had long undergone many war-ravaged events. 18 centuries ago, a dozen of foreigners conquest this land, which are ethnically different such as Persians, Greeks, Sartre, Huns, Turks, Arabs and Mongols etc.. More than a century ago, Britain and Tsarist Russia began to make a kind of fierce competition in Afghanistan. For Britain and Russia, Afghanistan is in the transport routes from Central Asia, Black Sea to India, which is one strategic location that needs fight against each other. During the Cold War, because of its special geographical location, Afghanistan was been drawn into the vortex of the big country race once again. The Soviet Union sent troops to conquer Afghanistan, and bring great disaster to the local residents. After the end of the Cold War, Afghanistan’s strategic position greatly increased with the independence of the five Central Asian countries.

After the killing of Osama bin Laden, US re-evaluated its Security Strategy in Afghanistan and focused on counter terrorism efforts. They are unsuccessful as the incidents such as burning of Quran have only increased the support for Taliban in Afghan society. As, the US has announced a large-scale withdrawal from Afghanistan before 2014, Afghanistan is likely to enter in a new round of turmoil. It would not come out of the plight of terrorism. It means that the United States and its allies would not be able to smoothly implement the new system-building in Afghanistan. Moreover, the situation in the Central and South Asia neighboring Afghanistan is worrying.

In future of Afghanistan, international community wants stability. Peaceful reconstruction needs stable environment. The future reality is uncertain. The international community has to earnestly played its role in bringing peace and security in Afghanistan. The peaceful reconstruction in Afghanistan needs a stable domestic environment, harmonious ethnic relations and a healthy economic system, especially
the economic and social development as a key for peace building. However, the reality is hard and cruel. The Taliban are still strong, coupled with the deep-rooted ethnic and religious contradictions, Afghanistan faces an uncertain future. So, international community is required to earnestly fulfill its aid commitments to Afghanistan. Since the beginning of the peace process in Afghanistan in December 2001, although international community pledged $30 billion in aid to Afghanistan, to date there are still nearly $10 billion not yet in place. Any external funding and support, if not adequately respects Afghan sovereignty and autonomy is difficult to work.

**Speaker 2: Ambassador Rustam Shah**

Strategic discrepancies among NATO member countries are becoming known and questions about the moral ground to fight the resistance and lack of understanding of the geo-strategic and demographic complexities of the region are getting increased attention. The current situation in Afghanistan is an inevitable result of previous domestic and international responses to the country’s political and security challenges.

In addition, the fragmented and polarized nature of Afghan society, which is made up of many different ethnic groups, has lead to its multiple internal struggles which have gained support from the different external powers. The almost continuous devastation caused to the country for over the past three decades is a testimony to the strength and endurance of its people and the groups who work towards rebuilding their country.

American commander of NATO: General Dan McNeil said in one of his interviews with the daily Telegraph that “NATO troops were gaining the upper hand against the Taliban, but progress was limited by not having a force “big enough to clear and hold every part of this country”. Prominent among them are Canada who has lost 100 soldiers and one diplomat from its 2500 troops in Southern province of Kandahar and Holland who has also lost some soldiers from a total number of 1700 based in southern Uruzgan province. Ten French troops were killed and a further 21 wounded in an ambush near Kabul- the heaviest loss of troops France has suffered since deploying to Afghanistan in 2002 and the biggest single loss in 25 years.

In the region outside Afghanistan the apprehension and an environment of dissatisfaction among the regional countries is getting stronger and stronger. The
dilemma for NATO is that on the one hand countries in the region are apprehensive about its long-term presence in Afghanistan, on the other it cannot leave the mission incomplete.

Main objectives of America in Afghanistan are access to Central Asian energy reservoirs, containment of China, intimidation and encirclement of China and watching Pakistan’s nukes. However, US policymakers would have to de-link the issue of peace in Afghanistan from regional objectives. If Afghanistan’s peace is linked to goals such as a containment of China, encirclement of Iran or establishing a foothold in Kabul for accessing Caspian Sea oil and gas deposits, then we are in for a long haul. However, if the goal is only to stabilize Afghanistan, then there could be convergence of perceptions between the resistance and the US.

In any solution to the conflict the objective should be to bring lasting peace to Afghanistan – a peace that does not need external forces but relies on people’s overwhelming support. The peace process must not be hostage to the desire for the present government’s perpetuation. The institutions of president and parliament are sacrosanct but it is more important to save Afghanistan than to safeguard its institutions.

For the Afghan people, and thus for the government and its international supporters, the current security situation is untenable. Renewed international attention offers a vital opportunity to reverse the course of the conflict. Failure to address the inadequacies of the government in the areas of justice provision, welfare, public service delivery, institutional transparency, probity, and, most importantly, security will soon fundamentally undermine the legitimacy of state authority.

Unless the Afghan people are given substantial and sustained reasons for supporting government institutions, they will understandably not be prepared to risk the violent reprisals of insurgents. It is rightly said that Afghanistan has long been used as a battleground for strategic wars by larger external powers. This is in part due to its geographic position between the Middle East, Central Asia and South Asia.

**Interactive Discussion**

In the interactive session issues regarding American long term objectives in the region and their effects on regional players i.e. Iran, China, and Pakistan, future of Afghanistan and growing feelings of hatred towards foreign forces among afghan
population, economic profile of Afghanistan, Pak – U.S strategic relationship and converging interests of both states, U.S reliance on CARs, and future prospects of Pak – China relations were discussed.

U.S has long term objectives in the region and Afghanistan serves as most appropriate position to stay on ground as the War on Terror has been a best sold idea in the beginning to rationalize U.S presence in the region. It seems as if peace in Afghanistan was disturbed to bring peace. Iran and China has long tolerated U.S presence in Afghanistan but now there is a possibility that China may get offended as it perceives U.S presence in CARs aim at curtailing Chinese influence in Central Asia. But China is not in a position to adopt military policy to counter U.S and Indian influence in the region. Moreover, China’s geography does not allow it to have an offensive military strategy. Iran will be alarmed as well by this prolonged presence and may take initiative to prevent Afghanistan from being used as a chess board. The possibility of U.S attack on Iran seems to be rare after recent IAEA report stating no nuclear weapon program is being pursued by the country.

There are increasing incidents of torture and killing every night and Afghan National Army (ANA) is turning against foreign forces. This practice is followed to promote feelings of acrimony among afghan nationals. Despite huge funding received by Afghanistan in last ten years, economic situation is grave. U.S inclination to invest massively in Afghanistan depicts its aim to maintain long term presence in the country. There is a difference of perception and approach between Pakistan and U.S over Afghanistan. U.S has now come to realize that there is no military solution to Afghanistan but the ruling elite in U.S government still believes in the old approach and favors and forces military interventions. However, keeping in view U.S long term objectives in the region, Pakistan needs to review its policy towards U.S.

U.S maintains many military bases in Central Asia and if any crisis erupts in the Middle East, U.S reliance on CARs will increase. On the other hand, there are no significant natural resources in Afghanistan and even if it has, they will take years to be explored. China does not enjoy good relations with India. It wants the relationship with Pakistan to flourish in future. There was a perspective that China has a vital role in the
region and the situation in Afghanistan calls for China to come forward to stabilize the region.

Wrap-Up

In his wrap up remarks chair of the session, Ambassador Rustam Shah Mohmand accentuated that throughout the history, owing to either encroachers or mutineers Afghan nation has suffered a lot. However now, Afghan people desperately want peace. A peaceful Afghanistan is indispensable for Pakistan and vice versa. Pakistan and China have common stakes in an Afghan polity that is stable and promises progressive environment. They also have stakes in assuring that Afghanistan does not turn into a staging ground for intrigues against its neighbors. The cogitations that Pakistan taking a more assertive role in Afghanistan is highlighted, considering that during the last three decades or so, Pakistan has hosted a large number of Afghan refugees, the price of which it has paved both in cash and blood. yet whatever the situation in Afghanistan after 2014, for an irenic and progressive nation, the edifice of peace in Afghanistan must rest upon participation of all ethnic segments of the society from within and friendliness to all neighbors.
THEMATIC SESSION-III
Perspectives on Indo-US strategic partnership

**Session Chair:** Dr. Riffat Hussain

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Introduction

Dr. Riffat Hussain Chaired the third session of the seminar which was titled: "Perspectives on Indo-US strategic partnership". Dr. Tahir Amin from Pakistan and Commander Guo Ruipeng from China were the speakers of this session. After having discussed the evolving environment in Central and South Asia and Afghanistan situation in the first two sessions, the discussion in third session encompassed the current and evolving direction of Indo-US partnership in the trans-regional setting and Indian Ocean, plus the growing US move to promote India as a regional hegemon to serve its critical interests and to be counter-poise to the rise of China were also discussed. The session was wrapped up by the chair.

Speaker 1: Dr. Tahir Amin

Dr. Tahir Amin in his presentation gave a brief background of Indo-US partnership, its regional and global implications, motivations for the partnership and discussed available options for Pakistan.

Indo-US strategic partnership began to crystallize during the Clinton era and culminated during the Bush regime when the US and India signed nuclear deal in 2008. The United States not only announced a broad-based partnership aimed at bolstering India’s strategic, military and economic capabilities but also offered close cooperation in nuclear technology, missile building capabilities and space research. This is the highest peak of relations between the two countries. However, their scope of relations in future will depend on the choices made in both countries, the US looks to India to sustain its economic and social change whereas India wants the US to respect Indian security concerns.

This partnership has enormous global and regional implications. It will help India in becoming a major power in the 21st century, thus facilitating an early rise of a multi-polar world, it will undermine the NPT and will destabilize the South Asia by triggering another nuclear and missile race. The India-Pakistan peace process will be put on hold and the possibility of resolving the Kashmir dispute between the two countries will fade
away. It also has the potential to pose an existential threat to Pakistan’s integrity in the long run. US-Indo nuclear deal provides India maximum access to uranium supply. In near future, India will have quantitative and qualitative nuclear capability. Recently, practical fluctuation is observed between Pakistan and US relations. America’s leniency towards India in wake of deepening relations between India and US may have very serious consequences on Kashmir issue. What if the mediator becomes biased? Pakistan needs to make strong strategic policies. NATO and US forces cannot pull out from Afghanistan without the help of Pakistan. Pakistan should adopt tactic dealing to resolve Kashmir issue and helping NATO to quit from Afghanistan.

A variety of explanations have been offered to understand the motivations of the two states regarding this partnership. The most widely held explanation focuses on India’s role as a potential counterweight against China in an emerging multi-polar world. Other explanations stress the necessity of building an axis of democratic states-US, EU, Japan and India against the axis of autocracies – Russia, China and Iran. Some scholars believe that the US though preeminent power at the moment has been in relative decline and the this partnership signifies a shift in the International political security arrangements.

The speaker concluded that most of the above explanations contain a significant element of truth but are partial in nature. It appears to be a rapprochement between two World Orders, Indic and Liberal World Orders. The two world orders have joined hands in a broad collaboration against the rival World Orders in the backdrop of unfolding multicultural, multi-religious and plural world.

**Speaker 2: Commander Guo Ruipeng**

In his presentation “Perspectives on India-US strategic partnership”, Lt.Col Guo Ruipeng gave the background, phases of evolution, strategic implications, convergences and divergences; and future trends of Indo-US relations. The speaker was of the view that these relations have reached the “ever best” period now. He further opined that closer the relations became, greater the attention and suspicion from the other Asian neighbors aroused.

Historically, India developed a closer relation with the Soviet Union, despite being one of the pioneers and founding members of the Non-Aligned Movement in the Cold
War environment. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, India began to review its foreign policy, and took steps to develop a close relation with the United States. In March 2000, President Bill Clinton visited India. It was the first presidential official visit after an interval of about 22 years, which indicated that the US-India relations began to resume on a friendly note. Further in 2004, the US and India declared a “strategic partnership”, and launched the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP), which was considered to be a blueprint in the transformation of the bilateral relationship and further progress. In 2008, the United States and India reached a historic milestone in their strategic partnership by completing negotiations on the bilateral agreement for peaceful nuclear cooperation, which allowed direct civilian nuclear commerce with India for the first time in 30 years. During the tenure of the President George W. Bush, the US-India relations blossomed primarily over common concerns regarding growing terrorism, energy security and climate change.

India-US strategic partnership entered a new era following the election of Barak Obama as the President of the United States in 2009. In November 2010, President Obama visited India and addressed a joint session of the Indian Parliament, where he proposed India’s bid for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council. Some western analysts think that Obama's India visit has changed US approach towards India permanently.

The emergence of this new relation has some serious strategic compulsions. It has made the regional security more complicated and the global political and security structure even harder. Moreover, its impact on India’s relations with Asian neighbors has been negative. And finally, it has stimulated India’s ambitions, and has pushed India on the way to adventurism.

But the relationship is very uncertain and it has some points of convergence and many points of divergence. Sustaining America’s supremacy in Asia, containing China’s development in the south, restraining Russian expansion to the south, impeding Iran’s trade exchanges, retaining the free lane in Indian and Pacific oceans, getting the permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council for India, restraining China's rapid development, receiving more investment and technology from the US, boosting
the speed of military modernization, and realizing the Indian dream of being a regional dominant country are the points of common concern for both the countries.

However, there are a few stumbling blocks in the way of so called easy bilateral relation. In the Multi-polar strategic structure, India is unsatisfied with the America’s hegemony, and actively contributes to the Multi-polar world. As far as the South Asian regional security situation is concerned, America’s true object is to keep the balance in different sides and to avoid the potential crisis to emerge. However India wants to be a winner and resolve the conflicts and territorial disputes ultimately. Furthermore, in India, there has been a wind hovering in the elite, which also blocks the relation with US.

He concluded with three prospective developments vis-à-vis Indo-US bilateral relation. One, with America transferring strategic direction to Asia, the US will pay more attention to the collaboration with India; and India will regard it as a good chance to improve its country power. Two, in the short term there are still some potential possibilities and common interests for the US-India strategic partnership. Three, in the long term there are some differences between the two counties involving respective national interests, strategic goals, and internal polity etc, which will restrain the in-depth collaboration.

**Interactive Discussion**

Indo-US strategic partnership is a serious source of concern for Pakistan. Therefore, the academic discourse about this deal raised numerous questions regarding Pakistani response, nuclear cooperation between Pakistan and the US, deterrence factor, cooperation between China and Islamic world, China – a collaborator or contender of the US, divergence between the US and India, Pak-China nuclear cooperation and future prospects.

Pakistan should not get panic with the Indo-US nuclear deal. Rather, there is a need to carefully examine the emerging situation. Pakistani response should stem from a conceptual vision as everyone knows that both India and Pakistan cannot afford the tremendous cost of arms race. One should also keep in mind the fate of USSR which collapsed due to non-affordability of arms race between the USA and the USSR. In this background, it is a fact that both India and Pakistan should avoid arms race. At the moment, China’s economic development is increasing day by day. By the virtue of this
growth, China has now more money to spend on defence infrastructure which opens new paths of cooperation between Pakistan and China.

Pakistan has always been desirous of a nuclear deal between the US and Pakistan. Unfortunately, the US is not willing to extend nuclear cooperation to Pakistan as it concluded with India. The US always talks about the nuclear proliferation history of Pakistan and therefore rejects the Pakistani demands of nuclear cooperation. Pakistani government should be mindful to the US desires and therefore it should explore other opportunities. China can be one option from where Pakistan can probably get civil nuclear technology.

At the moment, deterrence is working between Pakistan and India in short run because there is no technological breakthrough. If the US is giving new technology to India and Pakistan does not get the same, then deterrence is going to break. In this case, Pakistan needs matching response technology. Also, deterrence does not work in isolation. In case of Pakistan and India, there is strong involvement of third party which off and on helps in resolving the conflict. In this background, it is right to say that deterrence is not going to work in long run which would impose serious implications on the security of the region.

China is pursuing an economic agenda which amalgamates both interdependence and real-politic. China has set different economic goals and therefore it would not go against the big powers. Further, China is playing a strategic role in the global politics. There is no major difference between China and Islamic world and cooperation is likely to evolve in the future. But, Islamic world is passing through transitional phase and it would take some time to evolve modern democratic norms in the Islamic world.

China – a collaborator or contender of the US is an important question among the academicians and researchers. Both kinds of thinking prevail among the scholars. According to the US policymakers, if China collaborates with the liberal world then the US should not worry with the rise of China. Contrary to it, if China challenges the existing international system then it would create serious implications. Moreover, one should also keep in mind that China is rapidly developing and also a member of the United Nation Security Council so it would be very difficult for the US to contain China.
Although the US has signed a nuclear deal with India, yet everyone knows that there is a strong divergence between India and the US. India is deeply concerned to its autonomy and therefore, Pakistan has to look carefully that how the situation unfolds. Pakistan should not get fear of this deal and it has to develop relations with China. There are many tangible threats which should not be overlooked. Pakistan should avoid the reactionary mode and arms race. A balanced analysis of threats and internal problems should be done for best possible response. For a bright future, Pakistan should adopt constructive approach instead of indulging in costly arms race.

**Wrap-Up**

It is a fact that India is emerging as a major factor in the global politics and the Indo-US nuclear deal further enhances the Indian say in the international nuclear affairs. Even then, India does not want to become a puppet of the US. Also, some scholars in the US think that the Indo-US nuclear cooperation poses some unintended consequences which have not been catered for. In fact its corporate sector of America which encourages its government to incline towards India because of their perceptions of Indian economy growing and aspirations of American corporate sector to get a share of Indian economic growth. Therefore, this partnership is not a simple matter as it seems. For Pakistan, this partnership also shows the shift in the US mindset. China is advising Pakistan to keep its own house in order. Situation of ugly security prevails in the region and hence Pakistan should avoid from over-reacting.
THEMATIC SESSION-IV
Key issues in economic development: Enhancing bilateral cooperation

**Session Chair:** Dr. Ishrat Hussain

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SESSION FOUR
KEY ISSUES IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: ENHANCING BILATERAL COOPERATION

Introduction

Dr. Ishrat Hussain, former Governor State Bank of Pakistan chaired the fourth session of the seminar which was dedicated to "Key issues in economic development: Enhancing bilateral cooperation". From Pakistan Dr. Ashfaque Hasan Khan and from China Mr. Mu Zhanlao were the presenters in the session. The presentations and interactive discussion flagged the potential for Pakistan’s China consistent economic partnership with the broad Asian advancement. It also debated the contours of regional economic interdependence and the potential for taking comprehensive steps towards promoting cooperation by way of bilateral and regional programs. With the remarks of the chair this fertile session was wrapped up.

Speaker 1: Dr. Ashfaque Hassan Khan

In the start of his presentation, Dr. Ishfaq Hassan Khan exposited that China’s development is worth emulating by other developing countries in many ways, specially her historic transformation from a rural-agrarian, command economy to an urban-industrial, market-based economy with an average growth rate hovering around 10% per annum and over 500 million people lifted out of poverty in just three decades.

Today, China is the world’s largest exporter and steel and energy consumer, with its Forex reserves crossing $3trillion and per capita income pitched to reach $18000 mark (PPP basis) by 2030. Therefore, time is ripe to reformulate the global ‘rules of the game’ in order to acknowledge China’s status as the rising global power and give it more share in the decision-making on global level in the 21st century.

However, China will not be able to maintain the pace of its economic growth unless its neighbors benefit from its rise too. A step in this direction would be to create a regional financial institution on the likes of IMF, such as Asian Monetary Fund (AMF), which could act as the lender of the first resort to the regional economies to bail them out of any future economic crises. Similarly, the basket of global reserve currencies needs to be expanded from dollar, pound, euro and yen to include other regional currencies like Chinese Yuan etc. With over $5 trillion reserves, this region needs
Regional Infrastructure Development Bank and Regional Microfinance Bank to help generate ‘inclusive growth’ – the benefits of which accruing to less fortunate regional economies by also enhancing connectivity in the regions. China should also be invited to join SAARC which has not yet been able to achieve the goals as envisaged at its inception.

In terms of bilateral relations, since the last decade, much institutionalization of these relations has been observed, specially after the signing of the FTA between the two nations in 2006. However, the two-way trade volume has still not reached the $15 billion mark yet, as was supposed to be achieved by 2011. Thus, we need to look into the factors that caused this scenario and at the same time, put our house in order in terms of internal security, political stability and economic incentives to make Pakistan a viable option for investment for potential future investors.

**Speaker 2: Mr. Mu Zhanlao**

Mr. Mu’s presentation was divided in two broad sections as: Why Is It certain to develop mutually-beneficial cooperation between South Asia and China and how to promote the mutually-beneficial cooperation between South Asia and China? The speaker referred to South Asia as whole in relation to China in his presentation.

From the speaker’s point of view, two major issues are being faced by today’s world which are peace and development. The speaker stressed the win-win prospect for the cooperation between South Asia and China and emphasized on the regional economic cooperation which means the real strength. Central Asia is rich in natural resources. These resources are the key for development but there is also another important ingredient of development, “Peace in the Region”.

Mr. Mu called attention to the peace as the pre-condition of development in the region. In his reckoning, it is inevitable to proceed on the path of development without settling the conflicts prevailing in Central and South Asia. Intra-regional integration and harmony is pre-requisite to the economic and social uplift of the region. China is already on the way to growth but it seeks the regional growth mandatory for its own development. The aim is to lead towards the financially stable and sound region in the world. The solution exists in peaceful coexistence among the regional states.
The speaker proposed possible reasons for the cooperation which seems to be in favor of economic benefits for every member country of SAARC, in favor of a more stable political relationship with China and South Asia, also in accord with the strategic quests of both sides. In the contemporary environment, regional integration is immensely needed for the development of all states. Mutual interests need to be on board of all playing partners of the region. It is impossible to withdraw benefits beyond a specific point individually by any state of the region.

In his second portion of presentation, the speaker explained that how these targets can be achieved as strengthening bilateral cooperation through advantages and development Strategies acceptable to national Interests of the regional participant states. Geographic advantages of regional states should be integrated to maximize the economic benefits. West is scared of China’s fast growing development irrationally. However, China seeks peaceful development on the go and wants to incorporate the region in this pursuit. This will also result in the geo-economic advantages for the regional states. The speaker was of the view that this is impossible unless we strengthen the mutual exchanges and coordination to tap the potentials. This needs wider and deeper collaborative actions. Trade is the key to explore and utilize the resources of the region for the development. It requires the regional routes connecting in a network to all regional states. This will enable the local states to communicate and trade freely. A proper policy framework can be agreed upon for the regional trade promotion. One example can be Trans-regional highways and railways for more regional economic integration.

Mr. Mu concluded the presentation saying that without enhanced economic development and integration, this region and its inhabitants cannot progress to the higher levels of social, economic and strategic status. Peace is pre-requisite to the development that has to be ensured by the regional states for a bright future and economic interdependence could be the key to the peace in the region.

**Interactive Discussion**

The interactive session primarily focused on the Permanent membership of China in SAARC, assertion of power by China at international level, failure of Pakistan
to get benefit from China’s rising economy, vast technological gap between China and Pakistan and people to people contact between China and Pakistan.

The permanent membership of China in SAARC was spotted during the interactive session, in addition a proposition was also made that why not China think of a parallel organization to IMF and World Bank in the region including Pakistan, Afghanistan and Turkey. The answer flowed in a way that if China joins the organization furthermore economically it is highly favorable for the region because China shares boarders with five of eight SAARC member countries. In addition, India is not willing to accept Chinese involvement in SAARC because it will decrease the Indian hegemony in the regional affairs.

China is undoubtedly the largest economic power in the world. However it is not asserting its economic power in political and strategic arena. West is aware of the fact that by current economic pace China will bypass them in the next 10 years but China is giving two much space by not properly asserting itself through its economic power. The amount of China’s growing power is not highlighted and that is why China’s influence is very less internationally and even in its own region. So, China needs to assert its economic might to influence the global issues.

Pakistan China economic ties do not show the deep-rooted economic relationship between them and why Pakistan could not grasp enough benefits from growing Chinese economy, as Sino-Indian trade is 62 billion dollars and on the other hand Pak-China trade is only 6 billion dollars. The answers lined with a comment that Pak-China relationship is beyond economic integration, the 6 billion dollars trade depicts the true trade between Pakistan and China. On the other hand, China wants to invest in Pakistan to see Pakistan as an economically sound country. Pakistani businessmen are West market oriented and there is a need of individual level interaction for the economic enhancement.

There is plan for 2030 to make China a modern and pivotal nation on the global level. There are six pillars of this plan and technology is one of them. Even we now see China improving its technological horizons.
Finally, there is a dire need of people to people contact Between Pakistani and Chinese nations. Moreover, our west proned younger generation needs to be informed about the true value and developments of Pak-China relationship.

**Wrap-Up**

In the wrap-up session, the chair concluded that: there is continuity in Chinese policy as they had a 25 years plan in 1980 which actually they have surpassed this is a remarkable achievement and now they have planned for 2030 to make china a greater nation and technology, energy, poverty, fiscal and social constructivism are focal points of this plan. This will lead china to another level of prosperity. Furthermore, the problem with Pakistan is that it wants to collaborate in the final assembled goods, not in the chain process of manufacturing. Production and structure model in the world has changed. This is Pakistan’s chance to enter in a joint venture and emphasis must be on that model is Chinese and fabrication will be provided by Pakistan. This will ultimately be win win situation for both countries.
THEMATIC SESSION-V
Key issues in regional security: Enhancing Bilateral cooperation

**Session Chair:** Dr. Tanvir Ahmad Khan

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SESSION FIVE
KEY ISSUES IN REGIONAL SECURITY: ENHANCING BILATERAL COOPERATION

Introduction

Former Foreign Secretary Dr. Tanvir Ahmad Khan chaired the final session; Mr. Liu Jianfei from China and Ambassador Khalid Mahmood from Pakistan were the presenters. The discussion encompassed the issues as: erosion of state sovereignty in the wake of extra regional presence in South Asia, inclination to act as regional hegemon or proxy and persistence of hotbeds of conflict due to side stepping of people’s right of self determination and principles of international legitimacy. The session also hashed out the idea that strategic convergence between Pakistan and China carries the potential of playing critical role in remobilizing structures of peace and progress. The prolific session was wrapped up by the chair.

Speaker 1: Mr. Lieu Jianfei

The tragic incident of 9/11 changed the shape of international relations. New doctrine of engagement was introduced and the US found new partners in the region in order to eliminate the menace of terrorism. The main agenda behind establishment of new political groups was to stop the extremism, terrorism and separatism. Terrorist activities started from the Afghanistan spread to the neighboring countries and especially Pakistan suffered frequent bombing in this regard. The security situation in Pakistan became worst and lot of civilians and armed forces personals lost their lives. In 2011, Osama Bin Laden also died in Pakistan in a US strike which downgraded the Pak-US relations. On the other hand, Pakistan is a strategically important country and enjoys great development potential. Blessed with a huge population, Pakistan has a bulk of human resource which can be effectively used for development purposes.

China, at present, is at the key moment for its modernization. China needs to stick to the road of peaceful development, needs to conduct cooperation with all countries around the world in order to maintain a peaceful and stable international environment, particularly a secure and stable surrounding environment. Therefore, China and Pakistan should make joint efforts to achieve strategic collaboration in politics and security, and to achieve an effective maintenance of regional peace.
Broadly speaking, China and Pakistan should do more to consolidate the all-weather friendship and all-round cooperation so as to push ahead this bilateral strategic cooperative partnership. Both sides should do more efforts to strengthen the high-level exchanges, keep close communication, consultation and coordination on the issues of common concern, and consolidate and develop sound bilateral political relations.

For strengthening the bilateral security cooperation, both states should establish and improve the mechanism of relevant consultation and cooperation and jointly fight against the terrorism, extremism and separatism. Also, China should support the Pakistan’s efforts to safeguard national independence and sovereignty. Meanwhile, Pakistan is required to take more measures to protect the safety of Chinese citizens and institutions respectively in Pakistan. Furthermore, both countries should strengthen the bilateral cooperation in multilateral fields, to keep consultation and coordination in international and regional affairs, and especially on the issues such as the UN reform, counter-terrorism and regional cooperation. Also there is a need to expand cultural and people exchanges to strengthen the bilateral exchanges and cooperation in the fields such as politics, diplomacy, security, culture, education, science and technology, human resources development, especially exchanges and dialogues between the think tanks scholars of both sides.

A closer relationship between China and Pakistan will help China to understand rest of the world. For a long time, Pakistan has been a window for China to be known by the outside world. Due to the gap of ideology and the difference of social system, the western world has been keeping suspicion and worries about China’s peaceful rise. But Pakistan’s viewpoints and stands about China may be more easily to be understood by the west as Pakistan is a state whose democracy is rather similar to the western democracy. So through Pakistan’s mouth, the west democracies will see China is a country whose real intention is to follow the road of peaceful development. As long as the bilateral cooperation between China and Pakistan is strengthened, it will not only help to make stable South Asia a more stable region, but also to make a more harmonious Asia.
Speaker 2: Amb Khalid Mahmood

Afghanistan, Indo-US Strategic Partnership, importance of commercial and bilateral and regional relationship has been emphasized during the previous presentations. Politico-economic factor has a direct impact on peace building and development in the region. Pakistan US relations have been forged in particular set of cold war environment. Pakistan stood as a firm ally in CENTO and SEATO. On the Asian region, China also emerged as an isolated and less developed state. Despite difference Pakistan and China were able to find common grounds of cooperation. The Sino-Soviet rift, Détente between USSR-US, 1962 Sino-India war changed the perception of China’s strategic thinking. These developments brought convergence of interests and threat perceptions between Pakistan and China. The hardware sale to Pakistan opened the window for China to non-communist world.

Historically tested friendship is hallmark of good relationship between two ideologically different states. However, China strongly adhere the principle of peaceful cooperation. Today, the world has completely transformed. In this new world China is a world power along with other nascent actors. Russia, Japan and India are enjoying robust relations with China. New challenges also emerged such as terrorism, separatist movements, energy crisis etc.

Shadows of threat and conspiracy are looming on South Asia, East Asia and West Asia. The US is present in the region at Darwin where US marines are virtually present, in Afghanistan and in forging of Trans-Pacific Territorial disputes at South China Sea. On North Korea nuclear program, US and China have different views which fuels the tension between them. In Afghanistan, by 2014, the planned withdrawal seems impossible in the wake of recent developments. Plus incidents such as, the wanton killing of Afghans, burning of Quran and frequent humiliations of Afghans have provided the fuel to hatred against foreign troops present in Afghanistan.

In South Asia, US is deepening its ties with India for containing China. India is aliening its policy with US on Iran and other issues. China and India still have Tibet border issue. In post withdrawal Iraq, the capacity of Iraq is severely constrained. In Central Asia, China and Russia are able to found common grounds of cooperation. SCO may not be like NATO, but would possibly be a bulwark for future intruders. In
Arab world, the Arab Spring has brought uncertainty and shattered political stability in the region. Since US Abbottabad raid Pak-US relations have been deteriorated. The Chinese assurance to Pakistan and praise of its efforts against terrorism has always been source of contentment for Pakistan.

Over the last 60 years, the excellent ties between Pakistan and China have been deepened. They are having similar concerns on US presence in Afghanistan, Indo-US nuclear deal and both believed that terrorism is not linked with any ethnic group. They have carried out joint military exercises. Pakistan also handed over terrorist of separatist movement to China. They are also heavily engaged in military production and economic development. China has offered Pakistan to help in dealing with energy crises.

The rapid development in China increased its energy consumption; this has added the importance of Pakistan. The strategically important Gawadar Port of Pakistan lies near the Straits of Hormuz, gateway to the Gulf through which 40% of the world oil passes. The port also has a great commercial attraction. It lies 1,250 miles from Xinjiang, a land-locked western province and latecomer to China economic boom.

In SAARC, the economically vibrant China is welcoming option. Minimal interactions at people-to-people contact are prerequisite for transition of smooth relationship. Youth exchange programs are important for future relationship. To conclude, the common enmity is no longer common basis for cooperation. Dialogues and continuous interaction are important. However, the fundamentals of relationship remained intact; there is a need to add substance by increasing cooperation in all fields.

**Interactive Discussion**

During the interactive discussion the participants were keen in deliberating suitable ways of enhancing the bilateral relations between both the states. In addition they were also keen in focusing on key regional security issues and what role China may play in order to face the menace of these issues. It was opined that relations may be enhanced with a three-pronged focus in terms of political, economic and regional security issues.

In the political sector making grass root arrangements is required. Miniature yet important aspects like learning each other’s language and institutionalizing the institutions is the requirement of the day. This is possible by enhancing cooperation in
the educational sector and providing better opportunities to students through fruitful student exchange programs and signing MOU’s. Furthermore, if in the past various MOU’s have been signed a need of implementing them in tangible terms is required. Undoubtedly, both the states enjoy historical cordial relations and have survived through every thick and thin. Thus, political challenges faced by Pakistan in terms of projects like the Iran-Pakistan-India pipeline requires Chinese involvement. The regional political challenges faced by both the states are to be addressed mutually. In addition, Pakistan needs to learn from the Chinese evolution since the 50’s and China is expected to help the Pakistani’s in this regard.

In economic challenges, the major concerns were related to China’s regional economic role. Pakistan may promote this role by facilitating Chinese outreach to the Indian Ocean. Hence, the Gwadar port becomes extremely important in this regard. It would not only help Pakistan economically but also provides a way out against the Extra Regional Forces present in the Ocean.

Regarding the regional security issues, it was agreed that cooperation becomes vital for both the states in order to face these challenges. The entire regional scenario is faced with a wearing off of state sovereignty in the wake of extra-regional presence and Global War on Terror. For instance, the over-stretched Afghanistan issue and the projected US drawdown in 2014 are bound to raise security concerns for both Pakistan and China. In addition, an inclination of the US to act as a regional hegemonic actor or proxy also heightens threat perceptions of the regional states. These hotbeds of conflict persist as people’s right of self-determination and principles of international legitimacy have been side-stepped.

**Wrap-Up**

In his wrap-up remarks Dr. Tanvir Ahmed Khan emphasized on strengthening the Pak-China relations in the backdrop of the upcoming regional and global issues. China’s consistent peaceful rise shifted the world from uni-polarity to multi-polarity and pulled half a billion people out of poverty. This is making the US nervous thus; it is busy in developing strategies to contain China. Consequently, it is using proxies and assuring the East Asian countries that they should not succumb to this rise. On the other hand it has also shifted its concentration towards the Pacific. However, this does not mean that
the U.S. will cease its engagement in South Asia and the Central Asian Region. Thus, for the ambiance of regional security, China may play a significant and assertive role. This is so because China has managed to come out of the ‘middle income bracket’ and reach the goal of ‘high income bracket’ and become a global economic giant. Nevertheless, its gradual rise in every sector is being considerably felt by the world.

Thus, in this scenario, Pak-China relations may be strengthened with a five-fold focus: firstly, the strategic partnership is to be enhanced, secondly, U.S. shift of locus of power to Pacific and persistent physical presence in South Asia through NATO is a mutual security threat which is to be tackled jointly. Thirdly, China may help Pakistan through its economic development, Fourthly, mutually tone down the blank western efforts to effect the Pak-China relations and Fifthly, institutionalize the intellectual efforts by paving way for joint programs of think-tanks and academic forums from both the sides.
CONCLUDING REMARKS

After fifth session, DG ISSRA Major General Ziauddin Najam summed up the thorough and intense deliberative exercise which was spread over two days and five thematic sessions.

Salients of concluding remarks

- The discussions held during the seminar were thought-provoking and stimulating which enabled the participants to share thoughts and experiences that are so vital for any policy-relevant decision-making and drive in the contemporary environment.

- The deliberations supplement the endeavors that are made at governmental level. This should help in the way forward on issues of priority and mutual concern.

- This joint seminar is not merely an academic exercise amongst our three think tanks. Indeed these deliberations signified the importance of dynamic relationship between Pakistan and China and of the invaluable role which relates to sharing of thoughts and experiences and set the stage for more comprehensive scholastic endeavors that we should make in the days ahead.

- The two-day long deliberations have signified a marked convergence in the two sides perceptions of the evolving situation in our neighborhood and the potential that continues to exist for taking up opportunities in various domains:
  - First, Pakistan and China have an abiding interest to assure stability, peace and progress in a trans-regional setting amidst critical changes now taking place in the global and regional environment.
  - Second, Reconfirmation those in strategic terms, Pakistan-China relationship is strongly poised to outweigh any machinations towards rightful roles that either of us is poised to play in the days to come.
  - Third, convergence between China and Pakistan must now translate itself into a greater economic cooperation bilaterally and in the larger region as well.
ANNEXES
# SEMINAR PROGRAMME

**(Tuesday, 03 April 2012)**

## REGISTRATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09:00-09:25</td>
<td>Registration</td>
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## INAUGURATION

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09:30-09:45</td>
<td>Recitation</td>
<td>NS Hall</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welcome Address by President NDU</td>
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## SESSION – 1:

**An overview of the evolving strategic environment – Central & South Asia**

**Chair:** Amb Riaz Khokhar

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Activity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09:50-10:10</td>
<td>Speaker 1: Dr. Maria Sultan (20 min)</td>
<td>NS Hall</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:15-10:45</td>
<td>Speaker 2: Col Pan Zheng (30 min)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:50-11:40</td>
<td>Interactive Discussion (50 min)</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:40-11:55</td>
<td>Wrap up by the Chair (15 min)</td>
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12:00-13:00 **Lunch Break**

## SESSION – 2:

**Afghanistan Situation and Way Forward: Reviewing the strategic dimensions and implications of the regional approach**

**Chair:** Amb Rustam Shah Mohmand

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13:05-13:35</td>
<td>Speaker 1: Mr. Qin Zhilai (30 min)</td>
<td>NS Hall</td>
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<td>13:40-14:00</td>
<td>Speaker 2: Amb Rustam Shah Mohmand (20 min)</td>
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<td>14:05-14:55</td>
<td>Interactive Discussion (50 min)</td>
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<td>14:55-15:10</td>
<td>Wrap up by the Chair (15 min)</td>
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<td>15:10-15:30</td>
<td>Tea/Coffee</td>
<td>NS Lounge</td>
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## SESSION – 3:

**Perspectives on Indo-US strategic partnership**

**Chair:** Dr. Riffat Hussain

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<tr>
<td>15:35-15:55</td>
<td>Speaker 1: Dr. Tahir Amin (20 min)</td>
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<td>16:00-16:30</td>
<td>Speaker 2: Commander Guo Ruipeng (30 min)</td>
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<td>16:35-17:25</td>
<td>Interactive Discussion (50 min)</td>
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<td>17:25-17:40</td>
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## BANQUET

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<tr>
<td>19:30-21:30</td>
<td>Banquet hosted by President NDU (Exchange of souvenirs) Musical Band</td>
<td>Banquet Hall</td>
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**SESSION – 4:**
**Key issues in economic development: Enhancing bilateral cooperation**
**Chair:** Dr. Ishrat Hussain

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<tr>
<td>10:30-11:00</td>
<td>Speaker 1: Dr. Ashfaqe Hasan (30 min)</td>
<td>NS Hall</td>
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<td>11:00-11:30</td>
<td>Speaker 2: Mr. Mu Zhanlao (30 min)</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:30-12:20</td>
<td>Interactive Discussion (50 min)</td>
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<td>12:20-12:35</td>
<td>Wrap up by the Chair (15 min)</td>
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12:40-13:40  **Lunch Break**

**SESSION – 5:**
**Key issues in regional security: Enhancing Bilateral cooperation**
**Chair:** Dr. Tanvir Ahmad Khan

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<td>13:45-14:15</td>
<td>Speaker 1: Mr. Liu Jianfei (30 min)</td>
<td>NS Hall</td>
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<tr>
<td>14:15-14:35</td>
<td>Speaker 2: Amb Khalid Mahmood (20 min)</td>
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<tr>
<td>14:35-15:25</td>
<td>Interactive Discussion (50 min)</td>
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<tr>
<td>15:25-15:40</td>
<td>Wrap up by the Chair (15 min)</td>
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PROFILES
## Session Chairs: Profiles

### Ambassador Riaz Khokhar  
Chair Session-1

Riaz Hussain Khokhar is the former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan. He also served as Pakistan's Ambassador to India, the United States and China during his long and distinguished diplomatic career.

### Ambassador Rustam Shah Mohmand  
Chair Session-2

Rustam Shah Mohmand is specialist of Afghanistan and Central Asian affairs and a renowned security analyst. He has served as Ambassador of Pakistan to Afghanistan and has held position of Chief Commissioner Refugees for around ten years.

### Dr. Riffat Hussain  
Chair Session-3

Dr. Riffat Hussain is the Chairman of DSS department at Quaid-e-Azam University. Previously he has worked as Executive director, regional center for strategic studies (RCSS) in Sri Lanka, DG and senior research fellow, NDC in Pakistan and as Minister (information) at embassy of Pakistan, in Washington. Plus he has been visiting professor in the department of political science and visiting faculty member in the center for international security and cooperation, (CISAC) at Stanford University U.S.A. He has written hundreds of quality articles, chapters of the books and other research material on Pakistan's foreign policy, South Asia and international relations.

### Dr. Ishrat Hussain  
Chair Session-4

Dr. Ishrat Husain is Dean and Director of IBA Karachi. He has obtained Doctorate in Economics from Boston University in 1978. He worked as Chairman National Commission for Government Reforms and Governor State Bank of Pakistan. His over 20 years work with World Bank dwells as: Director Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Aral Sea Country Unit, Director Poverty and Social Policy Department,
Chief Economist East Asia, Pacific and Africa Regions, Division Chief Debt and International Finance and Resident Representative in Nigeria In 1975-76. He also worked as Additional Secretary (Development) in the Planning and Development Department of Sindh.

In recognition of his services Dr. Ishrat was conferred the prestigious award of “Hilal-e-Imtiaz” by the President of Pakistan in 2003. The Banker Magazine of London declared him as the Central Bank Governor of the year for Asia in 2005. He received the Asian Banker Lifetime achievement award in 2006. Mr. Hussain has authored 17 books and monographs and contributed more than two dozen articles in refereed journals and 15 chapters in books on the issues of Debt, Adjustment, African Development and Poverty and Pakistan’s economy. He serves on the Boards of several research institutes, philanthropic and cultural organizations.

Ambassador Tanvir Ahmad Khan is the former Chairman and Director General, Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad. He has served as Foreign Secretary, Chairman, Pakistan TV Corporation and Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation, Ambassador to Bangladesh, Iran, Czechoslovakia, France and Russian Federation. He has held other diplomatic offices; Minister, Embassy of Pakistan, Bonn and Kabul and Counselor, Pakistan High Commission, London as well. He has participated in various conferences held by the U.N General Assembly, UNESCO General Conferences and SAARC Conferences. He frequently writes in national and international press on regional and international issues.
GUEST SPEAKERS: PROFILES

Dr. Maria Sultan  
Speaker Session-1

Director General of the South Asian Strategic Stability Institute (SASSI), Dr. Maria Sultan specializes in South Asian nuclear arms control issues, disarmament and weapon systems development, she has published widely in academic journals and the national and international Newspapers.

Formerly the deputy dir of South Asian Strategic Stability Unit at the Bradford Disarmament Research Centre, Dr. Sultan is on the list of visiting faculty member/speaker as Pakistan’s National Defence University. Pakistan Foreign Service Academy, Pakistan Air War College. Pakistan Naval War College and is a guest lecturer at Quaid-e-Azam University and the University of Peshawar and Command and Staff College Quetta.

Senior Col Pan Zheng  
Speaker Session-1

Senior Col. Dr. Pan Zheng is a researcher in research department of NDU China. He is also serving as councilor in the Center of South Asia-West China Cooperation and Development. He has done Ph D in strategy from Military Science Academy of China. Since his appointment as an officer in 1989, Pan had been platoon leader, company commander, operation and training staff officer, tactics instructor and battalion commander in PLA.

Ambassador Rustam Shah Mohmand  
Speaker Session-2

Rustam Shah Mohmand is specialist of Afghanistan and Central Asian affairs and a renowned security analyst. He has served as Ambassador of Pakistan to Afghanistan and has held position of Chief Commissioner Refugees for around ten years.

Mr. Qin Zhilai  
Speaker Session-2

Qin Zhilai is Professor and Deputy Director in Research Office of World Trends and Thoughts at Institute of International Strategic Studies at Party School of the
Central Committee. His areas of interest include: International Relations Theory, Regional Security, and International Media Studies. His articles on regional and international relations frequently appear in distinguished journals and magazines both in China and abroad.

**Dr. Tahir Amin**

Dr. Tahir Amin is Professor in the School of Political Science and International Relations at Quaid-e-Azam University. Previously, he was the Iqbal Chair at the Centre for International Studies, University of Cambridge, UK from 1997 to 2001. Dr. Amin is a Member of the Board of Governors at the National Institute of History Commission, the National Institute of Pakistan Studies, and the Area Study Center for North America and Africa, all at Quaid-e-Azam University.

He has written 7 books and over two dozen journal articles. 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.

**Commander Guo Ruipeng**

Guo Ruipeng is a member of the Center for National Defense Economy Research in National Defense University PLA China and Editor of Journal of National Defense Economy Research China. His research areas include national security strategy, national defense economy, relations between national defense construction and economic development and military-civil integration. From 2009 to 2010, Dr. Guo served the United Nations Mission in Liberia as a military observer.

**Dr. Ashfaque Hasan Khan**

Dr. Ashfaque Hasan Khan is currently Principal and Dean, NUST Business School, National University of Sciences & Technology (NUST), Islamabad. He holds PhD in economics. He is currently a member of the United Nations Expert Group to review the performance of the Asia-Pacific economies at the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (ESCAP).
Dr. Khan has been the spokes person of the Government of Pakistan on economic issues, Special Secretary Finance/Director General, Debt Office and Economic Adviser of the Ministry of Finance for 11 years from March 1998 to February 2009.

He joined the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) in 1979 as Research Economist and reached to the post of Joint Director of the institute before being appointed Economic Adviser of the Ministry of Finance.

Dr. Khan’s past experience includes: visiting Lecturer at the Towson State University in USA, Visiting Fellow at the Kiel Institute of World Economics in Germany, Consultant to the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (UN-ESCAP), the Asian and Pacific Development Centre, the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank. As Consultant to the Secretary General SAARC, he has the honor of preparing the Regional Study on Trade, Manufacturers and Services which served as the foundation for regional cooperation in South Asia including the establishment of the SAARC Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

He has published 9 books and more than 170 articles in national and international journals of economic science. He was awarded Sitara-i-Imtiaz in 2005. In 2010 he won the ECO Excellence Award for his outstanding contribution in the field of Economics. He has also the distinction of being a student of a Nobel Laureate in economics.

Mr. Mu Zhanlao

Mr. Mu Zhanlao is associate professor at Research Office of China’s Diplomacy, Institute of International Strategic Studies, CCPS. He is also Member of Executive Council of China Leadership Science Research Association and research fellow of China Market Economy Research Association. His research Interests mainly focus on American Studies, Sino-US relations, China development strategy, and cultural studies.

Mr. Liu Jianfei


Ambassador Khalid Mahmood

Former Ambassador of Pakistan to Iraq, China, Mongolia, Iran and Saudi Arabia Ambassador Khalid Mahmood has also served as Permanent Representative of Pakistan to OIC and ECO. He also worked in various government and Foreign Service posts including: Director General (United Nations) in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1978-81), Pakistan’s Deputy Representative to United Nations, New York (1981-84) and as an Additional Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1987-91).
PARTICIPANTS
# LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr</th>
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<th>Designation</th>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>NDU Command</strong></td>
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<td>1.</td>
<td>Maj Gen Ziauddin Najam</td>
<td>DG ISSRA</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Dr. P.I. Cheema</td>
<td>Dean FCS</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Chinese Delegation</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Col Pan Zheng</td>
<td>Senior Colonel, Researcher, Department of Scientific Research, PLA NDU</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Mr. Qin Zhilai</td>
<td>Researcher, Deputy Director of Current World Ideological Trend Researching Office, International Institute of Strategy Studies, CCPS</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Commander Guo Ruipeng</td>
<td>Commander, Teaching and Researching Department of Military Logistics and Scientific equipment, PLA NDU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Mr. Mu Zhanlao</td>
<td>Associate Research Fellow, Researching Officer China's Diplomacy, International Institute of Strategy Study CCPS</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Mr. Liu Jianfei</td>
<td>Vice Director General, International Strategic Studies Institute of Party School</td>
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<td><strong>Resource Persons (Including Chairs/Speakers)</strong></td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Amb Riaz Khokhar</td>
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<td>Dr. Tahir Amin</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>Amb Arif Kamal</td>
<td>Dir GS/RS</td>
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<td>Brig Masroor Ahmed</td>
<td>Dir DS</td>
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<td>21.</td>
<td>Brig M. Khursheeda</td>
<td>Dir IS &amp;R P</td>
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<td>Col Khush M. Khan</td>
<td>DD Lib</td>
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<td>Lt Col Dr. M. Sair ur Rehman</td>
<td>DD IS &amp;R P</td>
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<td>Lt Col Asif Raza</td>
<td>DD KC&amp;PP/CEPS</td>
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<td>Lt Col Manzoor Ahmed Abbasi</td>
<td>DD N&amp;MH</td>
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<td>Lt Col Edgar Felix</td>
<td>DD C &amp; C</td>
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<td><strong>Eminent Persons/DVFs (ISSRA)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Amb Inam ul Haque</td>
<td>House # 14, Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Road, Sector I-8/3, Islamabad</td>
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<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Amb Tariq Osman Hayder</td>
<td>House#18 Khyaban-e-Iqbal, F-7/3, Islamabad</td>
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<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>Mr. Moeed Pirzada</td>
<td>House # 5-B, St # 71, Ismael Zabeeh Road, Sector F-8/3, Islamabad (r)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Director News, Pakistan Television Corporation Limited (PTV),</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Headquarters, Constitution Avenue, Islamabad</td>
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**FCS Faculty**

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<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>Dr. Noman O. Sattar</td>
<td>HOD PCS</td>
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<td>51.</td>
<td>Dr. Sarfaraz Hussain Ansari</td>
<td>Asst Prof GPP</td>
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<td>Dr. Abdur Rehman</td>
<td>Asst Prof PCS</td>
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<td>53.</td>
<td>Dr. M. Bilal Munshi</td>
<td>Asst Prof IR</td>
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<td>Brig (R) Tahir-ul-Mulk Khalon</td>
<td>Asst Prof GPP</td>
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<td>Mr. Aqab Malik</td>
<td>Asst Prof S&amp;NS</td>
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<td>56.</td>
<td>Mr. Hamayoun Khan</td>
<td>Lecturer S&amp;NS</td>
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<td>57.</td>
<td>Mr. Muhammad Ali</td>
<td>Lecturer IR</td>
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<td>58.</td>
<td>Maj (R) Eshfaque Ahmed</td>
<td>Lecturer LMS</td>
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<td>59.</td>
<td>Syed Amir Ali</td>
<td>Lecturer LMS</td>
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<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>Mr. Ghulam Fareed Farukh</td>
<td>DS IR</td>
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**Think Tanks/Academia**

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<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>Col. Hanif</td>
<td>IPRI</td>
<td>051-9261348-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H # 6, St # 63, F-8/4, Islamabad</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>Ms Maria Saeed</td>
<td>Senior Research Fellow IPRI</td>
<td>051-9261348-50</td>
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<td>H # 6, St # 63, F-8/4, Islamabad</td>
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<td>63.</td>
<td>Amb Ashraf Jehangir Qazi</td>
<td>DG ISSI</td>
<td>051-9204423-4</td>
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<td>Sector F-5/2, Islamabad</td>
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<td>64.</td>
<td>Ms Simbal Khan</td>
<td>Director Afghanistan &amp; CA</td>
<td>051-9204423-4</td>
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<td>M. Ashraf Azim</td>
<td>President IRS</td>
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KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Distinguished Participants,
Members of the Faculty,
Ladies and Gentlemen

It is my profound privilege to welcome you in this joint seminar by NDU Islamabad with two prestigious Chinese think tanks: the Party School of Central Committee of the CPC and the PLA NDU. This two-day deliberative exercise is dedicated to a joint review of the strategic environment in our neighborhood and issues in regional security and economic development. The exercise is vital to carrying forward the wheel of bilateral cooperation between Pakistan and China. I would like to extend a very warm welcome to the Chinese delegation that has come a long way to participate in this milestone event amongst our three institutions, dedicated to studies in contemporary strategic and security environment.

At the very outset, I like to underline our shared believe that scholastic and intellectual collaborations amongst our institutions is only an index of the time-tested and solid strategic convergence of interests between Pakistan and China. The joint review of the evolving strategic environment shall enable our scholars and experts to share perceptions and to look beyond today for our common good in the days ahead. The two-day deliberation should, in fact, enforce the already existing understanding between our institutions and enable us to map-out and crystallize strategies on some of the vital international and regional issues. Possible solutions as we identify, should have the potential to make our region a better place to live in.

Today, we are witnessing critical changes in the global and regional environment: the world order is characterized by gradual erosion of unipolarity and ‘rise of the rest’. The US remains a dominant power but engaged in reordering its priorities and relying upon what is seen as ‘proxies’ and other methods in the pursuit of its goals. The scenario is distinct by China’s peaceful rise and the greater role that comes in its wake. Needless to say that in the wake of these changes Pakistan and China have an abiding interest to assure stability, peace and progress in a trans-regional setting.
Pakistan’s geo-political disposition at the cross roads of regions, unfolds the pivotal role that we take up and its critical linkages with Pakistan-China relationship. In strategic terms, Pakistan-China relationship is strongly poised to outweigh any machinations towards China and to counter any attempts against Pakistan’s vibrant existence viz-a-viz any hegemonic ambitions in the region. Concurrently, Pakistan is indeed the first and a natural geographic continuity for China’s economic and commercial outreach with the Gulf and West Asia. The Karakuram Highway and land route to Gawader Port only symbolize the potential significance of various aspects of the relationship.

Ladies and Gentlemen

The themes for this seminar flag aspects of contemporary interest in our neighborhood. The discussion deals with issues which impinge heavily upon peace and security in our common habitat. Concurrent with the erosion of unipolarity, there is a growing move to promote India as a regional hegemon and a proxy; and to serve as a counter-poise to the rise of China. At the same time, Pakistan and China have common stakes in an Afghan polity that is stable and promises progressive environment. They also have stakes in assuring that Afghanistan does not turn into a staging ground for intrigues against its neighbors.

On the other hand, the Western horizons are now clouded with an emerging economic predicament, the euro crisis, its impending fallout on dollar and the domino effect on various economies. The regional security scenario is faced with an erosion of state sovereignty in the wake of extra regional presence and waves of GWOT. An inclination to act as regional hegemon or proxy also accentuates the threat perceptions. Hotbeds of conflict persist as people’s right of self determination and principles of international legitimacy have been side-stepped.

In this context, strategic convergence between Pakistan and China carries the potential of playing critical role in alleviating the situation and remobilizing structures of peace and progress. I hope that distinguished scholars and experts congregated here would be able to suggest a way forward which is mutually beneficial.

Distinguished participants,

These are some of the thoughts, I am sure, would remain in the forefront of scholarly gaze in the discussion which the panelists would unfold during these two
days. The scholarly endeavors of speakers from both the sides and active participation from the audience will generate a meaningful discussion and will help us in arriving at some tangible conclusions.

All that remains for me to say is that I hope our guests from the People’s Republic of China and those who have come from outside NDU are comfortable. Please feel free to bring to our notice anything else we can do to make your stay more enjoyable.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I once again, very profoundly thank the audience for their presence here today. Let me assure you that we very highly value your presence and hope that we would have a lively, open and constructive discussion in the two days of our interaction here.

Thank you.