Center for
Research &
Security
Studies

DISCUSSION FORUM

Debate on Security & Governance

2011

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Debate on Security & Governance

Issue: 2011 No. 3

Center for Research & Security Studies

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Introduction

Monthly Discussion Forum is a permanent feature of advocacy and awareness campaign of the Centre for Research and Security Studies (CRSS). The Discussion Forum 2011 packages conferences/seminars, consultations and roundtables that the Centre managed to hold on issues such as:

Pakistan's Future: Expectations and Realities
Reflecting on Thimphu: Future of India-Pakistan Relationship
Perspectives on Counter Terrorism
Swat-Kohistan: Problems and their Solution
Pakistan and Central Asia with Special Reference to SCO
Pak-India Relations: No War Pact?
Effective Implementation of the Balochistan Rights' Package
Securing a Frontline State: Alternative Views on Peace and Conflict in Pakistan

Leading politicians, renowned intellectuals, former diplomats, retired civil and military bureaucrats and civil society representatives participated in these events and provided insightful perspectives on issues that directly impinge on the lives of common Pakistanis.

CRSS also had the honor to host the delegations of the United Institute of Peace (USIP) and International Center for Counter Terrorism (ICCT), The Hague during 2011. It partnered with Defence and Strategic Studies Department, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad and Actionaid, Pakistan for organizing series of discussion forums/seminars to debate and discuss the issues matter in Pakistan.

These consultations underscore CRSS's commitment to civil society dialogue, social awareness and an endeavor to disseminate new ideas and analysis on national and regional issues. Usually good media coverage also underlines the importance that media attaches to CRSS's Discussion Forum. This document will hopefully serve as a useful reference guide on socio-political and security issues, as well as those policy matters which keep the public and private sectors engaged. The Centre hopes to have put together a good reference document on various contemporary issues which researchers in particular would find valuable for their work.

Pakistan's Future: Expectations and Realities

Executive Summary

The Center for Research and Security Studies organized a roundtable discussion with the senior practitioners of Pakistan's security and foreign policy issues on Saturday January 15, 2011. The session was arranged to deliberate on "Pakistan's Future: Expectations and Realities." In this well attended meeting, the experts had a common voice about the precariousness of the present situation on nearly all of the important national fronts in Pakistan i.e. democracy, militancy, economy, foreign policy and regional issues.

Seven out of the ten interjectors termed militancy among the highest challenges that the State and society of Pakistan are faced with while all agreed that that poverty, lack of education and social and political polarization were also daunting issues.

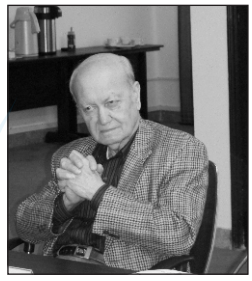
On the political issues, all had consensus that Pakistan's political government must improve its standards of governance if a popular dissent among the people has to be prevented.

Talking about the economy, an expert proposed that Pakistan should announce that it has defaulted in the international financial market while another said that Pakistan's ruling elite and its people were unaware of the consequences of declaring a default.

The animated discussion brought to the fore the element of alarm that these very senior, expert and accomplished professionals feel from their point of view. Following are excerpts from their expectations.

1. Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Talat Masood

Former Secretary Defense Production

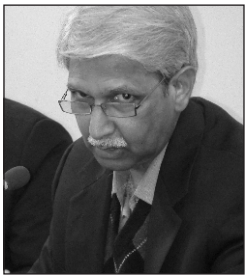


Pakistan today stands in the midst of a diverse set of issues that will drive its destiny. The gravest of which is the problem of militancy that poses a threat to its security and has been eating away at its economy. Pakistan will never find itself on the path to recovery unless it tackles its problem of insurgency and becomes an economically viable state that does not rely on foreign assistance. For the latter to happen, it is imperative that we invest in human capital through better provision of education and healthcare along with physical capital. These targets are not impossible to meet, but the underlying requirement is the presence of good governance, strong institutions and a true democracy. The strengthening of democracy will only come about when the feudal structure of the society and politics is changed and equilibrium is established between the military and the civil society. The internal problems need urgent attention, however, the geo-strategic factors including Pakistan's relationship with India and the situation in Afghanistan will also play an important role in shaping the future of Pakistan. Any part of this report could be quoted. A reference to the original document and CRSS would be much appreciated.

2. Ambassador (Retd.) Ashraf Jehangir Qazi
Former Special Envoy of the UN

The future of Pakistan might be lost if the current self-serving policies of the government are not replaced with policies that better serve the interest of the public. The current political, economic and foreign policies in place will most likely lead the country to disaster because of their short sighted and ad hoc nature. There seems to be a general lack of interest in the political leadership to improve the abysmal state of affairs befalling Pakistan. Corruption and jobbery have infested the very foundation of the governance structure and there is no accountability or moral pressure to bring this evil to an end. There is a lack of investment in our younger generation that will bring about outcomes that are unimaginable to many, given the condition of the education sector in Pakistan and the presence of extremist ideologies that plague our society.

3. Air Vice Marshal (Retd.) Shahzad Chaudhary



The two main causes of concern for Pakistan, fueled by growing militancy and a weak economy are (i) the weakness of its state that is incapable of controlling the overwhelming situation at hand and (ii) the polarization of its society that is on the verge of fragmentation. There exists the liberal/extremist divide, the rich/poor divide and the civil/military divide that makes national cooperation extremely difficult. If these trends were to continue in the next five years, they will lead us to complete anarchy. In order to save Pakistan from a state of anarchy or breakdown, the political system will need to re-orient itself and replace the out-dated policies with policies that address and tackle the current issues more efficiently and effectively. The military as an organization will have to be more honest in order to gain the trust of the people. Finally, a national vision will be required in order to create sustainable solutions to the three Es – Education, Economy and the Environment.

4. Ambassador (Retd.) Arif Ayub

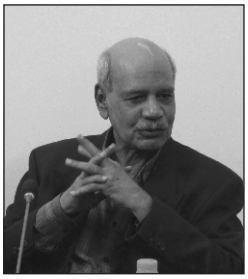
Militancy is the biggest hurdle to Pakistan's growth and unfortunately, the poverty-ridden situation of our society does not help much to curtail it. The poverty map matches the militancy map almost completely. So the most effective way to overcome militancy would be through eradicating poverty, which in effect will be done through the strengthening of the economy. Much innovation will be required to come up with more modern and focused policies and vision that will pull us out of the downward spiral that we got absorbed into in the early sixties. The military is the only surviving institution. in Pakistan and it is inevitable to exclude it from the governance of Pakistan unless the existing civil institutions are fixed and strengthened.

5. Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Mohammad Amjad
Former Chairman National Accountability Bureau (NAB)

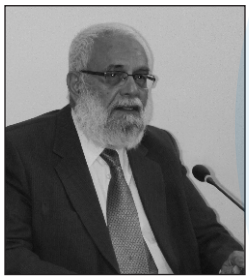
Pakistan faces a multitude of pressing problems and a change is direly needed but highly unlikely. The main institutional and non-institutional players that have the power to bring about a change refrain, because the status quo suits their needs. The extreme right might bring a change but that will be a change for the worse.

Since, any expectations from these actors will serve futile, I believe that the change will have to come from the common man who will not be driven by either politics or the extreme right, but by poverty. If things continue to proceed the same way they are now, a public uprising is likely to take place somewhere in the near or distant future. Thus, it is important that the government mends its ways and the current systems find a way to correct themselves, because this is the only peaceful and productive solution to Pakistan's problems.

6. Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Asad Durrani
Former Director General, ISI



I don't see any symptoms of change in the policies or direction in the near future unless something unforeseen comes to pass. The common perception is that Pakistan is ruled either by the military or a democracy, but we are largely an oligarchy where the policy is shaped by a few pressure groups that try to bend these policies in their own favor. If this dynamic continues, the situation will keep getting worse. As far as the role of Afghanistan is concerned, more violence can be expected to happen in the region, which will result in an increase in violence in Pakistan as well. On the militancy front, it is quite likely that the extremism will get more mobilized and more violence might stem as a reaction to the drone attacks and other counter-insurgency policies employed in the tribal areas.



7. Mr. Hussaini
AgroEconomist, Water Expert and Consultant:

Some of Pakistan's problems are more urgent to solve than others and it is important at this point to prioritize which of these problems need to be dealt with first. Pakistan's economy is in shambles and everyone in the country faces a threat to his or her security. It is incumbent upon us to solve the security problem by ensuring law and order and good governance, if we want things to start falling back into place.

As far as the water issue is concerned, per capita water availability is going down and Pakistan is becoming more water deficient. About seven billion acre-feet of water is estimated to be diverted illegally and an additional amount is being lost to seepage. This can be devastating for our economy that relies heavily on the export of food and fiber. The decrease in water availability in Pakistan is alarming and proper mechanisms need to be put in place to monitor and improve water management if we want our economy to thrive.

8. Tahira Abdullah
Human Rights Activist

A lot of things in Pakistan seem to have hit a low point. The food inflation reached officially to a high of 25% in the previous year. 51% of our population lives below the absolute poverty line of $1 a day, while 74% of it lives below $2 a day according to the Oxford Poverty Research Center statistics. There has been an increase in extremism and militancy in the country, which maps exactly to the poverty stricken areas of Pakistan, making widespread poverty an even bigger problem. In order to solve the troubles facing Pakistan, it is essential that we move from an unsustainably high debt servicing and astronomic military expenditures of a National Security State towards a Human Security

State. We should negotiate our external debt-equity swaps to be spent on universal, free and compulsory education, basic necessities, environmental conservation and employment-generation. We must also rein in the hydra-headed monster of religious extremism through addressing both the internal and the externals dimensions of this very complex problem.

9. Ambssador (Retd.) Ayaz Wazir

Poverty remains to be the biggest driver behind the explosion of militancy in the tribal areas. The problem of poverty and illiteracy is already very pronounced and the operations in the Northern Areas are only worsening the situation by adding IDPs to it. This problem will continue to haunt us unless we decide to stop fighting America's war and choose to focus on our internal issues. Our political leadership lacks the will and capability to pull us out of this economic and political turmoil, while the military seems impatient to take charge and bring about a radical change. If the government continues to follow its path of indifference, the military will step forward to save us, which most probably will also fail and lead us to a breakdown. There is an urgent need for our civil leadership to wake up and save the future of this country while it still can.

10. Mosharraf Zaidi

Political Economist, Columnist, Consultant

In the next five years, Pakistan will see a weakening of an already weak democracy, worsening of the already horrific social conditions, an exacerbation of the already pervasive problem of religious extremism and terrorism and an increasing isolation of Pakistan from the rest of the world. Nothing will largely change in the coming few years but there might be a reduction in the intensity and gravity of these problems if remedial steps are taken at the right time. To improve the unfavorable conditions persisting in Pakistan, an immediate solution would be to promote trade and business that will lead us to economic growth. Another measure that is essential and not easy to undertake by any means is replacing the illiterate imams with educated ones and freeing the institution of madrassas from the irrational extremist ideologies. Talking of public sector reform, two very daunting and rational decisions will have to be made in order to get ahead in improving the institutional deficiencies. We will have to default on our international debt obligations and bring cuts in the defense budget and use those freed up resources to build a better Pakistan.

Reflecting on Thimphu:
Future of India-Pakistan Relationship

Executive Summary

CRSS and United States Institute of Peace [USIP] jointly organized a seminar titled "Reflecting on Thimphu: Future of Pakistan-India Relationship" at Islamabad on March 11, 2011. The speakers panel comprised Aziz Ahmed Khan, Pakistan's former High Commissioner to India; Reza ul Hassan, correspondent Press Trust of India in Islamabad; Dr. Marvin Weinbaum, scholar at Washington-based Middle East Institute; and Ahsan Iqbal, secretary Information Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz [PML-N].

The learned speakers underscored the need for the two countries to evaluate the actual development on the various Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) reached in 2008 with a serious and sincere approach to implement them.

They called upon New Delhi and Islamabad to resume the dialogue process with the immediate success stories by materializing the agreements already concluded on relatively less critical issues like Siachen and Sir Creek, and then, they added, the two countries can move forward to resolve the complicated disputes like Kashmir. "India's indifferent response to implement the agreements reached on smaller issues did not create an environment conducive for the two countries to move forward", Aziz Ahmed Khan observed.

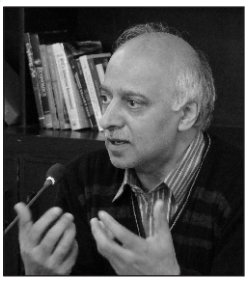
Ahsan Iqbal was of the view that unless parliamentarians of the two countries sit together and discuss the contentious issues, there were little chances of success. He said Pakistan wanted a non-hostile Afghanistan with no desire to have any influence in the country.

Agreeing with Mr. Iqbal, Dr Winbaum said an unstable or a failed Afghanistan would be dangerous for the entire world. He said the international community and the regional states need to work together to make the country stable.

Reza ul Hassan emphasized on improvement of people to people contacts to help create the atmosphere favorable for resolving the bilateral disputes.

1. Imtiaz Gul

Executive Director (CRSS)



This event jointly organized by CRSS and USIP [United States Institute of Peace] is basically a continuation of many non-governmental initiatives that are going around like *Aman ki Asha* [hope for peace] and Pugwash and many others. And at the heart of all these initiatives is desire for peace between India and Pakistan to the advantage of around 1.5 billion people living in South Asia. We hope that the discussion today not only reflects on these issues but also goes ahead, and our candid speakers can throw light on how both countries can really move forward.

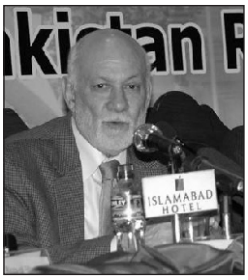
2. Moeed Yousuf

Advisor USIP South Asia

This seminar is a part of series that CRSS and USIP have been organizing together. The idea really is to discuss issues which are important for Pakistan and have relevance for the US policy in the region as well. USIP is a Washington-based think-tank formed by the US Congress but it is an independent think-tank

which does research on conflict resolution and management across the world. Unlike other Washington-based think-tanks, we are also trying to work on the ground in Pakistan, and this is one example of that. There are trainers who look after the resolution training, and we also support Track-II dialogues. There are also grants programs going on in Pakistan.

3. Aziz Ahmed Khan
Former High Commissioner to New Delhi



India-Pakistan dialogue prior to Mumbai incident had generated a lot of hope. Although it has not made any spectacular achievements, but if we look at the period from 2004-08, a substantive amount of progress was made in the form of Confidence Building Measures [CBMs] relating to peace and security, Kashmir issue, people to people contacts, cultural relations, bilateral trade, etc.

Now that the two countries are going to embark on a new round of the dialogue process [Interior Secretary-level talks on March 28-29], my personal advice to the two delegations would be that they should first have a look at all what was agreed to in the last four years of the composite dialogue and to see what went wrong, as most of the CBMs, including cross Line of Control [LoC] trade, bus service, visa issuance etc, have not functioned well. The governments may be right in moving cautiously in certain cases but they should not be cautious in people to people contacts or movement of people across the border.

We reached an agreement on Siachen in 1989, but failed to implement it; and unfortunately in that, the blame lies more on the Indian side because they are insisting on certain pre-conditions. Similarly, Sir Creek is a non-issue. All the surveys about maritime boundary lines between the two countries have been completed, and all what is needed is that the surveyors from the two sides sit down and decide the boundary. As for Kashmir, a lot of discussions have taken place. The two sides can benefit what has been discussed in the past, and move forward to resolve this outstanding issue. Regarding trade, Pakistan can benefit from a much larger economy, and in order to help Pakistan, India should do something about removal of para-tariff and non-tariff barriers on Pakistani exports. Terrorism is a subject which needs to be taken more seriously rather than hurling accusations at each other. It is much better that the two sides sit down and create a mechanism as to how they can work about exchanging information in order to have a joint strategy to combat terrorism. In that, intelligence agencies of the two sides need to cooperate in a back-channel approach in order to exchange information to fight this particular menace. India needs to realize that there would be definitely a sincerity of cooperation were they to sit down with Pakistan and seriously try to handle that issue.

The easiest of all is the people-to-people contacts. A lot of scope exists in tourism, cultural relations, education, health, scientific cooperation and in many other fields. As far as water issue is concerned, the two sides have been following the Indus Water Treaty. The Treaty has stood the test of time. This is one treaty which has perfectly worked between the two countries. We should try to resolve all water disputes within the treaty and there is also scope of cooperation beyond the treaty. Because of the climate change and environmental degradation, the watershed of rivers that supply water to us has deteriorated considerably. And the two countries need to sit down and see how watershed management can be improved.

4. Reza ul Hassan

Correspondent Press Trust of India in Islamabad

I agree with Mr. Khan that as the two sides get down to another round of talks, they need to focus on things which are achievable. A deal can be struck very soon on Siachen and Sir Creek if both sides have the political will. We have to focus on attainable while we keep on discussing the bigger issues like Kashmir. The people of Kashmir want solution of the issue. All the political groups in Kashmir, including that of Omar Abdullah, Mehbooba Mufti and of course Mirwaiz Omar Farooq should be included into the talks.

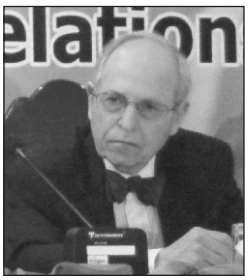
Trade, of course, is one issue which both sides have not done enough on. The Indian goods are being sold in Islamabad market, but they are brought in from Dubai, and the mark up is over 150 percent. The same product could be easily traded between the two countries. Similarly, there are Pakistani products which would have a ready market in India, but there are so many trade barriers and certain other things, which do not let this bilateral trade happen. These are the smaller issues on which you can hammer out agreements, build out things and than go back to the people and sell them.

It is surprising that as we get down to another round of talks, there is virtually no mention of Afghanistan in the talks. Whether we like it or not, Afghanistan has become a huge issue in this region; it is an issue of India and Pakistan. Both sides have suspicions about each other's role in Afghanistan. We have to discuss Afghanistan. As for terrorism, I believe that the Mumbai attack was an opportunity for both sides to do greater work on terrorism. There is a need to have some sort of interface between security agencies. If the militaries can have hot lines, why are intelligence and security agencies on both sides not exploring the possibility of having hot line?

As regards visa issuance and people to people contacts, I believe that is one of the most neglected areas. There has been virtually no kind of sustained extensive people to people contacts. You do have delegations of journalists and parliamentarians visiting each side but that does not mean exchanges between the common people of the two sides. The two countries need to ease up visa regime so that people could rush to their relatives in either country in emergencies and youths could interact.

5. Dr. Marvin Weinbaum

Scholar at Washington-based Middle East Institute



At this point in time, the major point of tension between India and Pakistan really focuses on Afghanistan. Afghanistan is seen by Pakistan as providing an opportunity for India to encircle Pakistan. Interestingly, India's perspective is different. India sees Afghanistan not an opportunity to bring about a second front against Pakistan but as a critical place where India has a stake because of Islamic extremism. So, for India, Pakistan is about Islamic extremism. In Afghanistan, Pakistan is seen as an overbearing state that if it could, would exercise undue influence in the country. In some respects, India is to Afghanistan what China is to Pakistan. It has long been the case that the relationship between New Delhi and Kabul has been a strong one. In 1950s and 1960s, the two countries had economic, cultural as well as political ties.

Pakistan sees Afghanistan as an opportunity for India to destabilize it. We hear a great deal about Indians being no good to Balochistan, and that India plays a role in the activities by extremists in the Frontier and other parts of the country. I believe there is a lot of exaggeration in this thinking. There are four Indian consulates, not 15 or 20. If the consulates are collecting information, it is their job. India is

active in Afghanistan in a way developmentally that Pakistan is not. It does not mean that India is doing it as a benevolent activity, but India has economic interest in Afghanistan. As for India's role in Balochistan, I would like to see Pakistan if it has evidence of this to show. If it is there, the international community must see it. Up to this date, Pakistan has not done that. With respect to the TTP, I am afraid this still is in the realm of conspiracy theory. I am hard pressed to find as an analyst that India has anything to gain by strengthening extremists' presence in the Frontier which ultimately challenges the state of Pakistan. A destabilized Pakistan is not in India's interest; it presents the most serious threats that India has to its national security. A stable Pakistan that is in control of its own destiny is far more the kind of Pakistan that India ultimately can feel comfortable in arriving at agreements.

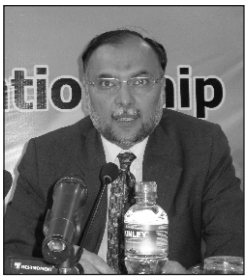
What should be Pakistan's concern with regard to India is the advent of a civil war in Afghanistan. In that case, we will see a proxy conflict in Afghanistan, in which Iran, Russia and its clients and India will be involved. Under no circumstances, an Indian military presence in Afghanistan will be of any use, but the armies' entry into Afghanistan is a very real possibility. That, to me, represents threat.

India and Pakistan have a common interest in Afghanistan in its stability and in its being reasonably peaceful and prosperous. They have common interest in avoiding the occasion when radical forces may take the ascendance in Afghanistan. It serves neither country's interest to see an Afghanistan which becomes a platform for extremism in the region.

The United States uses this kind of convergence of interest here as being critical to its own desire to bring about a stable Pakistan and to get out as soon as possible. It sees any success that India and Pakistan register will ultimately put Pakistan in a position where it will find much easily cooperative first by dealing with its own internal challenges and then to ultimately seek that our interests converge in Afghanistan. In general, the United States has tried somewhat unsuccessfully to detach its India and Pakistan policies. This is the US official policy that both countries present different opportunities and demands and they must be handled independently. I do not think we have done it very successfully. The US will love to see Kashmir settled because the issue represents a major irritant in the region. To me, Kashmir is the end of the process, not the key to start the process. Kashmir will be settled when India and Pakistan relations are settled.

6. Ahsan Iqbal

Secretary Information Pakistan Muslims League-Nawaz [PML-N]



Pakistan-India relations have gone through different phases. Unfortunately, after Mumbai incident, we saw there was certain response in India, which made those terrorists look successful because that incident was carried out with precise objective of stalling the India-Pakistan peace process. The manner in which India responded and went hysterical about this incident, that served the cause of those elements which wanted peace to suffer. After the Mumbai incident, there was another low in India-Pakistan relations. However, now sanity is prevailing and both sides are realizing they need to move forward.

During our (a Pakistani delegation) recent visit to India, we met a lot of parliamentarians. One element of this India-Pakistan diplomacy which takes place at Track-II level was that in the past, the Indian politicians were either deliberately shying away this peace process or through some oversight they were not made part of this process. I always believe that unless there is political ownership of this

peace process on both sides of the border, it is very difficult to find solutions out of the political context.

A section of Indian leadership has a miscalculated approach that they are growing at eight-nine percent annually and they need no one. 'Pakistan does not want peace, it is Pakistan's problem; we are okay." This assumption is based on short-sightedness because I have not seen any sustained growth in any part of the world where you can build growth on any island; growth is always built on continents. It has to have a much broader platform of peace and stability on which you can build sustainable progress.

Another thinking among the Indian leadership was that 'if another Mumbai-like incident takes place, there will be a response from the Indian side'. We said 'you should first qualify your statement. Do you think that the state of Pakistan or the government of Pakistan may initiate anything like that? And if government of Pakistan and state of Pakistan is not supporting terrorism, you have to understand that there are not just non-state actors within Pakistan but also in the region who have an incentive to disrupt the peace process because that will bring the Pakistani troops from Western borders to Eastern borders and that becomes a haven for them in the region.'

In India, there is still not greater appreciation of Pakistan's concerns on the water issue. They do not understand Pakistan's case on the issue, and thus, we need to make it clearer to not only just Indian audiences but the international community that there is a risk of an emerging conflict on water issue. People want peace on both sides. We need to engage our counterparts on both sides in every field. The civil society and the business community have to play a better role. We also have to have a vision of regional economy. Both countries need to share best practices in governance to provide the peoples with basic facilities. Demographics is another challenge for the two countries.

In order to have sustainable peace, we need to look at political conflicts, which will bring political trust. And the first and foremost conflict which has marred our relationship is the conflict of Kashmir. That is very central to Pakistan's policy towards India because we have three wars. A peaceful movement goes on in Kashmir, and the international community needs to understand that if this peaceful movement does not bring dividend to the people, militants will again gain currency.

Question & Answer/Comments Session

► **Question 1:**

Lt General Asad Durrani
Former DG ISI
I fully agree to Ambassador Aziz's view that a joint mechanism on terrorism should be established to deal with the common menace. Secondly, I feel that the Indus Water Treaty needs to be improved to settle the bilateral issues on water. I would like to submit to Prof Weinbaum that our main concern in Afghanistan is not India; it is you. And one thing that India and Pakistan can cooperate is how to get the US out of Afghanistan. A civil war will not take place in Afghanistan as long as the United States is there because Afghans have now a common enemy. And I would like to ask Ahsan Iqbal as to why no movement, except atmospherics, takes place in result of the dialogue process between India and Pakistan?

Prof Weinbaum
Let me make three quick points. Did the US have any role in Pakistan's policy of seeking strategic depth in Afghanistan in 1980s? The United State was also playing no role in raising support for a friendly force in Afghanistan in 1990s. And now in the last decade, the protection of the Afghan Taliban is with the expectation that the United States and the international community will be leaving Afghanistan and Pakistan needs a Pashtoon friendly force to preserve its own interests in the country. As for the idea that all of the problems here are related to the United States, I think we made mistakes in Afghanistan. And the major mistake was to take our eye off of Afghanistan. And the one we could not secure during the last nine years is the confidence and trust of the Afghan people.

Ahsan Iqbal
I would also like to share my comments on Afghanistan. Unfortunately, Pakistan is still seen by the stories and images of 1980s and 1990s. Pakistan has moved forward. There is no political party or institution in Pakistan that has a vision for Afghanistan to be a client state of Pakistan. Our expectation of Afghanistan is that it is not hostile to Pakistan and not a platform for destabilizing Pakistan. In terms of the conflict, I agree with General Asad Durrani that certainly there is equation of conflict and peace. In order to bring conflict down, there has to be higher dividend of peace. If that higher dividend of peace is not visible, it is very difficult to bring down the cost of the conflict. And that is our failure as we have not been able to work on dividends which peace can bring on both sides. And also, there is lack of political ownership on the process.

► **Question 2:**

Mosharraf Zaidi
Political analyst
Regarding the notion that Pakistan is solely responsible for insecurity in Pakistan and India has only the most peaceful intentions for Pakistan, I would say that given the 1971 war and the Subramenium doctrine, there is some legitimacy to Pakistani insecurity. And the lasting is that the American scholars coming to Islamabad and announcing that there will one day be Indian forces in Afghanistan. This is a dangerous and provocative thing they say, and they actually strengthen the hands of radicals in Pakistan and the right wingers and the establishment's view that belongs to 1960s and 1970s? So my

question is why are you doing this?

Prof Weinbaum
If India feels strongly about the dangers of a Taliban ascendance in Afghanistan, India now has expressed that it is prepared to assist those who oppose the Taliban. In doing so, especially because it has access in Tajikistan to facilities which will facilitate India's involvement, it will be a terrible development. Therefore, what Pakistan needs as much as anything here is success in the counter-insurgency? That is the best Pakistan can hope for. There will no negotiated solution anytime soon in Afghanistan.

Ahsan Iqbal
If Soviet Union could not play a role in Afghanistan and now American, NATO and the European Union also failed, India coming there would also not make any difference. What we need to do is we need to Afghanistan to the Afghans, and they can best decide what to do for themselves.

► **Question 3:**

Zahid Kazimi
National Defense University, Islamabad
Why is America dealing with India and Pakistan with double standards in terms of offering economic and strategic incentives to the two countries?

Prof Weinbaum
Really, Pakistan will serve better through trade instead of aid, and this view is widely held in the United States. Unfortunately, American policy may not reflect that, and you know as well as I do that there are domestic constraints. But that is a goal here that has to be on your agenda.

Salma Malik
Assistant Professor Defense and Strategic Studies, Quaid-e Azam University
I would like to ask Reza a hot-line does exist between the militaries of the two countries, but they have not worked. How can we expect that a hot-line between the two intelligence chiefs will bring about any substantial change? Secondly, I would like to ask Prof Weinbaum as to if he means that that the Americans eight to ten years in Afghanistan are taking the country back to civil war instead of making it a democratic country?

Reza ul Hassan
Hot-line works if it is kept away from the media glare. Being a journalist it is my business to find out what is going on, but if things between India and Pakistan are kept away from media, a lot can be done.

Prof Weinbaum
A civil war is worst of all possible outcomes for Afghanistan, and a civil war will be the result of our having failed. Certainly, there will no civil war till the international community is involved. What Pakistan has to be most concerned of is the failure in Afghanistan. It means that you are going to face a refugee crisis once again with enormous proportions.

Ahsan Iqbal
Unfortunately, most of the times Pakistan is portrayed as a villain country, which is obstructing the

peace process; whereas, there are many issues on the table which have been resolved, i.e. Siachen, but it is not being moved forward from the Indian side. So there has to be understanding that both the countries have to fulfill their obligations. On the Indian side, there has to be a bigger heart so that they can earn the confidence of smaller countries of the region where other countries feel secure.

► **Question 4:**

Mansoor Ali
Civil society representative
Referring to the talk of out of the box solutions of the Indo-Pak disputes, I would ask whether it is not time to take into account the sentimental values attached to the Kashmir issue by the Pakistani public as well as Indian public.

Aziz Ahmed Khan
It was because of the regard to the sentiments of the people of Kashmir, the out of the box solution was also proposed. Keeping their traditional positions on the dispute, the two sides agreed to see if they could find out any other solution, which could be acceptable solution to the people of Kashmir. And the purpose of plebiscite is the same that if it is acceptable to the Kashmir, it is acceptable to all.

Reza ul Hassan
The Indian government was so comfortable dealing with Musharraf because he was one guy who was the single window clearance system for the Pakistani troika. And that is the concern that the Indian government still has. While there is greater political ownership of anything that is proposed by Pakistan, the Indian government still feels that they are not sure whether the army is on board in such a move. That is one of the key issues which we will have to focus in the coming rounds of dialogue. Another key issue is people to people contacts. If that does not work, nothing else is going to work.

► **Question 5**:

Who will guarantee that there would not be any civil war in Afghanistan and no another Col Imam would be appointed as Consul General in Jalalabad after the US withdrawal from the country? Secondly, do political forces have any role in foreign policy formulation?

Aziz Ahmed Khan
I am partially responsible for Col Imam's stay in Heart. It was not the Foreign Office but I as the ambassador who sought his services, and the reason was that Col Imam was responsible of training Mujahideen during the days of Jihad, and later on, when all the Mujahideen were fighting among each other, he was in the position to identify who was in what position of power in Afghanistan, and so how we should talk to them. No other officer would have dealt with that area and could have helped me in the way as he did. I found him a very useful source of information about all the characters who were operating at that time in Afghanistan.

Ahsan Iqbal
If the civil democratic institutions are given powers, they have better chance of having a policy which is more sustainable. However, we should also admit that our political parties could not develop themselves because of the repeated martial law interventions. Most of the time, they have been struggling for their life. Martial law regimes have been trying to haunt them. They have not allowed

political parties to develop strong internal policy development structures. Power does not operate in vacuum. If political parties have to assume certain role, it will only come when they focus in terms of building their capacity. And when you have that capacity, certainly the pendulum will tilt towards greater role for civil and democratic institutions.

Prof Weinbaum

Regarding the civil war, I would say that the international community and the regional powers who do all have a stake ultimately in a peaceful and reasonably successful Afghanistan. If that is the outcome, we do not have to worry about. It sounds good that everything should be left on the Afghans, but what happened in the 1990s? The fact is that the Afghans need help from everyone. In a large sense, we have failed. Is it too late to rectify that? I do not know. However, it is late. A failed Afghanistan is dangerous for everyone. And that is why, we have to work together to make it a stable Afghanistan. It is in everyone's interest, and above all, it is in the Afghans' interest.

Perspectives on Counter Terrorism

Executive Summary

On March 31, 2011, the Center for Research and Security Studies (CRSS) in collaboration the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) hosted a consultation between a select gathering of learned people in Pakistan and a delegation of International Center for Counter Terrorism (ICCT), The Hague, on 'Perspectives on Counter Terrorism'.

Participants from the Pakistani side representing various walks of life, including intelligentsia, politics, diplomacy, military bureaucracy and civil society, converged on the view that Pakistan cannot overcome terrorism completely unless the parliament and civil society take ownership of the problem. They believed that dealing with militancy through military means will only bring about temporary respite. Most of them slated the government for not unveiling any clear counter-terrorism strategy.

Malik Amad Khan, former minister of state for Foreign Affairs, however, said the terrorists have been dented by effective military strategy. He was confident that the situation will improve in the days to come. The minister told the ICCT delegation that the Afghan conflict and the outstanding issues like Kashmir and Palestine and the decisions in France and Belgium to ban face veil for Muslim women give birth to extremism feelings in Muslim countries.

Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Masood Aslam, former corps commander Peshawar, said a significant portion of the population believes that Pakistan's cooperation with the United States on the war on terror has created many militancy-related problems in the country. “Political deprivation, unemployment and poverty have to be addressed to control the militancy”, the general stressed.

Brigadier (Retd.) Ayaz Khan emphasized that the army needs to be guided by the state actors for a permanent solution to the problem. He said that peace in Afghanistan is a pre-requisite for peace in Pakistan.

Mosharraf Zaidi, political analyst, was of the view that the country's domestic dysfunction led it to a place where it has no counter-terrorism policy. “The parliament will have to act to benefit the diversity and Muslim ethos in the society,” he added.

Ayaz Wazir, former ambassador, was of the opinion that redress of grievances of the people of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) can help greatly to bring peace to the country. “The solution of the problems in FATA must be left on the local people”, he proposed underlining that the Frontier Crimes Regulation [FCR] should be revoked and the region be aligned with other parts of the country.

Iqbal Khattak, Bureau Chief Daily Times Peshawar, said that if the civil government does not effectively control Swat, the transitory peace earned by the military can go in vain. He stressed for generating economic activity in Swat and FATA for the locals so that they could become useful citizens of the country. He called for a workable border management policy between Afghanistan and Pakistan to control movement of the militants from one side of the border to the other.

Peter Knoope, head of the ICCT delegation, said that preventive measures such as integration of dissident elements into the society, an inclusive approach and dissemination of information about the harms of extremism can bring about positive results in checking militancy, as, he added, implementation of such a strategy in Europe has helped greatly to reduce occurrence of terrorist incidents there.

1. Peter Knoope

Head of International Center for Counter Terrorism, The Hague

Every year, Europe produces figures on terrorism-related incidents occurred within the European borders. Over the last couple of years, the number of incidents related to jihadism or fundamentalism has been in the range of one or two per annum. Credible statistics disclose that one in 500 violent incidents occurred three years ago had a context of religious radicalism, one in 400 two years ago and one in 300 a year ago, while the others were related to separatism or some other matters. Since the 2005 London bombings, there has been no major incident having a background of jihadism in Europe.

I would roughly distinguish three specific periods over the last 10 years in the European context. From 2001-2004, we considered jihadism and radical extremism as something what is happening outside European context, believing that it was not our issue. Later from 2004-07, in view of the Madrid and London bombings and some other incidents, we called it home-grown terrorism—something that happens within the EU context by immigrants who come from Muslim majority states or second-generation immigrants from Muslim-majority states. However, most of the research shows us that there is no such thing as real home-grown terrorism in the sense that it is happening in isolation. There are always international inspirations and connections to other situations outside Europe.

From 2007 onwards to now, there has been a steady decline in the number of incidents. Measures have been taken. The situation is under control but it does not mean our worries are over. All our counter-terrorism coordinators are constantly telling us that there is a lot of traveling going on between Somalia, Yemen, this part of the world and the European mainland. There are also training camps existing in different parts of the world. People now independently plan and execute their actions instead of operating in a group.

The measures like precautions and preventions have proved effective in averting such incidents. We have increased intelligence sharing and cross border cooperation within the European Union. Besides, most of the European countries have done a lot of work in the preventative side of counter terrorism, analyzing factors involved in making people angry and subsequently violent. Isolation within the society leads people to anger, alienation and fear. This brings them to a collective level, tying them into a new friendship having a specific sense of belonging. There are groups everywhere in the world that are ready to embrace these isolated and alienated people.

The answer to these triggers lies in addressing the grievances. People need to be integrated and made part of an inclusive society. Simultaneously, they must be informed of the dangers for becoming part of a terrorist group. We in Europe are working on this line and getting encouraging results to check violence in the society.

2. Simbal Khan

Director Afghanistan, Central Asia desk

Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI)

I would answer two of the questions the CRSS sent to me. To the first question as to how has Pakistan performed in the war against terrorism in the last decade, I

would say that for the state and people of Pakistan it has been a steep learning curve.

A decade ago when Pakistan was plunged into this war under circumstances which were beyond its own volition, there were initially two primary focal points of Pakistan's counter terrorism approaches. The first consisted of location, detention and deputation of the members of Al-Qaeda central and other foreign operatives, which had until then operated with impunity. The second trajectory in Pakistan's Counter Terrorism policy in the early years was the prevention or moderation of the Pakistani tribesmen and militant networks' physical support to the new Taliban movement, which by 2003-2004 had reenergized itself in eastern and southern Afghanistan.

Pakistan's counter insurgency experience is symbiotically linked to the tactical and strategic aspects of its counter terror policies. The last few years have seen a blurring of lines between the two counter terrorism and counter insurgency policies with the state facing large insurgencies in Bajaur, Swat and South Waziristan often supported by smaller organized terrorist groups. The situation gets murkier as some insurgent groups with local political interests who are faced with an asymmetry of force use terror as tactic to exhaust and pressure the more superior state security services.

Pakistan's state response to this complex challenge has been far weaker at the conceptual level than tactical. It has overwhelmingly relied on the military as the primary counter insurgency and counter terrorism agent just as in the case with the US-NATO counter insurgency experience in Afghanistan. Whenever the militaries are the primary counter insurgency dispensing agents rather than one of the tactical tools to be used selectively by political actors, the success is usually short-term and reversible. In Pakistan's case as in Afghanistan, there is disproportionate focus on the security aspects of both counter insurgency and counter terrorism and less on the associated political, economic, historical, cultural factors that are usually the defining variables in insurgencies and terrorism.

To the second question whether it is a war against terrorism or against Pashtun insurgents or Islamist radials of all caste and creed, I would say that it is all of the above and more. In addition to the above-mentioned elements, Pakistan's and international actors' counter terrorism strategy must factor in the interests of those trans-border and trans-national networks, which are feeding on the informal economy in Pakistan and Afghanistan. These include narco-trafickers and arms dealers as well as those purely commercial interests who have plugged themselves into the lucrative war economy for the past decade both sides of the Pak-Afghan border.

3. Khalid Rehman
Director General Institute of Policy Studies

Even after 10 years in the war on terror, the question as to what really terrorism is has not been legally set as yet. It remains a vague phenomenon and consequently the whole war on terrorism remains a confused experience, where no one knows what exactly the benchmarks of victory are and what would be regarded as real success. However, while it is still confused, many in Pakistan believe the concept is being exploited to achieve various political objectives of the US, and in general, West in the region. Despite great apprehensions of people in Pakistan, the country initially joined the war not because of any consideration of its own but mainly due to the pressure emanated from a direct threat from the US.

Pakistan did its best to honour its commitments in the war on terror, but none of its expectations have been materialized. Pakistan's cooperation in the war on terror has only brought for it instability, insecurity and a host of economic, social and political problems, along with thousands of civilian and military casualties. The gap between the government and the people on the issue of support to war on terror is so wide that the government has in most cases avoided making public what arrangements it has made with the US for cooperation in this war.

Besides across the border anger over the policy of cooperation with the US, an average Pakistani does not believe that his day to day problems such as scarcity of food items along with ever increasing inflation, power breakdown, poor law and order situation and other governance problems are isolated problems. These are, in his view, interconnected and a consequence of what is happening in and around his country in the name of war on terrorism and cooperation in war on terrorism.

In this background it should not be difficult to appreciate why Pakistani policy makers appear to be inconsistent and double-minded. In fact, no government in the world can continue to pursue a policy which is not approved by the large majority of its people. The situation may not change overnight, but the overwhelming public is influencing and will influence the situation further in the coming days.

4. Lt (Retd.) General Masood Aslam
Former Corps Commander Peshawar

The phraseology of war on terror by itself leads to greater trouble. About a decade ago, the state was sponsoring militant groups for one reason or the other, but they neither displayed their muscle nor were visible within the Pakistani society.

Today, we are totally a disintegrated society with very large amount of extremist differences about each other. A very significant population of Pakistan believes that all this effort which Pakistan has undertaken in cooperation with the US in the war on terror is genuinely the main cause of all the trouble we are facing today. Terrorism is manifestation of some sort of political deprivation of a group, which finds itself isolated and deprived of basic rights. It takes form of violence and then terrorist actions.

The state policy towards handling this issue, therefore, needs revisiting. Until the situation on the other side improves, you will not be able to have an end state—reintegrated and inclusive society. Nonetheless, we have a lot to do in the field of removing extremism from our society existing on the basis of religious radical thoughts, illiteracy, economic disparity etc. Political independence and freedom of expression can also help bring this menace to an end.

When your counter terrorism strategy is totally based on military use, the result is temporary and short lived. It is a surgical strike, which hits targets, but it does not address root causes of the problem. There must be other efforts to complement it. Military has got to be an extension of national policy. It should not lead the national policy.

5. Mosharraf Zaidi
Political Economist

In the run to September 11, nobody forced Pakistan to adopt radical extremists, seduce the groups like Tehreek-e Khatm-e-Nabuwat [movement for ensuring sanctity of seal on prophethood] at domestic level or support the Taliban in Afghanistan. Those were the choices Pakistan made, and where we are today is a product of specific concerted and coherent policy choices that involved paper work, budgetary approvals and deployment of diplomatic resources, propaganda and public diplomacy. The 9/11 was part of the equation because of the choices Pakistan had made that helped lead Richard Armitage to the door of General Musharraf imposing certain conditions on Pakistan's future behaviour. But even at that time, Pakistan was not forced to participate in the global war on terror. At that point, Pakistan also made a conscious and coherent decision to support the US global war on terror.

Unfortunately, states that behave like security contractors cannot choose to have dignity or sovereignty because it is a zero-sum game. If you want to be sovereign, you have to be sovereign fiscally.

Pakistan has no counter terrorism or counter radicalization strategy because none of these things can be produced when you are a security contractor. Having a counter terrorism strategy comes from an internally coherent political process in which the issues are discussed and decisions are taken to deploy resources in one way or the other. We do not have these discussions. We have not been able to produce revised anti-terrorism laws or bring about other structural changes in the system to check terrorism. Pakistan's domestic dysfunction helps lead to a place where Pakistan has no counter terrorism strategy.

Even the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) is as diverse and dysfunctional as the rest of the Pakistan society. There are good people in the ISI who are trying to fight the problem and there are also others

who are confused and are not sure who the enemy is. Until we do not know who the enemy is, we will not be able to take advantage of the two most important strengths that this country has – (a) diversity and (b) Muslim ethos.

6. Arif Ayub
Former Ambassador

The grey area on counter terrorism basically arises from how we view problems in the region; especially Kashmir. Is Kashmir a problem of terrorism or a case of national liberation? The amount of people that Indians have killed in Kashmir is about 10 times more than in Palestine since 1947. The same is the case in Afghanistan. Is the war the Taliban are fighting in Afghanistan of national liberation or are they completely part of Al-Qaeda and terrorists that have to be wiped out? Basically, you have to take a value judgement on this and then define a strategy.

From day one, we have been saying that the good Taliban need to be separated from the bad Taliban. It is a relative thing; however, it is a fact that some Taliban have links with the Al-Qaeda. Efforts are underway both from our side and from the US side to break these links. The issue is whether the link be broken through force or talks. Since the use of military has not worked in the last 10 years, I think talks can prove effective.

7. Mubashir Akram
Director Programs CRSS

The people who are ravaging in Pakistan are our own people and we could have dealt better with them as opposed to what is being dictated to Islamabad from Washington or London. This has not worked and this will not work for the next 10 years as well. The US and its allies have failed Pakistan; they have failed a cause that could have turned the world towards a better direction by fighting the terrorism meaningfully, resolutely and sincerely.

Pakistan's former President General (Retd.) Musharraf was assured by the United States that the Northern Alliance would not enter Afghanistan, but it happened. It was also promised that Afghanistan would not be made center of intrigues against Pakistan. I refuse to believe that the terrorists in FATA or Balochistan are operating without any kind of external support.

The European countries are following the suit what the US is dictating them in the name of war on terror. There has got to be a departure of what Europe has been pushed into by the US on the sheer basis of propaganda and power. The future of this region has got to be decided by taking Islamabad in confidence and by not deploying mercenaries like Raymond Davis and other CIA operatives that have wrought havoc across the country.

8. Dr Sarfraz Khan
Director Area Study Peshawar University

I would briefly answer to a few questions raised by the CRSS on the issue. To the question regarding militants' present strength in the Pashtun region, I would say

that they have not been neutralized or marginalized in FATA or Kyhber Pakhtukhwa (KPK). Five of the seven tribal agencies are still under their effective control. The Frontier Region, which is situated close to Peshawar, also remains under their influence.

As for the question regarding level of threat in FATA and KPK, I would say that we in Peshawar have been under continuous threat, as Peshawar is encircled by the FATA region. The civil society, intelligentsia, security forces, businessmen and civil servants are targeted every day there.

We need to settle things in Pakistan first, which may have a positive impact on the situation in Afghanistan. A learned section of the civil society in the Pashtun region believes that the strategic depth in Afghanistan is becoming strategic depth for Pakistan, especially for the Pashtun. So, it should be reversed not ideologically but practically too. They consider it a part of the problem, not solution.

As for remedy, to me, the special status of FATA needs to be either abolished or amended. Regrettably, the FCR [Frontier Crimes Regulation], which the Prime Minister had promised to revoke in his maiden speech in the National Assembly in 2008, has not yet been repealed. Attention should be paid to this issue, and obviously, the militants will have to be flushed out. The effort to make people jihadists was easier but to bring them back to a normal life is very difficult. I do not think Pakistan or the US has any strategy to address this issue.

9. Iqbal Khattak
Bureau Chief Daily Times Peshawar

In the post-operation scenario in FATA and KPK, the situation is better, as the militants' strongholds – Swat and South Waziristan – are no longer with them. The threat in FATA and KPK does exist but the level has considerably reduced as a result of some effective measures taken by the government. The terrorists are no longer in the position to stage frontal attacks, holding urban city or terrorizing the security forces with IEDs (Improvised Explosive Devices). Suicide bombing is still effective, but since the militants lost their key strongholds, they were also deprived of training facilities resulting in slower production as far as the walking bombs are concerned. That is why; the number of suicide bombings cases has also dropped quite considerably.

We cannot overcome terrorism in Pakistan without having a peaceful Afghanistan. They are interlinked in some ways. As long as Pakistan and Afghanistan do not join hands to fight the menace of terrorism together, we will continue to suffer together. If we do not put in place a border management policy by Pakistan and Afghanistan, it will be very hard to stop these terrorists from cross border terrorism. We cannot afford to close our eyes to the post-terrorism period. The people and areas battered by terrorism need to be rebuilt. We also need to change the status of FATA and Malakand, integrating them with other parts of the country administratively.

10. Brig (Retd.) Ayaz Khan
Security Analyst

We need to make an in-depth study of what we want in Pakistan and how to run our state affairs, instead of blaming the Americans and others. We need to think what is wrong at home. Secondly, the destinies of Pakistan and Afghanistan

are interlinked. Why the Afghan biting the same hand that is is feeding him, and he has bitten it so many times. I think the hand needs to ask itself why it is being bitten so often. It is because we want a subservient Afghanistan and a country which plays to our tune.

The Army's over enthusiastic response to the Western border is another issue which needs to be addressed. Is it that we Pakistanis think the military to be the only solution to every ill in Pakistan? If that be so, it is on false premise. This cannot happen. Consequently, we have seen over a decade that the Pakistan army has solely taken over the foreign policy decisions on the western border. Pakistan's army chief considers it his private domain.

Pakistan's state actors today have not learnt a lesson from the past era. We are disintegrating from within. Somebody needs to come to our help. America and others are fulfilling their own needs and requirements. As the general said that war is an extension of diplomacy; however, it does not happen that a war starts and then you talk about. It is the diplomat who takes you to war. So the Pakistan army needs to be guided by the state actors. However, regretfully, they are failing in their duties.

11. Gulmina Bilal
Executive Director Individual Land

I would like to give answers to some of the questions sent to me by the CRSS. As for the vision for countering terrorism followed by the government, I would categorically state that there is no vision to counter extremism. We see no across the board will to deal with this issue. Rather for years, we did not have a serious approach to the issue and started feeling gravity of the issue when the flames of the fire reached the elite.

To the question whether it is our war, my response is that if it was not war of Pakistan, now it is, as our beloved ones are being killed. I am sorry to say that if the allies used us, we were ready to be used. We too are equally responsible for this menace. I believe that the militant mindset exists in most of the sectors in the country, including the establishment, political parties, media, education sector etc. There are young and old people in Pakistan who are not alienated or isolated but they are part of jiahadist activities.

12. Malik Amad Khan
Minister of State for Foreign Affairs

As for the point of isolation and alienation a section of the society, I believe that most of the extremist elements are not alienated, but they are educated and belong to well-to-do families. However, they are ideologically motivated because of other issues in which they feel that Muslim causes are marginalized. Most of the terrorist organizations use Kashmir and Palestine as a pretext to resort to extremist activities. True, these issues cannot be resolved overnight; however, the initiatives such as banning of [mosque] minarets in Switzerland, face veil for Muslim women in France and Belgium provoke Muslims' sentiments.

The current political government managed to build a consensus to sternly deal with the extremist elements in the country. There are divergences on some of the issues; however, it does seem for the

first time that the political leadership and the military leadership are eye to eye on a number of things. There is a perception that until the foreign troops leave Afghanistan, there would be no peace in Pakistan. I believe that the foreign troops can withdraw once you have strong Afghan National Army and police. Nonetheless, I do maintain that peace in Afghanistan can guarantee in Pakistan. It is encouraging that interaction between Pakistan and Afghanistan has improved, especially since the incumbent government in Pakistan has in been in the office.

We cannot say that the backbone of militants in Pakistan has been broken; however, they have definitely been harmed in the military operations. We cannot expect that the issue will die down overnight. We are trying to do our best, but the response needs more. If we say that all is happening behind the smoke screen and there is a big conspiracy being followed, it is not a right approach. The smoke screen is there but someone has been recruited, which we failed to see.

There has to be more military-civil relationship and interaction. We have to educate people more on the issue. In the government, we have vulnerabilities for facing the threat of vote of no-confidence all the time, and therefore, have to walk cautiously on the issues, particularly such as repealing of the FCR.

13. Ayaz Wazir
Former Ambassador

In the tribal area where the problem lies, the people are totally alienated for the last 63 years. They have never been given any role in the decision making or in running the day to day affairs in the tribal region. Things about FATA are decided either in Peshawar, Islamabad or Rawalpindi. Till 2003, we had no problem on our western border. It started when General [Retd] Musharraf said 'yes' to the Americans, owning the war.

Majority of Pakistanis believe that it is not our war. It was wrongly handled for leaving everything on the military. I would ask the parliamentarian here as to where has the civil government in the tribal area gone? We are left on the mercy of the army or the militants. What should we do?

Concluding Remarks by Peter Knoope

The rich discussion has made my point more clear that collective deprivation of societal and political rights lead people to extremism. It is true that there is Muslim bashing happening, not just in a part of the EU, but it happens in Austria and other parts of the world. It is our collective problem. Muslim bashing is becoming a political component of our discussions in Europe and in the United States. It is a genuine concern because it leads to more alienation, more radicalization and more serious problem. I do not have the answer to the question how to deal with it. There is no relation between fundamentalism and violent extremism.

There is a difference between the United States and Europe in terms of counter terrorism. The US war on terror has never been embraced by the European Union. The war paradigm has never been the European paradigm.

Some of the people may be highly educated and have high potential but they feel alienated and discriminated because their high potential does not help them go up in the society. They relate that fact

to the Muslim bashing, and that makes the things worse. Economy of conflict should not be ignored. There are people who profit from conflicts, selling weapons and creating political vacuum. If you can do away with those motives, you can deal with some of the issues. We can say it is partly true that that it is an imported war. However, it is also true that it has been exploited in political terms. I believe that empowerment of civic society is solution of many problems.

JIRGA
Swat-Kohistan – Problems and their Solution

Executive Summary

CRSS and *Idara Baraye Taleem-o-Taraqi* (IBT) [Organization for Education and Development], Bahrain, Swat, jointly organized a *jirga* [assembly of local elders] on 'Swat-Kohistan – Problems and their Solution' in Bahrain on April 17, 2011. A total of 160 people belonging to seven union councils of Swat-Kohistan, including Bishigram, Bahrain, Kalam, Madyan, Balakot, Utror and Mankiyal, participated in the jirga.

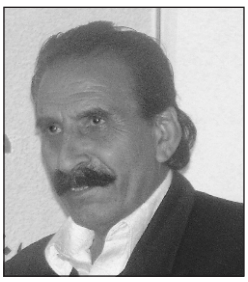
The event was arranged to provide an opportunity to the locals to speak on the reconstruction and rehabilitation process undertaken by the civilian government after the 2009 military operation against the Taliban and the 2010 floods, which had wrought havoc to the infrastructure of the scenic valley. It was an exercise to underline the problems facing people and bring forth their solution proposed by the local elders.

The speakers who represented the local community at large expressed dismay over the pace of development work, stating most of the destroyed educational institutions, health facilities, roads and bridges and irrigation channels remain in the same condition. Stressing for reconstruction of roads and bridges to take crops to the markets in big cities including Mingora, Peshawar and Islamabad, the speakers urged the government to focus on helping the people to restore their livelihood activities. With questions raised about transparency in governance, the local notables called upon the government to make public the allocation and use of funds for the development projects in the region.

In view of the need to highlight the locals' problems, the proposal of forming a representative jirga of the area was unanimously accepted by the participants. A jirga comprising four members from every union council was thus formed. It would take the local issues to the rulers for their solution. CRSS and IBT promised to facilitate the jirga members in achieving their objectives.

1. Malik Muhammad Deedar

Former Provincial Minister



The government is not taking the reconstruction and rehabilitation process as its priority, as most part of the damaged infrastructure in the region remains in the same condition. Tourism, which is the biggest source of income for the locals, could not be restored because of the destroyed roads. This is increasing the overall poverty level in the area. The government must take notice of the damaged roads in the entire valley, which is a major obstacle in the way of restoration of the primary source of income in the region.

The public representatives have done nothing for the area. They live in the big cities in Peshawar or Islamabad and do not even bother to pay visits to their constituencies.

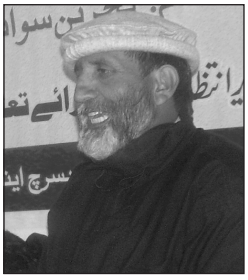
2. Habibullah

Former Nazim Union Council Kalam

We are greatly suffering for lacking basic facilities, including education, health, electricity, communication ways etc. Educational institutes, hospitals and roads are in poor condition. For

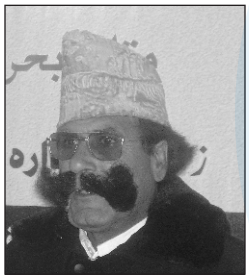
restoration of these basic facilities in the area, we visited the concerned government departments and ministries several times, but no one listened to us. The government makes announcements of big development projects but does not implement them. The federal minister for Communications does not even know as to which roads were destroyed or damaged during the floods in the area. He never visited the area to know the condition of the road infrastructure in the region.

3. Zarin Gujar
Social Worker



People living in rural and other far flung areas in the mountainous region were badly neglected by the government. If anything at all was given by the government, it was for the people of urban areas, including Bahrain, Kalam, Madyan etc. I belong to Seraj village located at the bottom of Koshen peak. The area remained cut from other parts of the region after the floods for six months, but no government official or any other responsible person visited it to know its condition for remedial measures.

While taking measures for bringing the region back to its normal condition, the government should not ignore the rural community, which already lacks almost all the basic necessities.



4. Malik Ghazan Khan
Local Elder

The government has unnecessarily wasted time to rebuild the damaged and destroyed state institutions during the fine weather of 4 months after the July 2010 floods. The government is in fact not serious in its words to reconstruct the area. We have lost a lot, but there is no one to help us in returning to the normal life.

5. Khaista Gul
Social Worker and Educationist

A large number of schools in the area have been destroyed and those existing ones have neither students nor teachers. Following the wave of militancy in the area, enrollment level of children, particularly of girls, in schools has considerably come down, and today, we see a few students in every girls school in the area. Almost all the girls primary schools have turned into ghost schools. The literacy rate in the area, excluding Madyan, is hardly 12% in male and less than 2% in female. If the situation does not improve at educational institutions, problems in the area will further increase.

6. Karim Jan
Lawyer

The government is not taking the due interest in rebuilding the area because it wants to get more and more funds from international organizations in the name of damaged infrastructure. The 20-km part of the 45-km road from Fatehpur to Kalam was washed away in the floods, which could have been reconstructed within a few months after the floods, but the government has so far done nothing to this effect.

7. Rasheed Khurram
Dispenser

There is only one Basic Health Unit in Bahrain for over 90,000 people in the area. And more so, this BHU mostly remains non-functional because of the non-availability of the single doctor there. The Tehsil Hospital Madyan was washed out by the floods, and it has not yet been reconstructed. No doctor is willing to work at Civil Hospital in Kalam. This hospital gives the impression of a ghost building as no doctor has turned up for resuming his duty there.

8. Zahir Shah
Expert on Hydel Energy and Forests

Indiscriminate deforestation and over grazing by cattle and herds in the uplands is one of the few major reasons of the floods. Many influential people, from the government as well as the society, are involved in deforestation and timber smuggling. The forest departments are not working effectively and transparently to deal with the situation. They are rather in connivance with the timber smugglers. The floods also destroyed thousands of trees in the valley. The floods water carried this timber to the lower part of Swat region. The army and the local MPA had promised to recover the timber and auction it for the people of Swat-Kohistan. However, this promise has gone forgotten, and we have been deprived this great asset too. The timber was actually captured by the influential people of the region.

Pakistan and Central Asia with Special Reference to SCO

Executive Summary

In the wake of President Asif Ali Zardari's scheduled visit to Russia from May 11-14, CRSS in collaboration with the Department of Defense and Strategic Studies (DSS), Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, on May 4, organized a seminar titled 'Pakistan's Relations with SCO in the light of forthcoming Presidential visit to the region' to offer an opportunity to former diplomats, politicians, research scholars and intellectuals to suggest ways for building a long-standing partnership with Russia.

The speakers sounded unanimous in view that Pakistan needs to go to Russia with an open mind shedding off the past bitter memories of the bilateral relationship. And prior to convince Russia of its sincerity, Pakistan first must convince itself regarding this paradigm shift in its foreign policy.

"Islamabad should be seen as pursuing an independent foreign policy having no lens of any country on its eyes", said one of the speakers underlining that only national interest be safeguarded.

To take advantage of the regional potential for its economic development, the speakers asserted, Pakistan will have to come clear to its neighbors including Afghanistan, Russia, Iran and India and delink itself from historical strategic doctrines. Pakistan must be a responsible state in the world giving up cohabitating with terrorism.

Stressing for balanced relationship with the powers in the world, the speakers opined that Pakistan needs to make some adjustments in its foreign policy in the context of today's changed world, wherein economy and trade have become muscle of bilateral relationship.

Session I

Welcome Note by Dr Riffat Hussain

Chairman Department of Defense and Strategic Studies,
Quaid-e Azam University, Islamabad

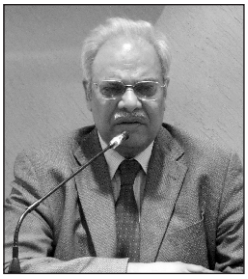
The DSS Department of Quaid-e Azam University and CRSS undertook joint efforts to hold this event with a view to generate an informed and healthy debate on the key foreign policy issues of Pakistan. In the context of President Asif Zardari's forthcoming visit from May 11-14 to Russia in the post-Osama's death scenario, we will hopefully use this dialogue to enforce a strategic rethink among the policy makers of Pakistan. The panel of learned speakers will discuss what options Pakistan has had after the disintegration of the USSR. It is also to be assessed what options Pakistan will have after the Americans leave and Pakistan could capitalize upon the potential with the Central Asian Republics.

Opening Remarks by Imtiaz Gul
Executive Director CRSS

Despite Pakistan has good relationship with China it has so far failed to reach out Russia. The president's visit to Russia at this critical juncture is a step in the right direction by Pakistan. As Russia too is very keen in renewing its relationship with Pakistan, Islamabad has a very good opportunity to review its relations with Moscow.

Russia's role in the Afghan settlement cannot be ignored as Marc Grossman, US special envoy to Pakistan and Afghanistan, has stated that Russia is taking keen interest in finding a solution to the Afghan issue. In the wake of a regional inclination towards resolving the Afghan issue, Russia's role in the matter increases manifold.

1. Riaz Muhammad Khan
Former Foreign Secretary



We made a mistake in 1992 when Najibullah collapsed, and Najibullah collapsed because the Soviet Union collapsed. We thought that we had earned the right to be a kind of guarantor of politics inside Afghanistan. The second mistake was committed when our policy fell in the ethnic divide in Afghanistan. Pashtoons are very important in Afghanistan, but Afghanistan is not just Pashtoons.
We were supportive of the Taliban, and our position to back the Taliban was fully justified; however, we did not have to say publicly that first the Taliban must establish their control over entire Afghanistan. That was none of our business because that meant that we were advocating political decimation of the Northern Alliance. And the Northern Alliance was a reality. After the 9/11, things moved at a breath-taking fast pace. Pakistan lost its voice completely. Nobody bothered to consult to us.

The Americans also committed a mistake by totally declaring the Taliban beyond the page and lumping them together with Al-Qaeda. It had its consequences. The other mistake made by the Americans was diversion of their attention to Iraq. Afghanistan was used to be a secondary front. They failed to address the real issues related to war against terrorism in Afghanistan.

In the present scenario, Pakistan has a role, but Pakistan should play its role if it is initiated by Kabul or the coalition forces. There should be a kind of candid dialogue on what Pakistan can do and what it cannot do. I also believe that we are right in distinguishing the way we dealt with the Al-Qaeda and the way we treated the Taliban leadership. However, we must look into some of our delusions; for instance, seeking strategic depth in Afghanistan. What do we mean by demanding a friendly government in Afghanistan? It is stability of Afghanistan, which is important. Once there is stability in Afghanistan, all Pakistan's aspirations, including reaching out to Central Asia, will start taking shape. But, there has to be clarity in our policies on this issue. First, Afghanistan issue has to settle down, and then, we need to have clarity on our relationship with India as well.

2. Prof. Khalid Rehman
Director General Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad

I am going to present a presentation on the topic assigned to me, 'Assessing Afghanistan: Failure or Success of the US/NATO alliance; what does its military predominance mean for regional peace and security?'

With the launch of the Afghan invasion, the United States publicly announced the objectives to capture Osama bin Laden (dead or alive) and wipe out Al-Qaeda and defeat Taliban. The context was that 'when we will be doing this, it will help us making the region and the world peaceful and secure'. The aims later were extended to bringing democracy in Afghanistan, reconstruction, rehabilitation and socio-economic development of Afghanistan. Keeping in view the ground situation of Afghanistan, one can realize it was a huge agenda.

Regarding strategy and means for success, apparently a multi-dimensional strategy was there, but it remained predominantly military strategy. In today's situation, we can find that in total there might be around 500,000 troops or their associates who are fighting a group, which according to Americans, may be consisting of 25,000 people.

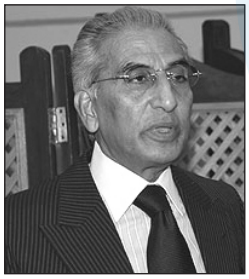
As for success, a lot of development has taken place in certain parts of Afghanistan. Roads have been constructed; power stations commissioned; new educational institutions opened and employment opportunities have been created. The country now has a trained army of around 150,000 along with 120,000 trained police. A constitution is now in place. The country has seen twice elections both for the parliament and the presidency, and there is judiciary that has been trained to some extent. Some top Al-Qaeda leaders, including Osama bin Laden, have either been killed or captured.

Coming to the failures, there is a serious crisis of governance. Only a portion of money that was promised for reconstruction could be made available, and even a huge part of this goes waste because of misuse and corruption. Instability is still continuing. A clear manifestation of which is the third-time extension given to more than 1.7 million registered Afghan refugees, and there is equal number of

Afghan refugees who are unregistered in Pakistan. The number of casualties of Afghans recorded only last year is around 7,000 as per government figures; actual toll is expected to be much higher. Many villages across the country have been wiped out. Opium production from 50 tons during the Taliban government has soared up to 6,000 tons. Besides Guantanamo Bay, there are several jails in Afghanistan. The war is still unending. The resistance movement, or some call it insurgency, has transformed into national resistance. Al-Qaeda appears to be as intact as it used to be.

Response to these failures is that the US realizes the large scale military presence in Afghanistan is not a cost effective option financially, politically or in terms of human losses. The US military presence has been reduced to a tactical operation. Besides, the response involves searching for a new definition of victory and rationale of the mission on less challenging terms so that it does not seem to be withdrawing under duress; developing more modest objectives achievable within two-four years timeframe and the deframing Afghan mission to transition to Afghan rule and devising an exit strategy; and rather than defeat, disrupt and dismantle Taliban. Complete withdrawal of all foreign troops is the only option for a sustainable, peaceful and neutral Afghanistan, and efforts are needed for facilitating the national reconciliation in Afghanistan.

But this response would be incomplete if it dos not emphasize the cause-effect relationship. Unless the cause of war or instability is not correctly understood and addressed, we are not going to having a sustainable solution. There should be an organized effort to present the alternative perspective. Secondly, some movement is direly needed towards paradigm of justice for bringing peace to the war-torn country and subsequently to the region and world.



3. Tariq Fatemi
Former Ambassador

The Russians think of Pakistan as an instrument of the United States either in the projection of the American power or in checking the Soviet influence in a region, which the Soviets always perceived as to be rightly their hold. The manner of our support and the many mistakes made as regards our policy on Afghanistan post break-up of Soviet Unions has added to that bitter memories of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s; I would even rightly say to the end of 1980s. Therefore, when we hear that the President of Pakistan is leaving for Moscow next week, it is of course a matter of satisfaction for the people like us who have always advocated that a certain balance in the conduct of policy is absolutely essential for a small developing country living in a difficult region of the globe.

Diplomacy is the art of maximizing your options. We have always sought to place all our eggs in one basket, and virtually not even attempted to explore available options. Many reasons are there, but primarily I feel that we have had the misfortunate of leaders who lacking domestic legitimacy sought sustenance and support from external forces. And therefore, for long periods of time, there is a divide between the aspirations of the people and the actual policies formulated in the country. Hopefully now, we have a representative government. It should take into consideration the fact that Pakistan while maintaining goods relations with the United States must take measures to actually bring about a meaningful improvement in its relations with Russia. We must also prove that we are capable of contributing to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization [SCO] in terms of economic cooperation and

facilitating transportation, communication, trade and so on.

Mr. Rehman is absolutely right to say that unless Afghanistan is stable, there can be no stability in Pakistan. Why should Pakistan seek a strategic depth in an unstable Afghanistan? Stability in Afghanistan will promote the very concept of strategic depth that the Pakistani policy makers have been seeking for years. Who are we in any case to tell the Afghans what kind of government they should have? It is for them to determine. As long as Afghanistan, its government and its territory is not being used by other powers to pursue policies that are inimical to Pakistan, we should not be involved in either making or breaking governments in Afghanistan.

Coming back to Russia, I would say that unless we change the manner in which we see Russia and we continue to view Russia from the lens of the Untied States, obviously there will be no improvement in our relationship with Russia. They have memories that talk of our alliance with the United States, our support for the Taliban, suspicions and misgivings about Pakistan's so far participation or sympathy for extremists, but we need to open a new chapter. And I hope when Mr. Zardari goes there, he is able to actually not only state but demonstrate that Pakistan views Russia as an important player in the region. If we are able to speak to the Russians with sincerity and honestly and actually convey to them that we are (a) not interested in creating trouble in the Central Asian Republics, which they suspect we do, that we are not interested in keeping Afghanistan on the boil, which they suspect we do, and we succeed to convince them that we have no intentions of creating problems in India, which incidentally they believe that we do, I see no reason why we should not be able to bring about a certain degree of normalcy into our relations with Russia.

4. Marvi Memon
MNA from Pakistan Muslim League-Q [PML-Q]

Parliament is not on the driving seat in formulating the foreign policy of Pakistan. The Standing Committee of the Parliament on Foreign Affairs is not as involved in the process of formulating foreign policy as it should be. There is definitely need to look at multi-polarity and also the regional strengths. The experts here are saying that there are certain polls in this region, then we have to accept that we need to make some adjustments in terms of our foreign policy mindset.

There are certainly countries in the region, especially from SCO point of view, with whom we need to have balanced relationship for our national interests. That can happen when we are politically stable. We have some common misfortunes in the region, and we need to accept and understand what these misfortunes are. Once we accept the reality, we can move forward. For instance, several countries in the region have political instability, terrorism, separatism, poverty line, energy shortages, narcotics issues and border disputes. So with so many common challenges that we all share, it is only obvious that we come together and manage the resources better. I see massive opportunities in the region. We need to maximize resource sharing.

It is not just Afghanistan, which needs to be stable, but Pakistan needs to be stable even first. I am only concerned with how I stabilize my soil. We need to accept that we have the issue of terrorism, which should be addressed. If we cohabitate with terrorism, you have to face results that you have. We need

to take it head on. Then, we need to become a responsible player in the region. There can be no economic opportunities that you can take advantage of in the region till you have handled your terrorism issues within Pakistan. Till the people of Pakistan do not accept that and put pressure on the forces that have the power to make decisions, it is not happening.

In light of President Zardari's visit to Russia and the entire situation of the region, all I want to say is that whether it is Russia, China or even India, we need to have very balanced approach. We need to sort out those core issues, which we refused to accept. It is the matter to convince Russia, but before convincing Russia, we need to convince ourselves about this entire paradigm shift.

Question & Answer/Comments Session

Rashid Khalid
Daily The News

Mr. Rehman was saying in his presentation that the Al-Qaeda no more exists in Afghanistan. I would like to ask him where they have gone.

Khalid Rehman
Al-Qaeda people do not have a major role in Afghanistan now. Even in the past, they were not having a major role as far as fighting is concerned, but of course, they were in a way providing resources. It is, however, clear that as far as resistance movement is concerned, it is now spread all across the country, and these Al-Qaeda people are not more than 50-100, and this has been reported in media many a time. First, they went to Iraq, and perhaps, they are now going to other places also.

Mubashir Akram
Director Programs CRSS

What would be the issue or area with which Pakistan and Russia can start as starters on the path of normalization of their relations?

Khalid Rehman
It is extremely difficult to raise one thing that this is going to be the prescription of all kinds of problems that we have at the moment. However, I think all the presentations have emphasized that Pakistan should be seen as pursuing an independent foreign policy and a balanced approach towards our relations with all the countries.

Seemab Abbasi
DSS student QAU

What role bureaucracy has in Pak-Russia relationship?

Tariq Fatemi
Obviously, bureaucracy has a role in policy making. In fact, Pakistan's first government had been of bureaucrats. The politicians had disappeared from the scene soon after the formation of Pakistan.

Bureaucracy played a very powerful role; however, it did not fully represent the aspirations of the common people of Pakistan. Had that been the case, East Pakistan would not have become Bangladesh. It is we who pushed them away.

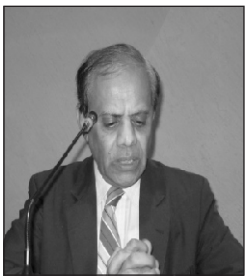
Concluding remarks by Riaz Muhammad

The world has changed today. The post cold war world is very different. We somehow or the other remain preoccupied by strategic doctrines. Today, there is no bipolar world. There are many regional centers, and they are not confrontational; they are competing and cooperating with each other; be it China, the United States, Russia, India or be it Latin America. We must understand the change in the world. The muscle of relationship between any two countries is primarily economy. This normalization must be seen in this perspective. We have to readjust and reorient ourselves today. Somehow or the other, we are out of the step, and that is creating problems not only vis-à-vis Russia but in our relationship with many other countries in the world.

Session II

1. Dr. Maqsood ul Hassan Nuri

Acting President Islamabad Policy Research Institute [IPRI]



The success of any foreign policy is to have more than one option. We cannot have immediate disruptions with our old allies. However, we have to have options, and we need to go to the Eastern Asia, Central Asia and also Russia. And a criterion of success of any foreign policy is that you have minimum problems with your neighbors. Any country which follows policy of continued tensions with its neighbors ultimately finds itself in disadvantage.

We are not a global power but have had a belief to be a global power. We need to rethink of our foreign policy and get away with some wrong notions. If you are getting aid all the time from foreign countries, I do not think you, though a nuclear power, will be respected at international level. Economy has to be put right. Education is also neglected in Pakistan. We have to normalize relations with our neighbors. There should be discourse of a national Pakistan. We need to wake up to the reality and try to look at the world as it is, not as it should be.

2. Fazal-ur Rehman

Research fellow at Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad [ISSI]

China's neighborhood policy is based on peace and cooperation. We too need to follow the policy of co-existence, peace and good neighborly relations with all the regional countries. China also enjoys influence over Central Asia, and we can coordinate with China and participate in Central Asia's economic and trade matters.

3. Dr. Muhammad Islam
Professor at Bahriya University

We need to work on our relations with the regional countries, as except China, we do not have ideal relationship with any regional state. Potential exists at bilateral level within the SCO framework; however, we need to look beyond the SCO.

Question & Answer/Comments Session

► **Question 1**:
How can Pakistan benefit from the sixth Economic Zone being set up by China in Kashgar?

Fazlur Rehman
At this point in time, we are just trying to find out what is exactly going to happen in that economic zone and what are the opportunities that Pakistanis can exploit? Some delegations will be visiting Kashgar in the near future and looking into the plans for this economic zone. Certainly, the countries who had been involved in joint ventures in the previous five zones benefited from it. Giving the state of energy situation in Pakistan, some members of the Pakistani business community can think in terms of initiating some joint ventures for producing certain goods by either taking raw material from here or technology from there.

► **Question 2:**
How can we strengthen our trade with the SCO countries in the current volatile security situation in the country?

Dr. Nuri
Unlike the Europeans, we have witnessed that the Chinese are little risk-takers. They have gone to even Zimbabwe and Somalia. They are hunting different areas around the globe. We do not have to worry about China as we are worried about the European countries.

► **Question 3:**
Dr. Nuri has suggested that we should see the world as it is, not as it should be. We see that India wants Northern Alliance to lead Afghanistan. Should we not worry about it?

Dr. Nuri
Afghans are sovereign. They have the right to choose partners, be it India or any other country. We must keep in mind that any government in Afghanistan will have to depend on Afghanistan. What we need to worry about is that India does not create too much problems for Pakistan in Balochistan.

► **Question 4:**
I would like to ask Dr Islam if the United States can affect the performance of the SCO.

Dr. Islam
The United States is not influencing the performance of the SCO. In fact, within the SCO, there are

competing interests. We must distinguish between the agreements signed under the SCO framework and among the SCO member states at bilateral level.

Concluding Remarks by Ambassador (Retd.) Arif Ayub

The only silver lining is our close relationship with China, and China of course has the predominant role in Central Asia, rather the whole world. It is the second largest economy in the world, and if the present things continue by 2016, China is going to be the largest economy in the world. Luckily, we have good relationship with China and the Chinese have invested in both private and public sectors in Pakistan. There is a possibility of Pakistan and China working together in Central Asia.

Pak-India Relations: No War Pact?

Executive Summary

CRSS organized a roundtable discussion on 'Pak-India Relations: No War Pact?' on May 5, 2011. Besides a select gathering of intellectuals, diplomats and security experts, the debate was attended by a delegation of the London-based Forum of International Relations Development [FIRD] headed by the Pakistani-origin British Toha Qureshi MBE.

The discussion group stressed that political leadership of the two countries, instead of the military establishment, needs to take the lead in the efforts to normalize the bilateral relationship. The participants observed that peoples of the two countries want to have close friendly ties, but it is the 'military industrial complex' that does not let a favourable atmosphere develop for normalization of the relationship.

“Indian military and some other circles are influencing decisions on the outstanding bilateral issues, causing delay in the near-resolved disputes like Siachen and Sir Creek”, said former ambassador Tariq Fatimi. He said that until India accepts Pakistan with all its shortcomings as a reality, there can be no meaningful improvement in the relationship.

Masood Sharif Khattak, former director general Intelligence Bureau, said that the two countries cannot secure solution of their outstanding issues until the United Nations or the United States takes them to the dialogue table.

Referring to the massacre of Muslims in the Indian Gujarat and the incident of setting Samjhota Express ablaze at the hands of Hindu extremists, Mr Khtttak said that extremism mindset exists in India too, but New Delhi never realized it and always wrongly portrayed Pakistan as an extremist society.

Lt General [Retd] Muhammad Amjad, former chairman National Accountability Bureau [NAB], said that normalization of the bilateral relationship lies in correction of the anti-Pakistan Indian mindset.

Emphasizing on interaction between the youth of the two countries, former ambassador Ayaz Wazir was of the view that the young generation needs to be involved in the process of normalization of the relationship. “A middle line between principles and actual positions of the two countries will have to be found to reach solution of the issues”, he said.

Political analyst Musharraf Zaidi said that the poison being disseminated by the Indian media against Pakistan will have to be stopped if New Delhi is sincere and serious to have meaningful talks with Islamabad.

Referring to the Indian media's response to the killing of Osama bin Laden in Pakistan, he said the Indian media has overplayed it portraying Pakistan as a terrorist country, which can affect the current rounds of talks between the two countries. He said the work for developing an environment conducive for peace needs to be done in India, not in Pakistan.

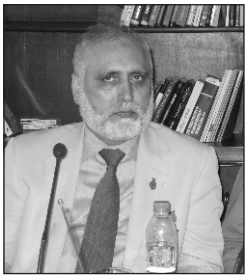
Earlier speaking in the debate, Toha Qureshi said that his organization has been spearheading a campaign involving the civil societies of the two countries in Britain for putting a pressure on the India-Pakistan leaders to seriously move towards normal relationship.

Former ambassador Arif Ayub said that the constituency of war in both India and Pakistan is stronger than that of peace, keeping the people at large deprived of the fruits of peace and stability. He believed that peace between the two countries cannot be attained until the disputed issues are resolved.

Gulmina Bilal, Executive Director Individual Land, said that although the two countries did not have war for the last 40 years but they had battle in the form of Kargil and also proxy wars in Afghanistan and Balochistan. "The bilateral relationship remains pretty bad even during the non-war era," she maintained.

Arshad Abbasi, expert on water and energy affairs, stressed on interpretation of the Indus Water Treaty 1960 by neutral experts for solution of the water dispute between the two countries.

1. Toha Qureshi
Forum of International Relations Development, London



We started our counter radicalization programs before 9/11 in London when we noticed a big change in our area that people were being recruited and taken to Pakistan and then Afghanistan. This was a kind of norm in our area at that time. It was widely accepted in the community as well as in the intelligence agencies as well. They knew what was going on due to the Afghan war.

As Pakistani Muslims we were very much concerned if our children had fallen into wrong hands what we would be going to do about that. So we devised some diversionary programs. We held first conference in 2000 on *The Role of Mosques in the Development of Local Community,* in which we raised our concerns that through education we need to divert our young Muslims from these wrong hands. The community started accepting what we were portraying to them. The Muslim community started thinking on those lines and started devising mechanism and solutions to divert our young people. In 2001, we organized another conference on *The Role of Religion in Diminishing Terrorism*.

We were the only organization in Europe that designed a counter radicalization program to address economic marginalization among Muslims. Again we were the first organization that started a de-radicalization program for those people who were charged under Terrorism Act. We brought them out and started rehabilitating them. So from 1999 to 2010 we successfully designed, executed and led Europe-wide many programs. Our regional program is called *TRIM [Transforming the Radicals into Models]*. So those people who were charged under Terrorism Act and for those people who were radicals or violent extremists, we have eighteen to thirty-six months rehabilitation programs where these people are turned into or transformed into role models.

Now we have a program in Spain, Holland, Germany and the UK (London and South Yorkshire). For a last couple of years, we have seriously been thinking of opening up a dialogue in India and Pakistan through our British Indians and British Pakistanis at a very grass root level. We build up pressure on the institutions which are hindrance in this peace process. Since last year, I have had discussions with many individuals, organizations, some ministers (I have met Prime Minister Gilani in London as well), but at the same time number of think tanks are being consulted. So this effort to come to you is aimed at picking your brain and understanding the depth of the problem. We have had a number of meetings here as well with SAFMA (South Asia Free Media Association] particularly, and we also met Khurshid Kasuri, former foreign minister, the governor of Punjab and many senior journalists, and this is the last

attempt here in Islamabad to speak to you.

2. Tariq Fatemi
Former Ambassador to the US

Any effort to help the process of improvement of relations between Pakistan and India is welcome to all of us. We do want to see the two countries move towards normalization and as an officer in the Foreign Ministry I was actively involved in what is known as the Lahore process and participated in those talks. Earlier, also, I think most of us in some capacity or the other have had the occasion to meet Indian counterparts and discuss what has come to be known as normalization.

We have now so many institutions involved in this particular effort what is known as Track-II. That there is a great deal of over-lapping and a great deal of confusion as well as to which of these organizations are working at whose behest. So if you are also going to engage yourself in this, you will have to demonstrate whether this being done by you and your friends, whether you have or do not have the support of the British government in Pakistan.

For a couple of months, there appears to be some evidence of rethinking in Delhi that indicated possibly renewed desire to resurrect the dialogue process between the two countries. The India media reports about Osama Bin Laden's death indicate a degree of duplicity and they suspect motives in the Pakistani establishment that makes the task reaching out to Pakistan far more difficult. Whether this is being done in order to make a public case for added pressure on Pakistan or the Indians really believe what they are trying to propagate; I do not know. This has certainly added a difficulty to the process of normalization.

A lot of people in Pakistan who have dealt with the Indians are of the view that till such time that India actually demonstrates a degree of acceptance of Pakistan with all its blemishes and shortcomings, there cannot be a meaningful normalization between the two countries. And also another interesting point is that for the first time we see evidence of the Indian armed forces playing a role in the dialogue in Delhi when it comes to reaching out to Pakistan. I know that the two sides have in fact done the home work on the Siachen issue; they have even carried out the surveys indicting the points the lines should be demarcated, but it is the Indian military side which is reluctant to approve of it. So in addition to the perceived reluctance of the political players that had always been suspected by us, now if you also have the Indian armed forces that have become somewhat reluctant to reach out to Pakistan then I think the going is going to be very rough.

3. Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Muhammad Amjad
Former Chairman National Accountability Bureau

I'll just quote their army chief's statement yesterday (May 4) what he said in the context of Bin Laden and that if those who of you haven't come across that statement for something to the effect that 'the kind of operation that was conducted by the Americans we could have done it too'. Now this is a very profound statement. I just hope that our establishment that includes both the government and the military do not take this statement lightly as they have been taking a lot of things.

Dr Manmohan Singh may be having the heart in the right place because he is a little more than a run of the mill politician, but Bal Thakrey is also a politician. Talking of Bal Thakarey, it shows a frame of mind. The Bombay University had a book in its English Literature course in the Under Graduation program written by an Indian Canadian. It's a novel actually but it's very clearly about India and it talked about the negative aspects of Congress and Shiv Sena. The book has been banned and it taken out of the course. That is a frame of mind prevailing there.

4. Masood Sharif Khattak
Former Director General Intelligence Bureau

As far as the peace between these two countries is concerned I think there cannot be two opinions on that. If you look at the India and Pakistan relations, it revolves around the Kashmir issue and this is the issue which has been left alive. I think the world is not happy and ready to solve the Kashmir problem. Every conflict that our generation can recollect, including the World War II, has been resolved invariably by the US being the forefront and the West in general but when it comes to the Kashmir resolution, everybody lays off, saying India and Pakistan should solve problems themselves. There is a UN resolution and there is no difference between the UN of today and the UN of 1948. If there is a resolution somebody should put it into action.

Stability in the sub-continent is also going to bring about a lot of difference in the world as two thirds of the humanity lives in this part of the region. Sometimes, the mind goes a little there having a question why the world is not interested to bring peace to this region. If in Europe you don't need a passport why you need one here. Because there as certain disputes left and nobody is really keen to solve it. I read something about a fifty–year no war pact, I would like to say that its forty years since we have had our last war. So in a way, you can consider this a no war pact, but it has made no difference and the relations are pretty bad. The sub-continent needs peace, as there has been enough of war. Because of expenditures on defense you have nothing to give your people education, health, and rest of the things that affect human lives.

5. Ayaz Wazir
Former Ambassador

We have to make a decision, in fact, in two factors. We have either the principles that are involved like the UN resolutions on Kashmir or the international laws or how the state to state relations should be. Now either we solve it through the UN resolutions, as I said we go by the principles, or we will have to go by the factual existing position.

Sixty three years have passed and in that period we have seen the making and the breaking of the Soviet Union. However, we remain stuck with the same old thing Kashmir. We have a very bitter past between us and the recent example is of the Kargil or the situation in Afghanistan. Osama is yet the recent tension between us as the general [Amjad] referred to the Indian army chief. So keeping all that in mind how do we proceed.

Should we leave it to the old people who are stuck with the principled kind of a solution or we leave it to the youngsters whose future obviously is more at stake than ours. Let's leave it to them; I would

suggest. Let there be an interaction between the people of the two countries. Let there be strong business and commercial relations between us. We want, we say, we claim that we should be very good neighbors, very good friends but we do not take steps, which should bring us closer to each other. If we leave it to the armies of the two countries, they are not going to resolve it. Why should the militaries be taking the lead role on a political question between the two countries? Leave it to the political leadership or then leave it to the youngsters, they will find a solution to it.

6. Arshad Abbasi
Expert on Water and Energy

In 1960, Pakistan and India signed the Indus Water Treaty and since then this treaty has been a Confidence Building Measure [CBM]. The treaty, however, is under stress these days. Initially, this treaty was about the division of the rivers—three rivers were allocated to India and three to Pakistan. Under the treaty, we gave India some share in the water of our rivers, receiving $162 million in 1960. Since India started building its hydel power projects on those rivers, the controversy of interpretation of the treaty began. Pakistan thus filed a case in the International Court of Arbitration in 2005. The issue still remains unresolved. International neutral experts can play a role in interpreting the treaty. We have to cooperate with India on the subject as we depend for 35 percent of our water resources on India.

For being the second largest glacier on the planet, Siachen also has environmental value. Unfortunately, due to the presence of the armies, it is melting at an unprecedented fast pace. About five years ago, we conducted a study and shared it with India. At that time, the chairman Inter-government Panel for Climate Change requested the India government to vacate the glacier and convert it into a peace park for the sake of environment as environment has no boundaries. Again this is the area where we can cooperate with each other.

India has made phenomenal progress in wind energy. As Pakistan is facing energy crisis, it can seek cooperation in this sector from India. Right from the concept to reality, it takes six months to install a wind energy mill. If the Pakistan government and our experts are really serious to overcome this energy crisis, cooperation in wind energy and especially import of wind mill will not only help overcome energy crisis but also help to bring down the tariff.

7. Gulmina Bilal
Executive Director Individual Land

True, the two countries have not had war in the past 40 years, but what about the battles. We have had Kargil; is that a skirmish or a battle? I also sometimes think that some new battlegrounds for India and Pakistan have evolved during this period. In addition to Kashmiri and Siachen, we now have Balochistan and Afghanistan. Having said this I would like to welcome this initiative, sir (Mr Qureshi) that you and your group have spearheaded.

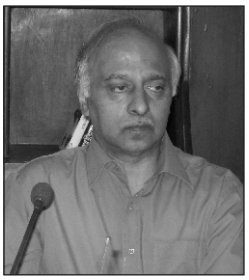
If we talk about war and peace we need to demonstrate that peace is more than the absence of war. As for pacts, I leave it to the experts but just want to say that Pakistan at this point in time is not dealing with even the illusion of dealing from a position of strength. At least before Osama bin Laden's incident, we had that illusion; now we don't.

8. Mosharraf Zaidi
Political Economist

The people of Pakistan have consistently without exception found other things to hate but in my life time I don't remember that India has been the primary focus of the Pakistani people's hatred. And this should not be surprising for anyone because Indians and Pakistanis used to be just Indians and the ostensible reason that from Indians we became Indians and Pakistanis was because we love our beef and stakes and you know apparently they don't, but there is about eleven hundred years old history until 1905 when to the best of my knowledge if there were mob violence and if there were Hindu-Muslim riots they clearly weren't recorded in the history well. So this emergence of the distinction between the Indian Muslim nationality and the non Muslim Indian nationality is recent and of course Pakistan itself is recent and the Pakistan that you are sitting in is often spoken of as if it came into being in 1947 but that was a different country with twice the size, it had an eastern and western wing and it was much more diverse.

So the Pakistan that you are in is really a forty year old country with twenty year history of military dictators supported by republican presidential administrations and a twenty year history of complete political dysfunction that is supported by and endorsed by the people of Pakistan. All of this is to say that you are in the wrong country. I just got of the phone with an Indian television channel where I flatly had to refuse of airing on a talk show because the topic was "should India launch surgical strikes into Pakistan or not"? I mean it's not really a normative question; it's a question that belongs in the asylum. And the question of whether there should be a peace pact with India is also a question that, with due respect, really belongs in the asylum and this isn't the asylum.

The use of what happened in Mumbai by the Indian media to drive ratings and the use of what happened on Sunday in Abbottabad to drive ratings is also driving an impenetrable wedge between the people of India and this country. It's not good enough or healthy enough for Indians to keep talking about the military jihadist complex even though there is such a thing. It's not good enough for the Indians to blame the military terrorist complex, even though there is such a thing because that is not the only thing that comprises this country. That is something that comprises a small miniscule. Now because of what happened in the Indian media post Mumbai and now what's happening post Osama Bin Laden. You know your problem isn't Pakistan your problem is India.



9. Imtiaz Gul
Executive Director CRSS

Actually this is very true. This is what has been happening to me as well for the last four days. There has been a flood of phone calls from India and on a few occasions I did speak with them, but our disadvantage is that they take us for a few minutes then bash us afterwards. Even now I was getting like five phone calls. So I have told them that I will not appear on their television. There is so much hatred for Pakistan. So you know when you are trying to rationalize the debate, you cannot. I, in fact, told the NDTV people that look you have ill-mannered and ignorant anchors who cannot understand what are they saying, therefore, I am not ready to talk to you. You can try to build bridges. You can try to rationalize the debate between India and Pakistan. I mean you can't look at things only from Indian perspective.

10. Arif Ayub
Former Ambassador

Mr. Qureshi is commendable as he came all the way with the idea of no war pact. Of course, both of us – India and Pakistan – being nuclear weapons states have agreed that there should be a no war pact. There is a constituency for peace, which we have around 90 percent of the population both in India and in Pakistan. There is also a constituency for war or tension – the military industrial complex - which you have in Pakistan and you have in much greater extent in India because it is much larger country. Their military budget is larger than our entire budget. So when you have dispute with these two constituencies, unfortunately for the last sixty-three years the constituency for war has been winning and its seems that they will keep on winning because they have money, wealth, power and also have control over the media. So it's a losing battle for the majority of the population.

There is no harm if you have the funding you can arrange the meetings of people like us and on the other side we can sit and we can agree but you will not be able to convince the war constituency because that is their bread and butter. Tariq Fatemi gave all the examples including Kashmir and also massacres and human rights violations on the Indian side. It was genocide in Gujarat and then the same happened in Bombay, and before that it was the Babari Mosque incident. So you have problems which are insurmountable. And the same is on our side. Nawaz Sharif was trying his best and you had Kargil and this present government was trying its best, and you had Mumbai attacks. So it's something that the political leaders on both sides are trying to get out of the straight jacket but the military Industrial complex on both sides is too powerful. It's impossible.

11. Masood Sharif Khattak
Former DG Intelligence Bureau

If we really want to achieve things, the West will have to bring Pakistan and India towards a process of genuine peace. India is always preferred to Pakistan and Pakistan is always getting all this bashing about the extremism. Even you in your remarks mentioned about extremism, people being taken away and all. I wonder if you are also aware how many of Indian extremist organizations collect money from Indians living in the UK and that money is coming back into India, putting on fire the extremism within India. The Indian extremists have got away with, but we do not mention Gujarat Muslim massacre and the Samjhota Express blazing and always talk of Mumbai and Osama.
The British Prime Minister said in Bombay that Pakistan exports terrorism. If we are exporting terrorism, why is this happening to us? I think the world has to come up with a little more realistic things as far as Pakistan is concerned. We on this table represent Pakistan's cross-section and Pakistan is certainly not a terrorist country. It is unfortunately located in such a place where all he world powers in various times in history played their power games.

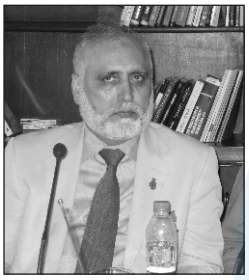
12. Ayaz Wazir
Former Ambassador

If we look at the major events that have taken place between us and India so far, it is so unfortunate that we have taken the lead not the Indians starting with 1965 war and ending at Kargil. Everywhere we see unfortunately our own country where we

have taken the lead or initiative of the problem. I am not accusing my country of every thing but it is difficult to come out with strong argument. I agree with you that we are not terrorists but how would a foreigner or an India look at us after the Osama episode. Would he be listening to your [Khattak] argument or believe in the country's image developed after a long silence of our leadership on the killing of Osama?

Masood Sharif Khattak

You are right but if you missed one part of my argument that this area has been a battleground for not our battles but for the world at large. So these Osamas and these others; we have not gone anywhere to bring them here. The world has to look at the bigger picture. I am not defending anything wrong but the point is that the world has to bring into the picture Afghanistan, Kashmir, and also Balochistan. India and Pakistan cannot solve these issues. So if you want peace in the region, it will have to be brought about by the world activity.



Toha Qureshi

I would like to answer some questions put to me during the debate. I want to clarify although we have funding yet this is not a project that is funded by Pakistani government or the Indian government or any country in Europe or America. It is the concerned Muslims, particularly Pakistanis, who are living in the UK who have been funding the counter radicalization program. It is from the grassroots level that the communities from both sides have taken this initiative. We took an initiative when no body was talking about extremism and terrorism. We are the only Pakistani organization that designed a model before 9/11 and definitely before 7/7 that's being utilized in United Kingdom and many other countries.

I think where there is a will there is a way. I am pretty certain that we can achieve peace and we can normalize our relationship. It is not an easy task; I fully understand and agree with you. But we have many examples of peace achievement, and the recent example is the Northern Ireland. I think we still have a hope that we can work somehow together and get the peace on board. Then, there are the complicated issues of water management, Kashmir, Kargil, Siachen etc. I strongly believe that if there are two brothers, they fight and eventually they have wall in their courtyard. It doesn't matter if the children of those two brothers come together and talking about it. 'Why is this wall there'? It wouldn't happen that way that the parents would allow them to bring down that wall but eventually those children will think that if they have a big courtyard they might be able to play cricket there.

I think we will not have a law or a pact but we can open dialogue for our trade and can have easy access to acquire visas particularly for those people who pay tax, the government employees or for those people who have been running businesses for five to ten years. Things could be made easy from both sides. Regarding the Indian extremists collecting money from the UK or other parts of Europe, I would yes that is happening. We are aware of that but what do we do? We can't stop them. We can get those people who are like-minded and start working towards that.

As for the OBL issue, the guy has been found here; so what grounds do we have to stand down now? Many others like Khaled Sheikh Muhammad, Aimal Kansi any many others have been picked

from here and taken away or killed in this land. Regarding the point that there is a state within state which is affecting this peace process, I think this is a question that we need to really answer to ourselves and to others.

State of Food Insecurity in Balochistan

Executive Summary

The first of the Balochistan Forum series of roundtable discussions and seminars agreed between CRSS and Actionaid Pakistan was arranged on "State of Food Insecurity in Balochistan" on May 19, 2011 at the Center's premises.

Nasir Aziz, policy officer of ActionAid Pakistan, Mubashir Akram, director Programs CRSS and Pir Syed Mudassir Nazar Shah, chairman Center for Islamic Research Collaboration and Learning [CIRCL] were the main speakers. The event was attended by a large gathering a Balochis belonging to different walks of life.

The speakers called for swift action by the federal government, the provincial government and other stakeholders to address the damages caused by the last years' floods, and added that the province needs a long-term plan to rehabilitate its agriculture.

They warned against the increasing food insecurity in the province because of water shortages, problems around load shedding and smuggling of essential commodities to Afghanistan.

In 2005 there were 18 food deficient districts while it rose to 27 in 2010. According to World Bank report 2009, Pakistan's 20 districts have worst food deficiency, out of which 10 belong to Balochistan. And the worst of all the districts is Dera Bugti with 82.4 percent food deficiency.

1. Mubashir Akram

Director Programs CRSS

My research is basically related to the food insecurity issue. In Balochistan there is crop and livestock based food insecurity, because of which 90 percent districts, 27 of the total 30, of Balochistan are food deficient. The floods of 2010 further aggravated the situation. 26 districts out of the 27 food deficient are worst hit, the access to food is worst in these areas. In 2005 there were 18 food deficient districts while it rose to 27 in 2010. 62 percent of the Balochistan population is food insecure that is five million out of the total eight million is food insecure. According to World Bank report 2009, Pakistan's 20 districts have worst food deficiency, out of which 10 belong to Balochistan. And the worst of all the districts is Dera Bugti with 82.4 percent food deficiency.

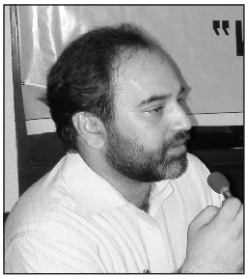
The provincial government has not devised any cohesive strategy to counter food insecurity. The agricultural infrastructure was terribly destroyed by the floods of 2010 and the infrastructural base has not been restored by the government yet. And according to PDMA the reconstruction and rehabilitation phase has not started yet. When will rehabilitation start is an open question in the national mainstream discourse. Furthermore 70 percent of the livestock was either washed away or fell sick, and the food access of the livestock is just 30 percent now. Quetta is the only district out of the total 30 districts, in which food access and food absorption is normal and food insecurity is almost negligible.

2. Nasir Aziz
Policy Officer, Actionaid, Pakistan

There are three main pillars of food security, (a) there must be the availability of food (b) people must be economically sound so that they may purchase food (c) food absorption. Balochistan lacks all the three pillars of food security, as there is very limited availability of food while due to poverty they lack the purchasing power as well. And the areas where food is available, like Quetta and Khuzdar, the high prices of the commodities decrease the purchasing capacity of the people. The prices in Quetta, Khuzdar and Islamabad are almost the same, irrespective of the economic condition of the people of the federal capital and the provincial capital.

Water scarcity is a major issue in Balochistan, as all the agricultural land is becoming barren because of water unavailability, and hence there is a danger of far worst food insecurity in the province. 80 percent population is consuming low quality food, especially due to the food scarcity after the floods of 2010. Government has not taken any steps to address the food insecurity issue and for the betterment of agricultural sector. There should be long term solution for the meager condition of agricultural sector and the rights of women must be protected. If these issues will not be addressed, there can be severe food insecurity in the province in the coming years.

3. Pir Syed Mudassir Nazar Shah
Chairman, CIRCL



The biggest challenge to food security in Balochistan is smuggling. Do you people know how much wheat is being smuggled to Afghanistan? The governor, chief minister and the opposition leader in Balochistan, all belong to agricultural sector. All the recent situation of food insecurity is by design. The reason why militants attack electric transmission lines is that 50 percent of the agriculture in Balochistan relies upon the electric transmission lines. I'll blame the political elite of Balochistan as well as the militants for the whole scenario. Balochistan food insecurity is a big question mark, but I strongly believe that it is by design.

The major issue is the issue of governance, billions of rupees are coming to the province and all is wasted. The Baloch nawabs themselves are not ready to use the money legally and fairly. Out of the 60 members of provincial assembly 50 to 60 percent are from agricultural background. Although the food availability and access is important but if the governance issue is addressed the whole problem will be solved automatically.

Education System in Balochistan Youth's Perspective

Executive Summary

The demand to prioritize education in the next budget and effective implementation of Balochistan package came out in a policy dialogue forum organized by Center for Research and Security Studies (CRSS) and Actionaid Pakistan organized a roundtable on "Education System in Balochistan – Youth's Perspective". The Roundtable was presided over by former Deputy Speaker National Assembly and former Federal Minister for Education, Sardar Wazir Jogezai.

The demand to prioritize education in the next budget and effective implementation of Balochistan package came out in a policy dialogue forum organized by Center for Research and Security Studies (CRSS) and Actionaid Pakistan (AAPk) organized a roundtable on "Education System in Balochistan – Youth's Perspective". The Roundtable was presided over by former Deputy Speaker National Assembly and former Federal Minister for Education, Sardar Wazir Jogezai. Prof. Adeel Jamaluddin professor at International Islamic University Islamabad and Mazhar Leghari, a senior journalist and human rights activist were the key speakers of the discussion forum.

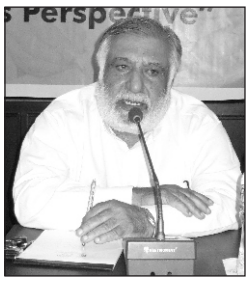
The speakers emphasized the need for making education a priority, purpose-oriented and compulsory in Pakistan. They said that it is quiet ironic that in Pakistan education system is following the available resources rather than the other way round, and the availability of good teachers and free and readily available books was more important than schools buildings.

The very geographic enormity of Balochistan had complicated the problems of education even further. In this context, distance-learning and vocational training are an alternative to be considered by policy-makers for Balochistan, they suggested.

The speakers were of the view that education in Balochistan is suffering because of the overall poverty in the province, as 58 percent of Balochistan's population is living below the poverty line. The speakers urged that there is a dire need for flow of resources from the Center to the province to enable the provinces to improve education, which is a provincial subject.

1. Sardar Wazir Ahmed Jogezai

Former Deputy Speaker National Assembly and former Federal Minister for Education



There is a need for making education a priority, purpose-oriented and compulsory in Pakistan. There was no long-term planning for education in Pakistan. It is ironic that in Pakistan education system is following the available resources rather than the other way round. Availability of good teachers and free and readily available books was more important than schools buildings. Mr. Jogezai also took the opportunity to offer a collective '*fateha*' for Prof. Ghulam Hussain (Saba) Dashtyari who was killed by unknown gunmen on June 1.

2. Prof. Adeel Jamaluddin

Professor at International Islamic University Islamabad

Balochistan has the lowest Human Development Index of all the provinces of

Pakistan at 0.556. with a total area of 134,051 square miles and population density of 58.2 persons per square mile, the very geographic enormity of Balochistan had complicated the problems of education even further. Considering the sparsely populated nature of the province, Balochistan's formal education system had to be even more developed than the rest of the country. In this context, he suggested distance-learning and vocational training as an alternative to be considered by policy-makers for Balochistan. He added that all major universities of Balochistan were in Quetta, which was not feasible for most of the population of Balochistan. He further shared that most of the 19 lowest-literacy districts of Pakistan, with the exception of a couple of FATA ones, were in Balochistan. Prof. Jamaluddin appreciated the recent announcement by the HEC for the establishment of two universities in Loralai and Khuzdar. He remarked that revival of education system was also important as a counter-insurgency measure, because education system represents a state within its boundaries. Prof. Jamaluddin said that the security of educationists and education institutions was nothing as compared to the security of state officials and security installations. He also emphasized the need for flow of resources from the center to the province to enable the provinces to improve education, which is a provincial subject.

3. Mazhar Leghari
Senior Journalist and Activist

Pakistan's literacy figure of 53 percent was a lot higher than the 37 percent of Balochistan. He disclosed that one of the districts of Balochistan, Musakhel, had only 4 percent literacy. Mr. Leghari was of the view that education in Balochistan was suffering because of the overall poverty in the province. He shared that 58 percent of Balochistan's population was living below the poverty line. Sharing some figures, he said that out of the 20 districts of Pakistan where more than 50 percent school-going children were out of school, 10 were in Balochistan. Mr. Leghari pointed out that the promises made under the Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan Package (AHBP) had not been fulfilled. He mentioned that about Rs. 12 billion royalties had been released for Balochistan after the package. Mr. Leghari criticized the funding of some private education institutions through money borrowed for development from the World Bank. Citing a report of the Human Rights Watch (HRW), Mr. Leghari said that 22 teachers had been killed in Balochistan while 200 had got themselves transferred while the applications of 200 for transfers were still pending. He was of the view that the multi-cultural fabric of the society had been destroyed due the ongoing conflict situation in Balochistan.

Impact of Conflict on Women in Balochistan

Executive Summary

The Center for Research and Security Studies (CRSS) in collaboration with Actionaid Pakistan organized a roundtable, "Impact of Conflict on Women in Balochistan" on June 16. The roundtable was third in a series of roundtables and seminars as part of the Actionaid-CRSS Balochistan Forums.

Tribal and ethnic heterogeneity should not be construed as a basis for an unnatural and thus short-lived state system rather the weakness of the state system should be attributed to lack of integration and deprivation among a certain population.

There is a need for greater people-to-people contact of the Baloch with Pakistanis from other parts of the country.

Baloch people are labeled as 'otherized' because of the discriminatory attitude of the Center towards Balochistan. The top level decision-makers of Pakistan are solely responsible for not solving the problems of the Balochis.

There is need for sustainable solutions to the problems of Balochi women through certain structural adjustments on priority basis. The Balochistan package should have a special stress on prioritizing women to make it more inclusive and gender friendly.

1. Rukhsana Shama

Program Officer, Actionaid, Pakistan

Eighty five percent of the population of Dera Bugti had migrated—including the minority communities. Sharing the findings of Actionaid studies, Shama shared that the male members of the displaced families were not repatriating back to Dera Bugti in as great numbers as the female members because of security and livelihoods concerns, which was creating its own conditions for the women in those areas who are already vulnerable in a tribal society rife with conflict. Shama agreed with the contention that there was a need for greater people-to-people contact of the Baloch with Pakistanis from other parts of the country.

2. Dr. Rakshinda Parveen

Creative Anger, Rakhshi

The inclusion of women in the decision-making processes is very important to improve the overall socio-economic conditions of the women in general in Balochistan. She added that the women from among the elite of Balochistan were not only aloof and insensitive, but also powerless and helpless in supporting the needy. Commenting on the non-elite women from among the masses in Balochistan, Parveen was of the opinion that they were more conscious and socially active, but suffered from loss of attention by the donor community. She suggested sustainable solutions to the problems of Balochi women through certain structural adjustments on priority basis, moreover she stressed that the Balochistan package should have a special stress on prioritizing women to make it more inclusive and gender friendly.

3. Harris Khalique
Writer, Activist and Poet

The tribal society of Balochistan should not be called backward, but pre-industrial. He added that tribal and ethnic heterogeneity should not be construed as a basis for an unnatural and thus short-lived state system rather the weakness of the state system should be attributed to lack of integration and deprivation among a certain population. Poverty and deprivation among the Baloch were not the cause of conflict in Balochistan but vice versa. It is very important to understand that there are various contextual differences within the women groups in Balochistan, but inclusion of women into peacemaking processes is very important to make decisions on humanitarian grounds.

4. Prof. Farkhanda Aurangzeb
Federal Ministry for Human Rights

The Balochistan conflict was highly politicized. Agreeing with Khalique, Prof. Aurangzeb contended that Baloch people were 'otherized' because of the discriminatory attitude of the center towards Balochistan. She said that she was disappointed with the top decision-makers of Pakistan for not solving the problems of the Baloch people. She termed both the politicians and the bureaucracy responsible as a cause of conflict in Balochistan. Citing an example of the apathy of the bureaucracy in Balochistan, Prof. Aurgangzeb said that the center once decided to disburse some funds to all the four provinces for computerization of education institutions, the Chief Secretary of Balochistan refused to even accept the funds.

While concluding, it was stated that military, political forces and bureaucracy are responsible for the Balochistan conflict and increased intensity of it. The policy forum participants demanded that Balochistan Rights Package needs operationalization for quick implementation of the promises state has made. While, missing aspect of women should be made part of the package and women should be prioritized for decision making and peace building processes for Balochistan.

Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan: Status and Way Forward

Executive Summary

CRSS in collaboration with ActionAid Pakistan organized a seminar on "Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan: Status and Way Forward" on June 30, 2011. Lawmakers from government and opposition parties, along with senior journalists and Balochistan issues' experts were among the speakers. Among politicians Ayatullah Durrani, former Minister of State and MNA from Pakistan People's Party; Senator Haji Adeel, Acting Vice President Awami National Party (ANP), Dr. Ishaq Baloch, Central Vice President National Party (NP), addressed the seminar. A large number of people from diverse range of backgrounds and of Balochistan origin were among the participants.

In general, the speakers consensually agreed that a change in the mindset of civilian and military establishment in Islamabad, true implementation of "Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package" and the provincial government's sincere and proactive role to redress the decades' long grievances of the Balochis, can considerably contribute towards the normalization of situation in the province.

They underscored the fact that the principal responsibility to translate the recent constitutional, political, economic, administrative initiatives: the National Finance Commission (NFC) Award, the 18th Amendment and the Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package, into reality lies with the Balochistan government.

The minimum share of Rs. 83 billion for Balochistan in the NFC Award; Gas Development Surcharge (GDS) rate of the Balochistan's gas equal to other provinces; the federal government's commitment to pay Rs. 120 billion to Balochistan under the head of GDS arrears and consideration of the province's 5.2 percent population of the total country's total population as 9.2 per cent due to reverse population can turn the lot of the Balochi people if their leaders give up to live like kings.

While conceding to the fact that natural resources of Balochistan had been under the direct control of federal government for the last 63 years, Haji Adeel said that the present government, at least got it approved from the parliament through "Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e- Balochistan Package" that the Baloch people need be given their due share of the provincial natural resources.

Censuring Islamabad for showing persistent disregard for the rights of Baloch people, Senator Dr. Ishaq Baloch said until federating units are truly recognized, federation cannot be saved. He said, though the Balochis have equal constitutional rights under the Constitution of Pakistan and subsequent amendments, yet the implementation of these laws has become a distant reality for Balochi people.

Lambasting the Balochi Sardards for their part in committing injustices to the Balochi people, PPP lawmaker from Balochistan, Ayatullah Durrani, asked "Why not a single educational institution has been set up by Jogezais, Jamalis, Achakzais, Bugtis and Raisanis in the province"? Mr Durrani underlined that route of subversion will not lead towards the destination of rights' achievement. He added that the present government wants to initiate a dialogue process with the Baloch dissidents, but ironically many criminals, dacoits, thugs have also penetrated into the file and ranks of rebel Baloch organizations. He mentioned that the federal intelligence agencies are no more active in Balochistan, and now provincial government is in total control of provincial matters.

Dr Irram, the representative of Pakistan Muslim League (N) at the seminar, said onus of the backwardness of the province also lies with the Baloch people, for not being too active to win and realize their rights.

Subscribing to the viewpoint of Dr Irram, Wazir Ahmed Jogezai, who chaired the event, said the current Balochistan Assembly lacks true representation due to the prevalent political schism in the province. Stressing the need for establishing an independent Election Commission, he emphasized that until the Baloch people have their true representation in the assembly, they cannot get their rights.

Highlighting the lack of proper implementation mechanism of "Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package, Raza Narejo, an expert on Balochistan affairs, said implementation mechanisms for political, administrative and constitutional matters must be put in place, and public tracking of implementation process should be made accessible for the public.

Farida Baloch, who is working on women empowerment projects in Balochistan, said that the women affected by protracted conflict and recent calamities are in dire need of psycho-social support and basic health facilities.

SESSION I

1. Imtiaz Gul
Executive Director CRSS

Some days ago, I asked Senator Mian Raza Rabbani about the status of the implementation of "Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package" (Balochistan Rights Package). He told me that the issue is being handled by Interior Minister Rehman Malik. I tried my best to contact him but he is never caught by anyone. The seriousness of the incumbent government could be gauged by the government's decision to hand over the sensitive issue of Balochistan that requires profound seriousness and attention, to the interior minister. I think he already has hundreds of issues in his platter to take care of. There were almost 65 to 70 proposals in the package when it was announced, which were basically the demands of different stakeholders in Balochistan, which they have been expressing for the last three to four decades.

The prime minister announced in December to create 5,000 jobs in Balochistan to provide employment opportunities to the disenchanted youth in the province. Likewise armed forces also announced to recruit five to six thousand people from Balochistan. As for now, I do not know about the latest status of these recruitments. One can assess the state of uncertainty from the statement issued by the chief secretary Balochistan on 25th of June, wherein he said "We would create six thousand new jobs in Balochistan". He alluded that four thousand jobs would be provided by the federal government, while rest of the two thousand would be the responsibility of the provincial government. He said that 125 billion rupees have set said for the execution of "Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package" and the federal government will provide 10 to 12 billion rupees annually for the purpose.

Thus, it is natural for anyone to brood over these apparent discrepancies in the statements of

government officials: that if prime minister's statement of December 2010; of chief of army staff (COAS) or the recent statement by chief secretary Balochistan is reliable. Whether the six thousand jobs he is talking about are other than the announced by prime minister and COAS and if these are the same announced earlier by the prime minister and the COAS. In sum, there is a great deal of bewilderment surrounding the dealings of federal and provincial governments of Balochistan issue and the purpose of this gathering is to sensitize Balochistan issue and to exert pressure on the government for the effective and timely implementation of "Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package".

2. Uzma Tahir
ActionAid, Pakistan

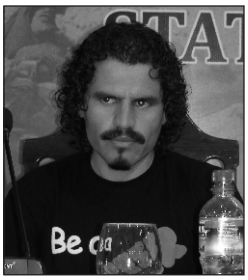
The situation on ground is much drabber in Balochistan, than the one can assess while sitting in Islamabad. This seminar is part of our ongoing campaign to dig deeper in order to know the happenings on ground in Balochistan. The complete media black out is further discouraging the individuals and organizations, aspiring to highlight the miseries of Baloch people. Media is unable to convey the voices of the people of Balochistan and the state of their rights. While a pernickety angle of the Balochistan situation is being presented in our national media. Thus, the fundamental objective of our campaign is to bring to light the real issues Balochistan people, which are in total contrast with those being projected.

When we talk of the Balochistan package we do not demand anything new from the government. We do not ask the government to bring radical changes in its policies. We noted that the mindset of the decision makers sitting in Islamabad towards Balochistan did not change, despite the years of persistent advocacy campaigns. If the "Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package" had been implemented in its true spirit, the situation on ground, in my view, would have been improved considerably so far. The entire narrative of the conflict could have been changed, if at least ten thousand people in Balochistan are employed. Moreover, "Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan Package" is shamefully silent on gender angle of the conflict.

There is a deep embedded irony of the matter that whenever we talk about Balochistan conflict, we discuss its political dimension only. While, how the protracted restive situation in Balochistan impacts common citizen does not make headlines, and fails to seize the attention of media or decision makers in Islamabad. So, the primary objective of this campaign is to highlight the human angle of the conflict. Furthermore, when it comes the issue of spiking food insecurity in the country; we do not see any discussion regarding prevalent food insecurity in Balochistan: Despite the somber fact that most of the food insecure districts are in Balochistan. What is the governmental response to this issue and how the "Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package" could address it?

The studies conducted by the ActionAid in the past point out that the people in Balochistan are facing acute food insecurity, and hardly manage to take meals twice a day, while in the past, they used to take thrice. In the past people used to invest in health and education, but now they hardly manage to fulfill their food requirements. We have data and studies in this regard available with us. Thus in a province where people are starving, how can one address law and order situation. Therefore, our political leaders should address the issues at grass root level and of livelihood, in order to find the sustainable solution to Balochistan conflict.

3. Zahid Khan
MBA Student in Islamabad

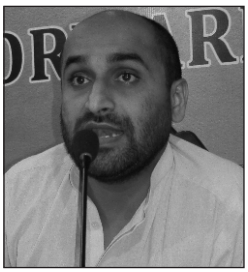


Though there are plenty of issues plaguing the everyday lives of Balochi people, but I would talk about unemployment and education. My question is that why am I not getting education in Balochistan? When I tell people that I am from Balochistan, they are shocked to see me. When will this discrimination end and when will people consider Balochistan and Punjab at par with each other? The educational institutions in Balochistan are in poor condition. Should I come here to get a job? Should I come here to study and to have an environment to see happy people? Unemployment begins with the denial of quality education. It is natural that when a person is pushed against the wall, he will cling to violence and killing. A two year Masters in Business Administration (MBA) degree is completed in three years in Balochistan, because time is wasted in strikes and violence. Teachers are being butchered in Balochistan.

4. Farida Baloch
Social Worker based in Balochistan

Uncertainty and unrest is still order of the day in Balochistan, despite the fact that six military operations were launched in the province. Frontier Corps (FC) personnel carry out frequent raids and take as much people with them, as much they like . The number of missing persons in Balochistan is in thousands. Who is the worst victim of such a situation? It is the women and children, of course. A woman toils in two ways in Balochistan: She is slave to her husband as she works for him at home, and secondly, when he is murdered, she suffers the pain of loss. A husband is the main source of livelihood of the household but when he is no more alive then no one is there to feed the family.
Has the government taken any initiative to provide the much needed psycho-social support to women in Balochistan? And unfortunately, even the much talked about "Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package" does not have any mention of women. There is media black out in Balochistan, because no media reporter can visit Dera Bugti or Sui. And one cannot imagine how the females are toiling in Turbat, Awaran, Panjgur and Kharan. In sum, Pakistan has no policy to deal with conflict ridden people.

5. Raza Narejo
Expert on Balochistan Affairs



I would like to highlight the prevalent culture of promise making and promise breaking in Pakistan. As my sister mentioned earlier that military operations are frequent visitors to Balochistan since 1948. Furthermore, treaties and accords were signed with the Baloch leaders after or during military operations, but ironically no treaty has been honored, starting from Agha Abdul Karim to Nawab Akbar Bugti. In the recent past, we have had Mohtaramma Benazir Bhutto's reconciliation committee, Mushahid Hussain Syed and Wasim Sajjad's committee, and Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain's committee to fix the Balochistan problems, but all these committees and their recommendations end up in the dustbin. And with this hindsight, we can foresee a similar fate of "Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan Package".

The "Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan Package" has 39 articles; among them four are concerned with

the monitoring mechanism, whereas the remaining 35 are divided into four categories i.e. constitutional, political, administrative, and economic. We have been told through this document that steps have been taken to amend the Constitution through the enactment of 18th Amendment and introduction of NFC Award to seal a new destiny for the Balochs. Here the question arises that the 18th Amendment is not solely focused on Balochistan, rather it addresses entire Pakistan. And therefore, if one is trying to tell Baloch people that they are given special favor by amending the constitution: I think Baloch people are not willing to accept it. On the contrary the said amendment has further created chasm in public opinion and political schism has increased in effect.

Now coming to the political issues, it is mentioned in the package that release of political workers would be discussed. May I inquire what kinds of steps have been taken so far to set free the political workers, apprehended under "manufactured charges"? Unfortunately, I do not see any progress in this regard so far. Also, I can see a ludicrous article in the document with respect to the initiation of political dialogue. It is stated that political dialogue will be initiated with all the stakeholders, but the sixth point, which tells about the return of exiles, reads out that all those in exile will be allowed to return home, save those involved in terrorism activities. Now the question arises, who are in exile: Those who are accused of terrorism by the governments are in exile? Therefore, they cannot return. Thus, it is a bewildering fact for me that if Taliban and the United States, why we cannot talk to our own people who are angry with us because their legitimate demands are unmet.

Moreover, there is a proposal to constitute four commissions to address the administrative issues: One of the commissions would be constituted to probe the assassination of political leaders including Shaheed Lala Munir, Shaheed Ghulam Muhammad, and Shaheed Munir Ahmed. Then there is a commission meant to probe the missing persons; and another commission is to probe the murder of Nawab Akbar Bugti. The fourth commission was promised to be constituted on the issue of Gwadar, but as we know that so far not a single step has been taken in this regard. Similarly, it is promised that the role of federal intelligence and law enforcement agencies in Balochistan would be curtailed and their control would be handed over to the chief minister. While the chief minister has mentioned more than once that even an FC soldier is not ready to obey his orders. I think there is no need for further analysis after this.

Also, it was promised that no new military cantonments will be constructed in Balochistan, and the COAS also announced that the work on the construction of cantonment in Sui will be halted and it would be converted into a university. The government has not taken the Baloch people into confidence as to how it is going to address their concerns, regarding the enhanced presence of federal law enforcement agencies in the province. The Baloch people were assured that their economic grievances will also be addressed. The condition of limited political activity in the proposed economic free zones has made Baloch people even more annoyed, as they already have reservations about the prospects of being converted into a minority in their own province.

Then it says that a special package would be announced for Sui, but we are still waiting for that package to materialize. The Baloch people have not been given any representation in big projects like Riko Diq, and Saindak. Then there are issues of arrears of gas surcharge due from 1954 to 1991 which amounts to 120 billion rupees. We are unaware as to how the arrears would be paid to Balochistan. The government should come clean on these issues. In short, we do not see any progress on any article of the "Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package", except the three articles, which are meant for the entire country.

We have been given a monitoring mechanism but implementation mechanism has not been given as to who would be responsible for the implementation of the 35 articles. No time frame has been given for implementation of the package. The monitoring mechanism bounds that the progress made by the federal and provincial governments on the package implementation would be made public on quarterly basis and a quarterly report will be prepared for the parliament. And if that report has been prepared, it should be made public. How long shall we continue ridiculing with the Baloch people: It should stop now? If one wants to curtail militancy in the province, it should win the trust of people. I have a few proposals in this regard, which include: Firstly there should be an implementation mechanism for all the contents of the package. The responsibilities of the departments should be made clear and all the reports about the progress should be made public through media. There should be no condition of imposing sanctions on resistance groups. The Baloch people should not be discriminated; if one wants to resolve the conflict. I am afraid, but there will be more segregation among the Baloch people: If those who have climbed on the mountains are not made part of reconciliation.

Question & Answer/Comments Session

► **Question 1:**
Jamil Banday
For how long the complaints of Baloch people continue? Why do they not act and help themselves to improve their lot?

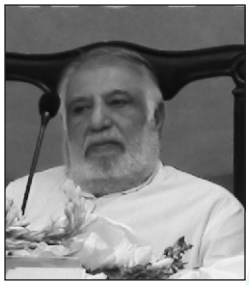
Farida Baloch
The Baloch youth want to study but there are no institutions in Balochistan. We do not want independence but our rights. When people talk about their rights, they go missing. Those who have gone into exile were talking of their rights, but the government said that no talks are possible with them.

► **Question 2**:
Khurram Qazi
What is your view point about the target killing of non local teachers and members of Hazara community in Balochistan?

Farida Baloch
I am talking about all the people living in Balochistan, not of one community.

▶ **Question 3:**
Javed Noor from Geo TV
Has any voice been raised against the killing of 15 journalists, who lost their lives during four to five years in different areas of Balochistan?

Raza Narejo
Educated people, including doctors, engineers and teachers are being targeted in Balochistan but how much time is being given by the media to such incidents in Balochistan. The incidents of Kharotabad and Sarfraz Shah's murder can be put in comparison to see the difference.

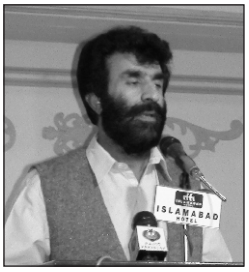


Wazir Ahmed Jogezai (Chair):
Former Deputy Speaker National Assembly

Balochistan is a relatively new province as it came into being in 1970 after the 'One Unit' got dismembered. We did not have any assembly or elections prior to that. The first election on the basis of adult franchise held in 1979. The people are politically mature and well aware in Balochistan, but the onus lies with the main political parties, as they did not focus on Balochistan, and consequently a large number of small political parties thrived in the province. Federal intelligence agencies always played their part to manipulate the election results in Balochistan. On top of that, Pakistan Oppressed Nations Movement (PONAM, a cluster of nationalist parties) boycotted last elections, and therefore, the true representation of the Baloch people was missing in the elections. I always demanded that an independent Election Commission should be established in Balochistan to pave the way for electing actual representation of Baloch people in elections. And only then the assembly would be answerable before their people.

Session II

1. Ayatollah Durrani
Former Minister of State and MNA of PPP



My father Maulana Muhammad Umar Paringabadi Aiwan-e-Kalat in 1948 said, "Annexation means joining two things together in a way that both of them look the same way and friendship means holding hand in need. We want friendship with Pakistan not annexation." Pakistan came into being in the name of Islam and when it required our support, we will help it for the sake of our friendship with our Dadri rifle (a kind of muzzle loaded rifle). We have separate identity and we want to keep it intact. There are political, administrative and economic issues in Balochistan. And if Pakistan gives us administrative, economic, and political autonomy we will be happy. We need to take care of the world at large as well as our neighbors while living our own lives independently.

We took a concrete step forward by approving "Aghaz-e-Huqooq-Balochistan Package" and asked every nationality in Pakistan to assist us, and all of them helped us to launch this initiative. This is a

preamble to the provincial autonomy, which is given to all the provinces under the 18th Amendment. The amendment will lead towards a constructive competition among all the provinces. There are drawbacks in the package, which can be addressed with the passage of time. The government approved the NFC Award prior to this package. We (the Baloch people) are the major beneficiary of these initiatives and the federal government will provide the budgetary support agreed in the NFC Award.

Baloch people do not scuffle over ideology and we forget every thing once the night is over. However, we fight with each other when a third party throws something for distribution among each other. Today, we are fighting with each other. Baloch never kills his neighbor. We do not have any enmity with Punjabis, as they are equal citizens when they are living in Balochistan. We are, however, doing kidnapping for ransom. No Ram Chand (foreigner) entered into our country to do this.

My Madrissah (religious seminary) and school were established in 1936. I inquire, "Is there any Nawab (tribal leader)- Jogazai, Achakzai, Bugti, Marri or Jamali - who established any school or any factory in Balochistan"? They clash with each other for luxury vehicles, but they do not stop using narcotics. If are worried for North and South Waziristan, we are also anxious about North and South Balochistan. I will hold meetings with every one in Balochistan, will create environment for political reconciliation. Every Baloch has not climbed over mountains: thieves, dacoits and revenge seekers are also living there. Unfortunately, the people in Balochistan are kept backward. Teachers are the spiritual fathers and they are being murdered, and I know which state's embassy is financing Baloch Liberation Army (BLA). I know which major is talking to whom and which embassy is providing funds to whom? Every bit and piece of secret dealings is available in the form of recordings. Intelligence agencies have pulled out of the province. The local corps commander wants to talk everybody but traitors cannot be talked with.

2. Dr. Irram
Pakistan Muslim League (N)

I basically hail from southern Punjab, but I was born in Balochistan: Therefore, I consider myself a Baloch. I don't know Saraiki and therefore, I was not accepted in my native area as well as in Balochistan, and it seems that I have lost my identity. Therefore, I thought of settling down in Islamabad. The PML-N wants to keep everyone on board. All the leaders of our party want that Balochistan should be given its rights and those who are aggrieved must be listened. The people of Balochistan should be given education at par with Punjab. It depends on us as to how much hard working we are. When I was working in Naseerabad, I observed that our people are not hard working by nature. We have a lot of plain land in Balochistan, which is barren but on the other side of the border in Iran, the same land is lush green. We will have to unite and think about our own progress, no one will come from Punjab, Sindh or Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa to make us prosperous.

3. Senator Haji Adeel
Acting President ANP

Awami National Party has great interest in the issue of Balochistan as it is one of the oppressed nations of Pakistan. If you deprive a province of its water, its electricity, its gas, its marine resources, its precious stones, and every thing and then demand that it should develop: It becomes harder. When you launch military operations in

Balochistan, deceive its leaders: How can it be prosperous? Military operations have been launched in Balochistan in every era, and it is still going on. The current political government, however, for the first time at least has convinced the parliament that Balochistan also has rights.

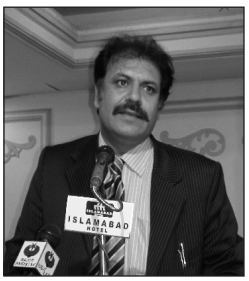
The gas explored from Balochistan was used in all the country and the gas development surcharge was used to develop gas in other provinces, which resulted in reducing the share of Balochistan in gas production from 99 per cent to 20 per cent due to the exploration in other parts of the country. The gas royalty is 2.5 per cent but Balochistan received only one per cent for 63 years. The gas produced in other provinces is expensive and so is the royalty on it. The people of Pakistan are provided with a mix of inexpensive and expensive gas. My province produces less expensive electricity by hydropower which costs only one rupee per unit but people of my province are compelled to buy expensive electricity produced by thermal and rental power units and it costs 10 rupees per unit. My province does not use electricity equal to what is used in Lahore city because our industries are closed due to terrorism.

In NFC Award, we fought the battle for Balochistan first of all and said that all the provinces will get gas development surcharge on average rates and we said that Balochistan should be given arrears also. The NFC's recommendation that Balochistan will get 120 billion rupees in arrears was also accepted in "Aghaz-e-Huqooq-e-Balochistan Package". The area in Balochistan is vast as compared to other provinces but its population is smaller, therefore it requires more resources for providing facilities to its people. Therefore, we searched two solutions for this and we said that we will give Balochistan 9.02 per cent of the divisible pool to compensate it. It materialized under the political government, not under a general. We have guaranteed in NFC Award that Balochistan would get Rs 83 billion irrespective of shortfall of revenue, but we are not at fault if the MNAs and MPAs of Balochistan become Sheikhs of UAE. There are small Sheikhdoms in Balochistan everywhere, and if they continue to exist in Balochistan, the province would not make any progress.

The 18th Amendment was enacted on the demand of nationalist parties, as Jamaat-e-Islami was also part of it. We introduced revolutionary amendments in Pakistani constitution that it has become genuine federal constitution. The benefit of the natural resources found in any province will not go to the federal government like before. Now the provincial government will get 50 per cent share. The federal government will not be able to construct dams in any province without an NOC from the concerned province.

What happened with Balochistan during the last sixty years cannot be undone within days. Our media is not in the favor of the oppressed ethnic groups. Do our media serve the cause of those who speak national languages? Will our media remain silent for those who speak Pashto, Punjabi, Sindhi, and Saraiki?

4. Dr. Ishaq Baloch
Central Vice President National Party



I would like to mention that those who were labeled as traitors have given best proposals for the resolution of political and economic issues of Pakistan. The nationalist leaders like Bazenjo, Wali Khan, Bacha Khan, Samad Khan Achakzai, and the nationalist friends of Sindh, voiced their concerns regarding provincial autonomy. They said sixty years ago that if you want to strengthen the federation;

you should strengthen the units, which formed the federation. I believe answers to all the questions, surrounding the security and stability of Pakistan lies in provincial autonomy. Let us suppose, if one does not accept Pakhtuns, Punjabis, Balochs, and Sindhis as separate national entities, then the issue of rights cannot be solved. It is my conviction that the attitude of Islamabad towards federating units always remained colonial one.

The history was mutilated as Quaid-e-Azam never talked about centralization. If one reads his 14 points and Allahabad address, one would come to know that he demanded for the maximum autonomy for of the north-west federating states. The issue which we are concerned today had been there, even when Balochistan was not part of Pakistan. Similarly, the Lahore Resolution also suggested that states would be autonomous and sovereign and the federation will keep three to four portfolios. If the rulers would have made Pakistan a real federal democratic country by recognizing the rights of federating nations, all these issue would not have emerged today.

The bureaucracy in Islamabad has a mindset and thinks itself as the owners of Pakistan. The 18th Amendment should be implemented in its true spirit. The Saindak project was started during Nawaz Sharif government and 1200 people were employed from Balochistan but it could not last for one month. Later, it was decided that the project should be abandoned as the running cost is 1.5 billion rupees. Therefore, the project was abandoned and 1200 people were made unemployed and 80 per cent of them were Baloch youth. They were not reinstated even after protests. After some time the project was handed over to China. The question arise that when the project was handed over to China, it became feasible and it started making profits, but the government of Balochistan is getting only one per cent of the profits from Saindak.

As far as the (GDS) is concerned, gas was explored in Balochistan in 1954 but the province was given GDS in 1992 and that too, when the gas was explored in Punjab. The GDS of Balochistan was Rs. 17 per cubic feet to 20 and then 22 but Punjab used to get 220 and the rate for Sindh was also higher. The arrears of Balochistan in terms of GDS are 700 billion rupees from 1954 to 1992. The natural gas was explored in Balochistan in 1954 but Quetta was provided with natural gas for the domestic consumption in 1985 and that too in cantonment area. The cities of Kalat, Pishin, Ziarat and suburban areas of Quetta are still deprived of natural gas.

After the 18th Amendment, 17 to 18 departments have been devolved. The number of Baloch people in the central government is about 700 and most of them are not genuine Baloch people as they got domiciles from the province through their relatives for getting jobs on quota basis. We do not see a single Baloch Brigadier, Maj General or General in defense forces.

We Baloch people do not beg but ask for our rights and we have all the options open. The government should start political reconciliation with the all the stakeholders in Balochistan including National Party. We want to talk and one should be scared of the day when National Party will also be unwilling to talk and will prefer other options. The people in Balochistan believe that the 18th Amendment is no more than an eye wash, but we make them believe that the situation is different now as we have a political government in Islamabad, which will implement it. But unfortunately, we do not see any real implementation and change in situation on ground in Balochistan.

Balochistan like FATA continued to be ruled under FCR, and not taken as a separate provincial entity in the country, till 1970. In 1970 Balochistan gained provincial status. From May 1973 to July 1977 there was a bloody civil war in Balochistan, in which 6000 causalities of military personnel took place while 15000 civilians died.

Today's conflict has erupted again because of the natural resources. Saindak project was started in 1976, completed in 1996, all the work was done by Baloch engineers and mining experts. Once the project was complete, management asked the federal government for 1.5 billion rupees as working capital to be able to produce copper and gold. In three months trial production they earned 140 million rupees, so their projection was that within a year we will return this working capital to you and after that we will become profitable. But it was rejected by the government, saying it is a bottomless pit no funds to be given.

Then came General Musharraf, who gave the readymade project to a Chinese company on a 10-year lease without consideration of the Balochistan government. The distribution of profits is according to a formula that is incomprehensible. The Chinese company takes 75 percent; the federal government 23 percent and only two percent of revenue is passed onto the Balochistan government. Also, the vast copper and gold reserves of Koh-i-Dalil have been similarly leased to an Australian company.

Under the 18th Amendment and the package Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan they have decided to give federal government's 20 percent to Balochistan. It was started by the Baloch people, constructed by the Baloch people, and it is in Baloch land, what are the Baloch people getting out of it? 22 percent do not even constitute the salaries of the bureaucracy in Balochistan, so what are you contributing? What do you mean by the "start of the rights of Balochistan"? Does it mean that they didn't have the right since 47? That you are giving them these rights? Rights were always there, it's just that you yourself usurped those rights. You at the federal government decide that it was a colony and you ruled it as a colony.

Look at what is happening today; does the 18th Amendment or the Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan address the law and order situation? ISI and the army created this law and order situation, which has been ruling Balochistan since 1956. And I blame this federal government of people's party for this. If the parliament itself is not willing to take on its responsibilities, and it is handing over an area of Pakistan to the army, what does that mean? And why is it handing it over to the army? Because you have a huge land area, very small population, that is where they are testing all their weapons, including the nuclear ones.

Here the issue regarding Balochistan is that you have neither accepted it nor accepted the people of Balochistan as the citizens of Pakistan. You have not accepted their rights, not tried to provide them their rights, and you have handed over FATA, GB and the whole of Balochistan to the military establishment. And here the real problem lies. If you will remove the FC from Balochistan and send them to the borders, stop the ISI from abducting and killing and creating criminal gangs, and you won't have this law and order situation, as it's the state sponsored law and order situation.

2. Mr. Naseer Gilani

National Program Director for Drought Recovery System, Planning Commission of Pakistan

It is extremely wrong impression that we cannot do Saindak project by ourselves, the only thing needed is that civil society should stand by the Balochs. Regarding the natural resources, if the gas was to come to Islamabad it should first have gone to Quetta. Similarly the issue of leasing of the world's second largest copper deposits located at Reko Diq in the Chagai District of Balochistan is also a replica of Saindak project, where Balochistan government was bypassed. It was due to the judicial activism that today the issue is being renegotiated by the provincial government. The fact is that unfortunately the much talked Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package does not speak much of equitable distribution of natural resources and it merely touches the issue as a matter of concern, while it does not provide any blueprint for ensuring the Baloch right over their resources as well.

The government of Pakistan's overdependence on foreign investment and foreign technology is the real stumbling block in the development of the bounty of natural resources in Balochistan. The government hires foreign firms for development of local natural resources by design, in order to get maximum kickbacks and commissions out of such deals. Local ownership and development of the natural resources is the best way to fully utilize the potential of natural resources and address the long held grievances of Baloch people.

As there are big resources of minerals and gold etc in Balochistan, therefore by the possession of these resources the life of Balochis has become endangered. There is frustration among the people and that frustration is being exploited by outsiders. They are dying due to hunger and hence purchased by the outsiders. Do not take people to that end that they try to sell their souls, make them happy, bring them to the life; if they have the taste of life they will not sell their life. Had we given the rights to the people in the past, all this would not have happen. But now in the form of Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan, the prime minister is doing a good job, as they are accepting that we have done a mistake and we cannot revert to it in one night, we have started a process to revert back to it.

Question & Answer/Comments Session

► **Question 1:**

Imtiaz Gul

Whether the mineral resources are worth trillions of dollars, they are like dirt if they remain unexploited. So how could it have been handled, Reko Diq and Saindak? What should been done? Until you provide some basic support to an outsider and open that area to them, how does the gold get into your hand?

Rahman

In Quetta there was a coal station, where had that come from and who built it? We did, without any foreign investment. We have engineers and scientists from UET from Lahore, Peshawar, Karachi, who have made models of power generation from canal flow. Peshawar University produced what we use today in disaster management programme today. This is all indigenous technology which has got nothing to do with foreign support. What we have not done is not invested in our technological world at all. We just have to make the systemic reforms and structural formation in such a way that there is transparency, accountability and anticorruption legislation in the country.

► **Question 2:**

Imtiaz Gul

How can we end this unjust exploitation of the natural resources of Balochistan?

Gilani

Until and unless corruption is eradicated from the society we cannot stop the unjust exploitation of natural resources. Civil society should go to the courts to get the culprits arrested.

► **Question 3:**

Imtiaz Gul

To what extent does the Balochistan Package effectively addresses the issue of natural resources of Balochistan?

Rahman

I do not think that this package addressed the real issue of the resources in Balochistan. As, when Saindak was being closed down, the Iranians came to the Pakistan and said we want to make a barter agreement with you, which means that there is no exchange of money. And the arrangement was that allow us to melt our ore in your smelter and bring your ore in our refinery to refine? This agreement was rejected because this way Pakistan's elite could not get any commission.

► **Question 4:**

Khalid Usman

As you referred you have to do it and I have to do it, whom are you referring to, or simply who will bell the cat? And secondly why only Bugti or the other tribal leaders, why not to cater the demands of a common man?

Gilani

Start speaking and start believing, once you start believing other people will believe you, as a civil service officer is admitting that he has done wrong, so the process of change has started.

Rahman

It is the Baloch leaders who are forming the Baloch elite from 1666. In 1666 a loose confederation of Baloch tribes was made by Naseer Khan-I, and out that leaders all were not sardars. We use Akbar Bugti's case as an example; we are not just talking about him, we are talking about the whole of Balochistan. As far as education in Balochistan is concerned, the state has abrogated every responsibility it had towards socio economic development in Balochistan.

► **Question 5:**

Samina Imtiaz

We have depoliticized people, banned politics in institutions for decades and yet we want these students to understand politics and to contribute towards development?

Rahman

Unless the civil society organizations start concentrating on the youth, for instance Sungi is now building all its programmes on youth participation. I would request all organizations to start involving with the youth of Pakistan, and that is the only way it will be done.

Incessant Descent: The State of Security in Balochistan

Executive Summary

CRSS and Actionaid, Pakistan jointly organized a roundtable discussion forum on "Incessant Descent: The State of Security in Balochistan" at its office premises in Islamabad.

Speakers at the roundtable discussion forum demanded that the Center should shun the politics of security in Balochistan so that the public grievances and real issues of under development are better redressed.

The federal government should stop treating Balochistan like a satellite state; rather it should try to adopt an inclusive approach to address Balochistan issue. They said that the guerrilla forces operating in the area are not willing to let down their arms until the government does not change its attitude towards their land.

The international players are becoming active due to the impending dearth of resources around the globe, and the issues of foreign involvement and funding should be taken care of by the state. Sustained violence in Balochistan will push the province to a point of no return.

The speakers lamented that the state policies have failed to bring about a positive change in the situation. Political parties should take a leading role in the province to find political solutions to the conflict, they urged. In general, participants were agreeing that there is no remedy of longstanding Balochistan issue, but political reconciliation among all stakeholders

1. Mr. Naveed Qaisar

Lecturer DSS Department, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad

It is not the first time that an insurgency is going on in Balochistan; from 1948 to 1977 there were three episodes of the traumatic state military run over the province. In the first insurgency in 1948, the Baloch insurgents who surrendered were executed later on so this phenomenon aggravated the grievances of Baloch people. Now it is the fourth time that the Baloch insurgents have started insurgency against the government. The insurgency is usually considered as a weapon of the weak. When you are weak you can easily paralyze the government with minute resources and successfully wage such type of warfare. But on the other hand countering such type of insurgency is very expensive phenomenon. It requires a lot of resources

In the current situation, it is difficult for Pakistan to counter such type of warfare. For example when the Britishers were countering communist Malaysian insurgency, they spent about 200,000 pounds over one insurgent, so countering such type of warfare is very expensive phenomenon. And such type of conflicts is more prevalent in third world countries because of their weak institutions and financial problems; hence Pakistan is not an exception as most of the other third world countries are facing the same phenomenon. As terrain play a very important role, difficult geography and poor infrastructure help the guerrilla fighters to counter big armies. In Balochistan terrain is quiet favorable for such type of guerrilla activities.

Another important phenomenon is the support of people; if the government will provide security to the people they will support the government, but if the government fails and insurgents provide the security then people will support insurgents. In Balochistan most of the areas lack police presence so the people security is in the hands of those insurgents. The solution of such type of operations never lies in military operations, all such type of problems have a political solution. In all the previous operations in Balochistan the government used military force but never used a political way to resolve the issue. And that's why these insurgencies start again and again.

2. Ms Amna Yousaf Khokhar

Research fellow at Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad

Foreign interference in Pakistan can be divided into cold war and 9/11 era. During cold war era the emphasis was more on northern border because of the soviet invasion in Afghanistan. In post cold war era the emphasis was more on economic dimension as the major economic powers started playing a key role in the international political system, like India and China. As there is a dearth of resources, the states are looking for more and more economic resources so here comes the importance of Balochistan. Because of the economic and strategic factor the importance of Balochistan has immensely increased, and it has made it prone to foreign invasions.

The foreign powers are interfering in the Balochistan affairs and getting benefit of the lawlessness there. They are sponsoring the insurgent movements providing those finances as well as the weapons. China is interested in Balochistan and Pakistan has been offering China an energy corridor through Balochistan, Gwadar port is one aspect of it. China is interested in IPI gas pipeline project as well. The reports being made to enquire the attacks on Chinese in Gwadar showed the involvement of India and US elements. The interest of America in Balochistan is also because of geo-strategic and economic importance of Balochistan. Securing the oil lanes as well as the containment of nuclear Iran are also the major reasons for the involvement of America in Balochistan.

Iran on the other hand too is supporting anti Pakistan elements in Balochistan. Hazara, Tajik and Uzbek ethnic groups have been artificially settled in the suburbs of Quetta. The Saudi funded Islamic madrassas is another phenomenon in Balochistan. Through such Islamic money several clerics have emerged as rivals of Baloch sardars, a direct threat to the social and cultural aspect of the area. There is also a notion that Baloch sardars are getting money and Russian made weapons from India's RAW agency, providing it to the insurgent elements and helping them in independence cause. India being the arch rival would like to create instability in Pakistan and deter the Chinese expansion. Hence all foreign elements are active in Balochistan for their vested interests. Such interference can prove to be fatal for Pakistan as it will not only create instability but can also lead to the division of Pakistan. So this is the time to reconsider our policies towards our own land.

3. Dr Aasim Sajjad Akhtar

Assistant Professor, National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad

The problem with this discourse is that development is something that we do not have in Balochistan since its very existence, and this reason is the main reason for these repeated insurgencies. This larger land mass has been considered strategically as a holding zone, the very typical old colonial mind set. In the mean time, in the previous sixty years development became a foot note, which is periodically revived when its rhetorical uses become important again. Balochistan is seen as a tribal

wasteland with large territory and a nominal population, and carrot and stick policy has been used consistently.

The reason this policy fails miserably, as the insurgencies never stopped, is because it totally misses out the fact that there is a society living there that needs to be treated as human beings rather than something on a strategic map. The insurgency now as compared to that of 70's is not predominantly tribal, political mobilization has reached to areas like Awaran, Noshki and Khuzdar as well. All this is because of the enormous upsurge of the nationalist sentiments among the students. "Kill and dump" operations in the province have instigated the young Balochis to take up arms against the state and this is an alarming trend. State is kidnapping the students, throwing their bodies out onto the streets.

Most of the militants project their objective as complete national independence but they also say that we want to free our society of the hold of traditional elite. State policies have failed to bring about a positive change in the situation. Positive signals of reconciliation are being emitted by hard core nationalists like Brahmdagh Bugti and the government should build on this. We need to think very carefully about the deteriorating situation.

Question & Answer/Comments Session

► **Question 1:**

Aziz Jamali

Isn't it empirical that the nationalists should now and now onwards be a part of main stream however imperfect democracy is? Isn't it the only and most effective way out?

Aasim Sajjad

There is an asymmetry to the conflict; it's not a symmetrical conflict. To make them a part of main stream those who are waving guns in the mountains, state has to take the first step. Until the blatant violation of human rights stops nothing will change substantially.

► **Question 2:**

Waheed Chudhary

Who are those political entities in Balochistan who can be engaged in a political discourse or dialogue? And how can you distinguish between the political and the militant groups over there? Aren't there some internal factors like corruption, tribalism, power lust, and war lords etc, who are triggering the situation over there?

Naveed Qaisar

The important element is that the government must provide basic necessities like establishment of public offices, proper judicial system, and establishment of proper police stations.

► **Question 3:**

Hussain

What is the role of elected government that we have in Balochistan?

Aasim Sajjad

It's like the electoral politics anywhere in the country, although Balochistan is different but not altogether different from the other provinces. Patronage politics is there but even in the most vibrant democracies patronage graft sort of things are a big problem.

Balochistan Rights' Package and the State of Balochistan Economy

Executive Summary

CRSS and Actionaid, Pakistan jointly organized roundtable discussion forum on "Balochistan Rights' Package and the State of Balochistan Economy" at its office premises in Islamabad.

Poorly governed and extremely under-developed Balochistan requires urgent intervention by the Center to mitigate grievances of the Baloch people. The authority should also move from the para-military forces to the civilians to address simmering political grievances.

Underlining the urgency of the situation in Balochistan, speakers at a roundtable discussion forum could work as the urgently-needed panacea in the province that is currently reeling under ethnic and sectarian violence. Economic infrastructure development accompanied by a political reconciliation process by the federal government must take priority if the Centre is sincere in ending the isolation of the Baloch people.

Prominent PPP leader, and former member of the Parliament, Syeda Abida Hussain blamed the tardy socio-economic progress in Balochistan, and political and bureaucratic issues which are holding back the province. We must all join hands to break the politico-bureaucratic hold on Balochistan.

Balochistan's mining share in GDP declined from 2.7 percent in 2004 to 2.4 percent in 2011, while the coal production has dropped by 10.6 percent. It is primarily because of the ongoing security instability and political unrest in the province. Reko Diq and gold projects could be beneficial for the province if properly exploited.

The federal government should ensure the just distribution of local resources in Balochistan, so that Baloch people could take ownership of their land and resources.

The Center has not owned Balochistan as a proper federating unit and mercilessly exploited its resources. This exploitation has taken place at the cost of local peoples' political and economic rights. Despite the approval of NFC award and much talked about Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package; there is no substantial change on ground in Balochistan.

1. Dr. Rehana Siddiqui,
Director, Centre of Environmental Economics and Climate Change (CEECC) at Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad

Most of the people are caught up in "bewilderment and are only discussing the outcomes of injustices to Balochistan," while neglecting the indigenous causes of prevalent sorry state of affairs in the province. Discussing some of the economic indicators, Dr. Siddiqui reminded the participants that Balochistan's mining share in GDP declined from 2.7 per cent in 2004 to 2.4 per cent in 2011, while the coal production has dropped by 10.6 percent. It is primarily because of the ongoing security instability and political unrest in the province. She said Reko Diq and gold projects could be beneficial for the province if properly exploited. Citing figures from different sources, she explained that the rise in poverty is

higher in Balochistan as compared to other provinces, and the existing mistrust in the province towards the federation is the root cause of this depressing economic state. Also, she underscored that Balochistan needs to perform better in revenue collections so as to generate money from indigenous sources. While people have genuine complaints of the federal government, one cannot ignore how the Baloch sardars treat their own people. This way they are equally responsible for the current plight of the Balochistan province in general and the Baloch people in particular.

2. Mahrukh Khan

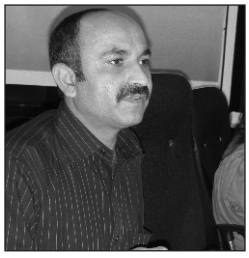
Research Fellow at the Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad

The economic growth is stagnating and Balochistan is contributing very little as against its true potential. But the economic development is multi-dimensional process involving major change in the socio structure and political attitudes, mind sets of local and national institutes. However, there is significant contrast in comparison of the situation of Balochistan, which is different as regard of its terrain, geography, with limited labour and water sources. The ineffectiveness of the institutions is the major challenge from the past 60 years. The shortsightedness and inconsistent policies, local and central political fragmentations and confrontation, and high poverty, lowest social indicators, weakest law and order situation are the causes of the failure on the part of bringing prosperity to the area.

Key Development Recommendations

We need to generate social service in the areas for education health care, awareness that the people in Balochistan would know that there is a government which is working for their welfare. Otherwise people will go against the government. There should have reforms in the current the economic development structure, the federal government should make a flexible structure to accommodate the people of the tribal system of Balochistan that tribal structure may not be an obstacle. Both public and private sector should come for the development work together on priority basis. Law and order situation needs to be corrected. There is a military operation in Balochistan but it is low intensity conflict, the issue of law and order situation is not raised on media.

There is need to exploit the mineral potential, should start tourism for which we can take the example of Dubai. We need to improve the transport facilities so the people of Balochistan should have easy access to other parts of Pakistan. This may include road maps, highways, roads and railways, proper food farming and irrigation facilities, water storage facilities. We can maximize the potential of resources by investment on small scale production plants for coal and petroleum, also maximize the potential of Gwadar for marine and coastal facilities, we can get wind energy, improve the rural economy, livestock, health and education and again tourism. The foremost thing is to address the law and order situation.



3. Faisal Nadeem Gorchani

Advocacy Coordinator at Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad

Historically, we know that Balochistan had been existed independent for 800 years, when British came; they subdued Balochistan for strategic interests. They basically wanted to make Balochistan as a buffer zone and it was clearly mentioned when British will be leaving this area, Balochistan will get its historical sovereign state as per agreement in 1856 between the government of Balochistan and the Britishers.

Balochistan is actually a mouth watering because of its mineral resources and strategically important location. It provides a transit route to the land locked Central Asian countries. Portal and shipping value of the Gwadar port also proves a trade route in general to world and particularly to the Central Asian states. Balochistan, although is barren land but it has agricultural, livestock and marine potential. It is now part of Pakistan but the people of Balochistan have reservations that it was forcibly annexed to Pakistan. It is clearly mentioned in the instrument of accession that it was conditional merger. According to the instrument of accession, it was decided that the currency, foreign affairs and defence will be managed jointly while rest of affairs will be managed by the government of Balochistan independently. It is now full fledge province of Pakistan, but there are regional forces now, that they are eyeing on the mineral resources and potential of Balochistan. Pakistan has the evidences' that there are global powers which are involved in worsening the Baloch situation. Balochistan is widely now known in the international publications as mouth watering. There are conflicts between the federation forces and the nationalists but there are also conflicting interests among the regional and global forces in Balochistan. If we see back, Federation has alienated the people of Balochistan from their inherited resources. Whenever Balochis protest to exercise their right on mineral resources, they are considered as traitors and punished.

Pakistan perhaps is the only country persisted with the 'population based' conflict generating formula for the distribution of revenue, where as India has basically devolved or reformed the federal revenues distribution formula by applying different conditions. They have different aspects to make it a representative formula, to adjust the concerns of all the federating units and living in a one polity. On the other hand in Pakistan despite several recommendations from Senator Wasim Sajjad Committee, intellectuals, scholars, parliamentarians, think tanks, Pakistan went ahead for a long period with the population based criteria where Punjab is getting a benefit at the expense of the other provinces which is creating a sense of deprivation. Before NFC award, from the overall 100 percent revenue generated, 47.5 percent were used to divide among the federating units and 52. 5 percent were taken by federation. Since independence, Balochistan was getting (1998 Census) 5.11 percent of the federal revenue and Punjab was getting 57. 3 percent, while Balochistan had been a major contributor in overall economy of Pakistan. So until recently, after various movements, Pakistan has reversed the criteria with the 18th Amendment, now it includes population, poverty, revenue generation and especially area, so the concerns of the KPK , Sindh and Balochistan are addressed a little that now they are feeling as equal partner.

The Center has not owned Balochistan as a proper federating unit despite mercilessly exploiting its resources. This exploitation has taken place at the cost of local peoples' political and economic rights. Despite the approval of NFC award and much talked about Agahaz-e-Haqooq-e-Balochistan Package; there is no substantial change on ground in Balochistan. The government of Pakistan should share Baloch resources more generously with the people of the province. Also, he alluded to the fact that Balochistan has emerged as a 'mouth watering' entity for the regional and extra-regional players. And Pakistan must watch these developments with open eyes and ears, and ensure to develop and protect the province as an integral federating unit. Its dividends must flow down to the common Baloch, he emphasized.

Question & Answer/Comments Session

▶ **Question 1:**

Murtaza Iqbal

Everybody knows the problem of Balochistan, so many things, when the problem is diagnosed why we are not curing the disease?

Faisal Nadeem

Who is the major force behind this problem of Balochistan? Media is unable to have an access to Balochistan. Who is preventing the development in Balochistan? If mother has an unequal role, then what people can do? The people are illiterate, mal-nourished, how a local can get a job in major projects when he is illiterate. Who have not developed them, it is the state. If state is irresponsible towards them, then other forces will take the place and fill the vacuum.

▶ **Question 2:**

There have five military operations in Balochistan, many people have been abducted on suspicious and that problem has not been addressed yet. So how the trust deficit can be reduced between the state and the people of Balochistan?

Mahrukh Khan

There are military operations in Balochistan but it is low intensity conflict. I am criticizing the government policies, it's not only the government but also the tribal structure is hurdle. They have initiated projects; the Gwadar is the part of Balochistan. You can't divide people; you are the part of the country.

Most of the participants of the Round-Table disapproved the continued hold of the security forces on Balochistan. It is lamentable, they said, that even under the rule of a democratic government; the security establishment was calling the shots in Balochistan. While the security apparatus is essential to meet with the security challenges, the province needs to return to civilian authority, the participants said.

Potential of Natural Resources and the Politics of Agreements in Balochistan

Executive Summary

CRSS in partnership with Heinrich Boll Stiftung, organized a public seminar on "Potential of Natural Resources and the Politics of Agreements in Balochistan" on October 20, 2011 at Marriott Hotel, Islamabad. Lawmakers from government and opposition parties, technical experts, researchers along with senior journalists were among the speakers. A large number of people hailing from diverse range of backgrounds participated in the seminar.

According to a geological survey by a German firm, about 20 years ago, there are 50 mineral resources in Pakistan and 40 are in Balochistan, and five out of 14 mega mineral projects are also located in Balochistan. Currently, mineral sector in Pakistan is under developed. Its share in economy is meager as compared to its potential: there are 2500 operational mines with 90000 workers.

Inadequate survey, technological backwardness, poor safety environment, obscure mining rights are holding back mining industry in Pakistan. Mining is managed and controlled by provincial directorates and these are devoid of financial, human, technical and managerial resources. Mining lease rules are not conducive for major foreign investments.

The case of Reko Diq is very crucial for the mining sector development in Pakistan. If the discoveries at Reko Diq are fully exploited, Pakistan may well be home of an ore body which will rival the famous Escondido mine deposits in Chile. There are predictions that if it gets going then 10 years down the line, Pakistan will be known as a "copper country not a cotton country".

Ongoing major mineral development projects in Balochistan are controversial. In Saindak, the people and government of Balochistan are getting nothing, since 50 per cent of income goes to federal government and 50 percent is taken away by Chinese firm. Baloch people have reservations about the Saindak project and Chinese firm involved in it. Chinese are exploitatively developing mineral resources in Balochistan and think as if it is their right.

Scores of stakeholders with ulterior motives and competing interests are involved in exploitation of mineral resources in Balochistan; consequently all of them are getting something out of mineral deals but the Baloch people. Moreover, on top of everything it's the politics which is playing havoc with mineral wealth of Balochistan, and therefore political feasibility of development agreements should also be assessed.

The prime resource for development of natural resources is always the people. And if this resource is not properly trained, harnessed, and developed, all other resources, be it gold, copper, or fish are meaningless. Currently, the government of Balochistan has no capacity to undertake any project even coal. It is doing pit mining, and therefore whole mines are destroyed. As in case of Dalbandin, all the ore mines are blasted, and thus the quality does not pass the test of competitive mineral world.

The case of price fixation and distribution of natural gas explored at Sui in Balochistan in 1954 is instructive to assess the scale and nature of manipulation of natural resources in the province. As the gas was piped out far and wide without allowing the people of Balochistan to light even a single stove, and on top of that Balochistan is paid gas price according to 1954 rates. While now the gas discovered

from different gas fields of Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is priced according to current rates. Against this background the people of Balochistan are fair to think that their government or private investors are robbers.

Pakistan has to make hard choices. Undoubtedly, there is history of mistrust among government of Pakistan, foreign investors and Baloch people. But if we don't allow the foreign investors to come in to exploit these natural resources, then we should also ascertain that if we have the expertise and the capacity within the government. These expertise come with years of training and knowledge, just by holding onto these resources and not using them is useless until and unless we bridge the gap between our knowledge and potential of natural resources.

Session 1

1. Dr. Moeed Pirzada
Political Analyst

There is no more contentious issue in Pakistani politics than the issue of agreements relating to the natural resources in Balochistan. I have conducted scores of talk shows on the subject and with the passage of time my bewilderment regarding the subject is soaring. Thus, I am here to learn more from speakers and from participants about this obdurately divisive subject.

2. Dr. Shaukat Hameed Khan
Executive Director of Society for the Promotion of Engineering Sciences and Technology in Pakistan (SOPREST)

There are certain entrenched systematic constraints which are hindering the appropriate developments of the mineral resources in the province. He narrated these problems, and underlined recent trends in mining industry, its agreements about which the people have many reservations. He explained that mineral resources should not be mixed with oil and gas because there is time period difference in their exploration. As minerals have the exploration period of 12-15 years and oil from its first exploration to drilling and production takes 3-5 years. He told that survey by a German firm about 20 years ago suggests that there are 50 minerals in Pakistan and 40 out of them are in Balochistan alone. Also, five out of 14 mega mineral projects are located in Balochistan.

Currently, due to various reasons there is law and order issue in Balochistan, but that is very recent problem, many other challenges also hinder the development of these minerals. Also, mineral sector in Pakistan is under developed. Its contribution is small; and estimates suggest that there are 2500 operational mines with 90000 workers. The fifth largest coal reserves with 190 billion tons capacity are in Balochistan. Then there are some recent figures about large reserves for copper and other major aluminum, lead, iron, gold, and silver in Chaghi belt. There are also some other reasonable reserves which include uranium, zirconium, titanium, chromium, vanadium. The first metal to be finished and made in Pakistan was zirconium.

He showed some figures on the geological mapping which should be undertaken that is 1 into 50,000 scales. We have only covered 33 per cent in 50-60 years. We have drilled 85 oil and gas wells last year;

Canada did 22000 during the same period. The Tethyan Copper Cooperation (TCC) claims that the exploration of Reko Diq by 28000 meter of drilling bore rolls. Comparing this with test hold depths meters, half a million done over several decades. So the scale of activity of mining required is the different order than what we are doing in Pakistan.

Moreover, inadequate survey and geological mapping is very small in scale, and then inefficient technology, with poor safety environment and has small lease sites, lack of investments in machinery scales and processes, combined with some other additional factors, are badly impinging on the development of mineral industry. He lamented that Pakistan has no national mineral policy and mining rights are not very clearly defined. Mining is managed and controlled by provincial directorates. They are devoid of financial, human, technical and managerial resources. Mining leases rules are not conducive for major investments. Financial institutions are unaware and therefore they are unsympathetic when it comes to provide credit for mining. Then there are perceptions about inconsistency in policies, rules and regulations which is aggravated by poor law and order in areas in Balochistan. All these highlights, why the case of Reko Diq is so crucial to gauge the mining sector develop in Pakistan? Dr. Shaukat referred what he had predicted in 2005, about big and crucial minerals. If the discoveries at Reko Diq emerge at the present rate, Pakistan may well be home of an ore body which will rival the famous Escondido mine deposits at Chile. And Pakistan may emerge as one of the top five copper producing countries in the world. He also predicted if it gets going on ten years down the line, “we will be known as a copper country not a cotton country”. We set aside 5.8 billion rupees for capacity building of provincial mining departments.

The roads should be built right up to the major mining areas, training of people is required. He had survey meetings with the provincial departments that what amount they have gotten to make proposals should come up with policies. But not a single proposal came, during his three and half years in planning commission, nobody was interested in raising their own capacity. Now a days, there is rush for mining in copper all over the world for low value, low copper content down to 0.5-0.6 percent and until about 10 years ago, nobody in the world even touched copper which had an ore of less than one percent. Copper is very major driver of industrial growth. The international copper study group has said that there is production gap in 2011 of 37000 tons between the production and demand. Production is less than a copper consumption. China is driving the consumption at 38 percent of copper, America has 36 to 37 percent and the demand for copper is basically stable.

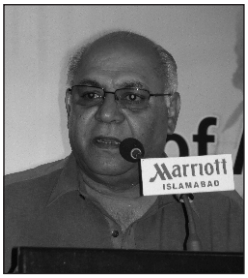
We know Balochistan has a major mineral potential. We also know that it is like “in the eye of storm”, it's very attractive area with the largest amphibian land. It's also an area which is used for the possible movement of trade and energy corridors from Central Asia to the rest of the world. The north of Pakistan, China, Magnolia, Siberia, Russia, Central Asia, right up to the Middle East is rich in energy; the countries to the east and south are hungry for energy and water. Thus Gawader and Balochistan is the like a player in this regard. So negotiating mines agreements assumes greater importance. It's a serious business issue. It requires political will, lots of risks are involved; corruption is involved. And this is not particular to Pakistan. This is all over the world. In fact, it can topple governments like it happened in Belgium and Congo back in 1960s. Governments have political considerations. They want maximum returns from least botheration but they also have to compete with the developing states in terms of incentives. So it's not one sided game. Companies want minimum risks, maximum profits, it is understandable because they have to make money and they are not working for charity. So balancing the political and economic considerations is important task. But most important is aspirations and rights of local population. They want equitable share. And this is crucial in case of Pakistan. So social

investment in multinational mining companies is now important aspect of these arrangements and will play crucial role in future also. But ultimately all parties need and want long term, stable and sustainable mining agreements.

Analyzing the recent trends in mining contracts between host foreign investments, Dr. Shaukat said, lots of research has been done about the sources of financial, institutional control, exchange control, royalties, income taxation, and equity participation. Taxation remains the principle source of income and taxes, royalties which contains the flow of income and you cannot increase the tax burden beyond certain percentages. Because it encourages the less controlled profits and also discourages maximum investments for future. Let the right people do right jobs. It cannot be decided by newspapers. Economically amenable fractions are very important to understand the investment and cost of the operation. And must understand what the global demand is in these trajectories. You cannot live outside the world, they are embedded in them. They are part of the overall holistic view of mining agreement. If the control of the governance is weak, then it results in violence, insecurity and major human rights violations.

3. Senator Mir Hasil Bizenjo

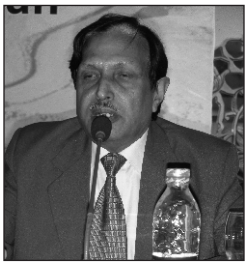
Senior Vice President of Balochistan National Party



Basically Balochistan and Afghanistan are among the prime regions full of mineral potential. Foreign focus on these areas is thought to be a new "great game"; and the background is linked up to two major things. Balochistan and Afghanistan are energy corridors as well as energy hub. People believe that the energy potential of Middle East is going to wear away in 20 years time, and the new venue is Central Asia, and the only way to access this area is through Balochistan and Afghanistan. Mr. Bizenjo highlighted that the first mining activity in Balochistan started in 1901 during British rule. For the first time British initiated mining at a place that was known as Hindu Bagh and currently Muslim Bagh. But after 1947 the entire deposits of chromites at the site was destroyed. Today, in Pakistan we do not have even a single industry in which chromites could be used. It could be the biggest natural recourse for Pakistan. In Balochistan, there is no complete survey of the mining potential, as yet. Nobody is doing mining there but there are number of controversies. There were three to four recent agreements and we can call them controversial. Out of Saindak the people and government of Balochistan is getting nothing, since 50 percent goes to federal government and 50 percent goes to the Chinese mining firm. The area where they started mining, even local people are getting nothing. And consequently, there are many reservations of local people regarding Saindak project. It is a strange fact that when it comes to signing an investment deal with China, our government usually gives all rights to China and--- "Chinese exploit natural resources in Pakistan as if it is there basic right".

According to estimates at Duddar, we have the second largest deposits of lead. And who has the mining rights over it? According to his information, again it is with the Chinese. The case of Reko Diq has become a headache now for Baloch people, as from the last 10 years, we are hearing that our country will become copper country. Being a Baloch he did not know the actual nature of controversy. There is no role of Baloch people in this controversy, and the onus lies only with the federal government. Mr. Bazejo also gave some account on other mineral deposits of Balochistan: Dalbandin has such a huge iron deposit that we can install a steel mill there. Despite all this, not a single project is allowed in Balochistan except Saindak but Saindak is very small, the people of Baloch are getting nothing out of it. If government did not take the Balochistan government on board, it would not be able to exploit Dalbandin and Duddar.

Many people say that there is law and order issue in Balochistan. On the contrary, we see there are foreigners working in the province, but not a single case of law and order is reported at mining sites in recent years. There is lack of political will on the part of federal government. So far federal government has not accepted the basic rights of province. We see that at Reko Diq, people from Islamabad are working, but no Baloch is employed. Actually it is the conflict of interests. And the competing interests would not allow the development of minerals in Reko Diq to its full capacity.



4. Dr. Saif-ul-Islam Saif

Former Dean Faculty of Earth and Environmental Sciences, Bahria University, Islamabad

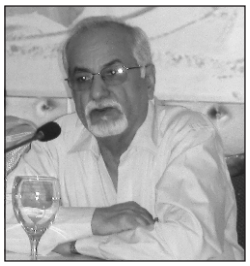
Commercially any earth which can be exploited for commercial purposes no matter sold, liquid or gas is called mineral. There are metallic and non metallic industrial minerals. But, in Balochistan there are only metallic minerals. Best practices with relation to various phases of mineral exploitation begin from exploration to the preparation of agreements and then exploitation starts with mining. There is no coordination among industry, geological survey of Pakistan (GSP) and universities. Ee need expertise and required sophisticated equipments technology. With very minimum expense we can employ graduates of universities for the geological research. The decisions for public properties should be by joint ventures and the agreements for mining should follow international norm.

The government should ensure fool proof security arrangements around areas where multinational companies are engaged in mining activities. In any agreement regarding mining, the people of Balochistan should also be allowed to reap benefits from such deals. The public should be made aware regarding these agreements and the contracts should be transparent. The prices for these mining products should be determined by market forces because the contracts prices usually remain below market prices. Concluding his presentation, he said that the Pakistan's mineral and mining sector is not matured into a modern industry.

Session II

1. Mr. Sheikh Asad Rahman

Director Programs SUNGI Development Foundation, Islamabad



To understand why the development has not taken place in Balochistan and why the Baloch are resistant to the exploitation of their resources, it is very important to understand the historical context. In 1946, the State of Kalat was a separate independent state neither governed by the paramount icy in Delhi nor a part of British Empire. There was a part that was known as British Balochistan, while the rest known as the State of Kalat was more or less independent. At partition Khan of Kalat was given three options, accede to India, or to Pakistan, or remain independent under British protectorate. Parliament of Kalat State decided to accede to Pakistan but under separate constitutional arrangement. On 15th August 1947 Balochistan declared independence, under a special negotiated agreement between Khan of Kalat and Jinnah. This specialized constitutional package was there because of the underdevelopment of Balochistan and the fear among the Baloch political elite as well as the people that they would be dominated by other ethnic groups and nationalities and their rights would be trampled. In the mean time, in 1952, Pakistan Burma Shell was given the rights of oil exploration in Bugti area by Pakistan, and the agreement was under 1935 India mining act, which said

five per cent of the whole revenue would be used on the local area from where its been extracted. Afterwards new legislation took place according to which, all the resources belong to God and the state, refusing even that five per cent net revenue. A lot of protests took place in Bugtti area, Quetta and other areas, and Nawab Akbar Bugtti the then defense minister also resigned in protest. Later, in 1954, an agreement between Nawab Akbar Bugtti and Burma Shell authorities' took place, in which land rent was given to Nawab Akbar Bugti not the royalty, which was one rupee per kilometer, and hence the problem got settled. Regarding propaganda against Nawab Akbar Khan Bugtti, he added that Akbar Bugtti did use some of the money for himself but he also established 37 primary schools, 11 secondary schools, a veterinary research institute, and a canal of water from mountains for agriculture purposes. He provided the security of gas installations and the company people.

Addressing the core issue, he said that the core issue here is not the agreements, but it's the acceptance that Pakistan is a multi national, multi lingual, multi cultural state not a homogenous one. And people will never be given their rights until this reality is accepted and respected and it will continue to be a capitalistic, bureaucratic and aristocratic exploitation of all people, as evident from our history of 64 years. We are neither capitalistic nor feudalistic state don't know what type of "khichri" we are. Furthermore he noted that Balochistan is not just a militarily strategic region, it's economically strategic as well, having Iran on one side, Arabian Sea at southern side, borders with Afghanistan and Sindh on the other side. It also falls under strategic regime having Strategic resources like oil and gas, and strategic minerals like gold, copper, titanium and uranium. Having all these strategic resources we have to look at it holistically not as a piece meal. We do not have a national policy on mineral mining, and a mining institute, he further added.

He made clear that, the real problem is that the agreements that were made were faulty; it didn't take into consideration the stake holding of the local people, and whatever was given by 1935 India mining act was also taken away. Saindak, a very interesting project, from 1974 to 1996 the whole project costing 16 billion rupees, was actually developed by Baloch scientists and engineers. 1996 they went into trial production for three months and earned 144 million rupees, when they asked the federal government for funds; federal government refused saying it's a bottomless pit, it should not be given any money and in 2000 it was handed over to Chinese, under the deal that 75 per cent will go to china, 24 per cent to federal government and 1 per cent to Balochistan. Unfortunately all agreements are made in a similar way, take Gwadar port, it had been handed over to a Singaporean company, but why the Balochis' were not taken to Karachi to get trained and run the port?

He further said that we do not dictate our economic, domestic and foreign security policy. We, all the citizens, civilian government, politicians, bureaucracy, all are dictated by the military. How can military make a peoples' friendly policy? Balochistan for military is a strategic area because of the nuclear test sites. But the damage done to the underground water due to these nuclear tests, skin cancer and the other cancers, number of live stock that died are something that nobody talks about, because we are scare of military. Let us first legislate properly, as the constitution itself is discriminatory, taking away the rights of the people, he proposed.

2. Fazila Aaliani
Former Provincial Minister Balochistan

Balochistan is a region spreading over Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan with a size equal to that of Ukraine. Interest in mineral deposits, inter state rivalry, the

strategic location and vested interests over the resources of Balochistan are the factors that contributed to the transformation of Baloch land into an international battle field. Capital by nature is competitive and exploitative and to bring peace uses all democratic and undemocratic sources, she added. Balochis feel endangered like Australian aborigines and threatened like red Indians who were turned into minority and were being marginalized in the history; the fear has become a psychic problem created by the competitive forces in the area. This feeling of threat is being exploited by friend and foes. The security establishment ruling the country mishandled the situation by oppressive means rather than trying to redress the grievances and to face the situation politically as it was the need.

While suggesting solution to the situation she said, the simple solution is to let the genuine international companies compete openly rather than by hidden hands. Let the Saindak and Reqo Diq, work side by side and compete openly to give people their due share. Let us give educational, health facilities and the basic necessities to the deprived people of Balochistan. The government of Balochistan should look after the interests of the people. Let the suffering lot suffer no more. Let no sardar grab the benefits of any project, and no international threat perception should prevail to hinder the beneficial project, she proposed. Let us open the doors of Gwadar to our friendly neighbors, India too. Protection of the rights of the indigenous inhabitants should be the future policy and criterion of agreements. The way forward is to treat Balochistan as an autonomous, independent and free province of independent and free Pakistan and not to treat it as an occupied rich area. Keeping paramount the interests of the inhabitants let us trust brothers of subcontinent, allowing them a free access of trade to all land locked countries. By adding, it is the lust for natural resources which have attracted the forces all around the world to build castles over the poor bones of the poor Baloch people, she ended up.

3. Dr. Ishaq Baloch

Central vice president, National Party of Balochistan

The actual question is not the resources but the mind set of Islamabad. The notion of Balochis in Islamabad is that the people are very uneducated, literacy rate is very low and people are very apolitical, but in fact the people of Balochistan are more aware and active politically. Pakistan is a multi national state including Sindhi, Punjabi, Saraiki, Pashtoons, Baloch, etc., and this federation came into being due to the sacrifices of these smaller nations, he added. People in Balochistan do not believe in federation, federalism and democracy because of the gulf of mistrust created since 63 years. The basic problem here is the mistrust, and to bridge up that, at least the basic rights provided by the constitution must not be violated by federal government.

Minerals, in the constitution are provincial subject, then why there is less representation of Balochistan in the board of directors of Reqo Diq? There is not even a single Baloch in Saindak project as well, and its taking away billions of dollars giving Balochistan only one per cent share. Chinese established not even a single school or water purification plant there. From 1954 to 1992 no GDS was provided, the exploitation given in the topic is the one explained by Marx, he said. Pakistan Petroleum Limited claimed to spend three per cent on development but didn't establish a single school.

There is misconception about sardars that they exploit the people, they take the royalty, but it is wrong, they take the land rent, royalty is taken by the Government of Balochistan. The issue is political and is related to federalism, there should be federalism in the country and there should not be any

interference in the working of provinces. We have paid for the wrong policies for 63 years, the state hasn't developed any institutions in Balochistan for the development of human resource, he bewailed. There is a need to work on the matters regarding which commissions are made, the provinces should be allowed to make agreements independently and government should build up the capacity of the provinces to bridge up the mistrust gap he suggested.

4. Syed Naveed Qamar
Federal Minister for Water and Power

The people all over the country are facing a dilemma in general, but Balochistan in particular. Despite having huge deposits of minerals from oil and gas to uranium and copper, we lack the credible means to exploit these resources that can give confidence to Baloch people that these exploitations are actually being made for their betterment. He noted that the experience of natural gas is the fore runner of all these issues. As Sui gas, being discovered in 1954, not knowing the real value of the resource that had been hit both in financial terms as well as in terms of its utilization, was piped out far and wide without allowing the people of Balochistan to light even a single stove. And then over the period of time the issue was further compounded by saying that gas will be priced according to 1954 prices as it was discovered in 1954, while now the same gas of same value, being discovered in subsequent gas fields of Qadirpur in Sindh and KPK provinces, being discovered much later will be priced differently.

The people of Balochistan are fair to think any government or private investors as robbers. How much benefit actually crude down to the people there from all such experiences, Saindak being another one, is still questionable? If we don't allow the foreign investors to come in and allow the Balochistan government to exploit these resources, but then how will it moves forward? Do we have the expertise and the capacity within the government? These expertise come with years of training and knowledge, just by holding onto these resources and not using them is useless until and unless we bridge the gap and utilize them.

Coming up with new ideas is not the best way of doing these things, the solution here is to look at how quickly that knowledge be imparted and then utilized, he exclaimed. Not every “WHITE MAN” here is to exploit you; you can get them on your side also. Even in Islamabad if we don't have the knowledge we hire advisers and consultants, we have to learn from the international experience that how the world has done it, we don't have to reinvent the wheel every time around. Regarding Reqo Diq and other such projects he said, in our enthusiasm first we went in, then in an enthusiasm we just rolled every thing back and now we are doing nothing about these. Similarly in oil and gas fields in Marri and Bugti tribal area, why don't the government hire the expertise, let them sit on their side and deal with the other side? A little bit of trust has to go into this, because if you don't have the expertise and the other one claims to have, you have to trust him to negotiate on your behalf. Or just wait for generations, until and unless your own people come up to that level of expertise.

Because of the years of mistrust between Islamabad and the provinces and due to their own particular interests, provinces should go and get the agreements independently from anywhere, as there is enough funding available within their own budgets. Once a model is created that can be replicated, that will help bring in the money, not into the peoples' pockets but to the budget of the province, he summed up.

Political Expediency and the Future of Democracy in Pakistan

Executive Summary

CRSS organized a roundtable discussion forum at its office premises on November 2, 2011, to discuss the unfolding political situation in Pakistan. Large number of people from diverse background was part of this discussion and expressed their viewpoints.

Democracy had never been as good as today in Pakistan because the three branches of the state have never been as independent in their own spheres of activism as they are today, most importantly the judiciary as an independent institution is asserting itself.

The Parliament of Pakistan is much more inclusive than it ever had been. Every government tried to dominate, what ever institutions in the Parliament, with its own people and tried to subsume the opposition totally. But today the role of opposition is accepted by the government both in provincial and federal assemblies.

We want democracy because Pakistan came into existence through a vote. Therefore the impetus is there. Because India retained democratic contour therefore in Pakistan there was always a desire for the advancement of democracy but we had always been impatient and would go for protests and agitation mode in one kind or another with the political rule.

The only panacea for Pakistan is a just and equitable society. Democracy sets or topples a society; democracy in its very simple terms is open press and free and fair elections. There is a structural problem with democracy in Pakistan, we have government and the masses and in between these two there is a buffer that is the members of parliament.

1. Ahmed Bilal Mahboob

Executive Director PILDAT

It is very important to understand the context in which we are today. At the moment there is a widespread discontent regarding the current style and level of governance in Pakistan. Public opinion polls are indicating this discontentment among the people and these manifestations can be seen on the streets as well. But the context is that despite all this discontentment, democracy had never been as good as today in Pakistan because of the under mentioned reasons; the three branches of the state have never been as independent in their own spheres of activism as they are today, most importantly the judiciary as an independent institution is asserting itself, and free from all possible influences, while throughout the history it had been under some degree of executive's influence under military and political leadership.

Secondly, Parliament of Pakistan, the most important pillar of democracy, is much more inclusive than it ever had been. Every government tried to dominate, what ever institutions in the parliament, with its own people and tried to subsume the opposition totally. But today the role of opposition is accepted by the government both in provincial and federal assemblies and the manifestation of that is, the appointment of opposition leaders as chair of different committees, especially the leader of opposition parties in the parliament, appointed as the chairman of the most important parliamentary committee, the public accounts committee. It is a very important development for the first time in

history. From 2002 to 2007 their had been no committee with a chairman from opposition while in the recent government's tenure technically each committee has the ruling coalition majority but 25% of the parliamentary and senate committees are currently chaired by opposition, he noted.

And third and most important development is the diverse and independent media which had always been under government or foreign influence some way or the other. Media is far more independent from government influence than it ever had been. In the context of democracy, democratic setup and institutions we have far better democracy than we ever had in the history of this country.

Coming to governance is another subject, whether this democracy had been able to deliver good governance and services to the common people, whether this democracy had been able to address the economic and social unevenness of the society? Most of the time the government failed to deliver good governance, to deliver better service and to address the unevenness in the society. Hence generally the score card on the governance of this government is poor. But this thing should also be taken into consideration, that whether one government's span of duration is enough to address all these issues or it will take longer and sustained efforts.

Regarding recent upsurge in political activism he said that it can be defined in two contexts. Firstly the discontentment and disillusionment of the people towards the quality of government, and the word government does not refer to the federal government only but also towards the provincial government, because after 18th amendment a large part of governance is delegated to the provinces. So in the failure to provide good governance both provincial as well as federal government and not only the ruling party but all those parties who are part of government, are responsible.

And secondly political upsurge can be defined in the context of elections, almost coming close to the fourth part of this parliamentary government, there is a general expectation of people to look for change, as most of the people are thinking that 2012 may be the year of next parliamentary elections, because usually there had never been political governments ruling more than 3 or 4 years in Pakistan's political history, hence this perception is always adding to the rising political activism. Political parties are now trying to gear up to the election season, trying to initiate the mass contact movement, trying to improve their standing in the people, trying to communicate with the people and bring in the slogans not conforming to the norms of decent politics. But there is nothing abnormal, wrong or worrisome about this increased political activism as it is because of the freedom of the political system and freedom of expression that we enjoy here in Pakistan, even this level of freedom of association and freedom of expression can't be seen in Indian democracy, he further added.

While addressing the Imran Khan phenomenon he said it is also because of the two contexts, the disillusionment phenomenon and the election context. People are looking for a way to give vent to what ever they feel about various parties and various governments. Regarding future of democracy he said that if this political activism results in free and fair elections, as expected optimistically, then democracy will flourish further. Many of us want to see the end of this government and to replace it with another government, that's very legitimate desire, but this change must come through a democratic process. So at this time all those who have an interest in Pakistan and Pakistan's democracy, should be focusing their attention to make the coming elections as good as possible so that it can deliver those kinds of results which people expect, and this is the future of democracy which looks very good, and for this all of us have to resort out the undemocratic ways, he suggested.

2. Syed Abida Hussain

Former Federal Minister and PPP leader

I want to make observations on Imran Khan that will throw light what Imran is saying. Pakistan is a country which has struggled with the notion of democracy. We always wanted democracy because we were always conscious for the democracy. Pakistan came into existence through a vote. Therefore the impetus was there. Because India retained democratic contour therefore in Pakistan there was always a desire for the advancement of democracy but we had always been impatient very often, would go for protests and agitation mode in one kind or another with the political rule. But with military rulers we tended to be very patience and the patience span was 10 years. But with political rulers we were less patient and the span of patience was about 3 years. It is extremely important for both of politicians and people to think in the current situation to be able to sort the wood from tree. We are looking like if you take the external view about Pakistan as unruly, ungovernable, ill handled jungle, and the rule of jungle is the prevalent law in Pakistan. And yet people are from external view taken a back but when those people visit Pakistan, and they see the Ireland of civilization of order and they spot enormous capacity with an emerging, vibrant and young population. So they get confused and then they go to the history and they write analysis which is only partly reflective of the reality.

Very little has been written on the first 12 years of Pakistan in relation to the enormity of the events. The first years of Pakistan were extremely wrapped. It is true that there was the problem like the division of assets, refugees, division of personnel, short war and establishing institutions during the first years of Pakistan. The feudalism is a way of thinking; people come from rural and stick to the rural rules. In most of the subcontinent, the grand fathers came from rural then they got education formal training moved us to the urban environment. Who stuck to the rural environment, the people who have invariably no choice, but the richer people who have more lands than others, they are out of choice, like we are the people urban and rural. Very few people in the military and civil services rarely visit their villages. The point is that if you maintain link with your community anywhere in the world, whether it is ceremonial link or ongoing realities I am considered very feudal but if my friends if they bother to come, they take in a back. We live very simply; we have no sense of exclusivity. The culture of village in political sense, it is inclusive culture. Anybody can walk where you eat, sleep etc. But you have social norms and you have pressed with certain degree of equality and simplicity. In terms of democracy, democracy lacks substance unless electoral process is couple with the supremacy of constitution, the rule of law, civil and political rights and the freedom of the people.

When constitutional values are enriched then for the politician who comes from big or small home new or old, whatever sect, or cast becomes irrelevant. It is a home which is in harmony with its own environment. And it that home is able to create local institutions, and then these institutions are durable. Everybody individually and institutions work with their perceived self interests. It is human nature. We all are the creature of nature and we all have to survive better and better to the best, that is so worldwide. When we create institutions then the base of every thought in institution is equity. That it has to be an equitable institution provided that it is in accordance with the principles which are written down in the constitution. In our case because of the weaknesses of our state is that how we came into existence. The civil and military bosses were as self serving as the political bosses. But the

difference is, that the political bosses like my rival political bosses at the time Muslim League was more powerful in East Pakistan than the West Pakistan. And the East Pakistan's leaders led by Hussain Shaheed Suherverdy did not think themselves lesser than anybody but Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Suherverdy was not willing to conceive that Liaqat Ali was necessarily better than him and so on. So there was then locking of horns between East Pakistan and West Pakistan and then in that discord distension the establishment became exceedingly powerful, far more powerful than the political arm of the state. And this power grew and grew.

During the ears between Zia and Musharaf, the democracy did have a chance with two young leaders, one from my agenda and the other from Punjab. One locally educated from self made mercantile background and other foreign educated. Both of them had a chance, two chances for each. But democracy did not take the root. Benazir Bhutto was convinced on the terms inclusive approach as oppose to exclusive approach and made a deal to make Zardari out of the jail. When she came back, she had very different approach to move forward. Benazir's party her spouse and the people who have some capability in her party have overall the same page of all these issues, reconciliation, no victimization, tolerance and concession.

There are two aspects to strengthen democracy, one is the parliamentary aspect, judicial aspect, institutional and strategic aspect and there I don't think to worry about. But there is the aspect of today governance, if you sit in the central executive meetings of PPP the bad governance is huge. I have said this in public and I have said in the party meetings as well that we owe it to the memory of two people who lost their lives. Not through the health issues, one because of one was hanged in a trial which is now considered by everybody as unfair. And other fell to the bullet of assassin. It is grave injustice in the graveyard that there is bad governance. And those who have benefited from her absence, who had built capability for tolerance and the people who are accidentally in the governance are giving calls to gossips. But I won't say that if there is a smoke and there is no fire. But I will say that if there is a fire there could be smoke. So the smoke will disappear after some period of time. Therefore it is very hard for the people which are with people's party to defend the situation. Everyone in Pakistan is saying that this government is corrupt which is not excusable. Therefore the people like us assert within the party and on the media that we have to improve performance in governance.

3. Adnan Aurangzeb
Former Lawmaker

The only medicine to the future of democracy in Pakistan is a just and equitable society. Democracy sets or topples a society; democracy in its very simple terms is open press and free and fair elections. There is a structural problem with democracy in Pakistan, we have government and the masses and in between these two there is a buffer that is the members of parliament. These representatives carry the voice of people to the government and than have the government makes policies accordingly, and than transport these policies down to the people.

In this current setup, members of parliament are not fulfilling their role to communicate between government and the people, and there is a fear that people may take on the government directly as in the case of swat not too long ago. Injustice and bad governance made the people rise up and made

mosque mullahs their leaders, challenging the writ of the state and now 32000 regular forces are deployed there. Difference lies between government and people and it continues to widen. In Pakistan the governors and the governed are more recognizable than in any other part of the world, and that breeds contempt and that contempt eventually leads to uprising. And due to this contempt if they abuse the political class, then they are in their right to do so. In Libya all social facilities were given by the state, but the gap between the governors and the governed led to all this. Only justice and equitable society are the future of democracy.

4. Muhammad Jamil
Retired Banker

Te concept of politics and politicians is that both are contaminated, polluted, unfair and unjust, and no good thing about them. Pakistan has been fooled in the name of Islam, Kashmir, democracy, socialism and national integration, poverty elimination, but we got none of all these, how long this drama will go on? Is there any hope? Can anybody do anything for Pakistan?

Ahmed Bilal
It is not that some one has come and imposed all this on us; having the electoral process and electing our leadership, it is us who have elected them. While casting their vote, people do not go for a person who will make policy input, people go for small targets like job, promotion, transfer, etc, therefore some of the finest people are left behind because they do not fall in criterion which people look for. Politicians are the most liked and the most looked people. These politicians are there because of the wrong preferences which we make.

5. Samina Imtiaz
The politicians are not brought by our votes but by the covert hands. We are all fed up with these political parties and the political leadership that is there, because even within the political parties there is no democracy. Are people really electing their representatives, she asked.

Ahmed Bilal
Pakistan amongst all the South Asian countries has the lowest voter turn out ratio, and it has nothing to do with the leadership. In 2008 in Bangladesh voter turn out ratio was 80% while in Pakistan it was just 40%, and those who even caste their vote have their local and personal considerations in mind. It is true but not all the time, that the hidden hands decide which people will rule the country. About politicians he said that although they don't make good speech in the assembly or a good policy input in the assembly, but they spend good part of their day and night listening to their voters, attending weddings and funerals, connecting poor, helpless and illiterate people to their government.

Balochistan Rights Package: Impact on Baloch Nationalism

Executive Summary

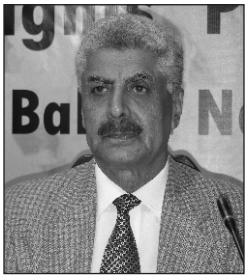
The Center for Research and Security Studies (CRSS), Islamabad in collaboration with Actionaid, Pakistan organized a seminar titled: "Balochistan Rights' Package-2009: Impact on Baloch Nationalism", at Islamabad Hotel, Islamabad on November 29, 2011.

One cannot blame Baloch sardars for the backwardness of Balochistan, as at present there are 17 members in national assembly from Balochistan and only one of them is Baloch sardar. During Musharraf government 71 out of 74 Baloch sardars were with former President Musharraf, and despite that he failed to deliver in Balochistan, and ended up creating more mess.

Balochis want to be treated on parity basis like other Pakistanis and want control over their land and resources. Balochistan has lots of resources but others are snatching these resources from Balochis, and in return from 1974 up to 2004, the PSDP fund allocation for Balochistan was only four billion rupees.

Currently the issue between the federation and the province is of distrust. Balochis were always accommodative in their conduct and approach towards the federation: the approval of 1973 Constitution. The law and order situation in the province and subsequent deployment of heavy security contingents is being done out of ulterior motives and vested interests. Political realization is essential for addressing Balochistan issue.

Former President Musharraf tried to put Gwadar under federal control, 125 property schemes were launched in 25 days in the area and the land was sold out within days. This colonial model of governance and it's not going to work in 21st century.



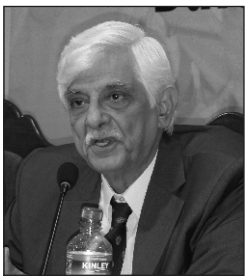
1. Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Abdul Quadir Baloch
PML-N Lawmaker

The roots of Baloch nationalism lie in partition of British India. The imposition of state's authority over Khan of Kalat in 1948 through bullet sowed the seeds of disillusionment among Balochis towards the federation. It is travesty of fairness if one blames only Baloch Sardars for the backwardness of Balochistan, as at present there are 17 members in national assembly from Balochistan and only one of them is Baloch sardar. Alluding to an interesting fact, he said that 71 out of 74 Baloch Sardars were with former President Musharraf, and despite that he failed to deliver in Balochistan, and ended up creating more mess. "It is sardari mindset and not Sardars, that is impeding the progress of common people in Balochistan and this trend is wrecking havoc throughout the country", he stressed.

Someone from academia, civil society or media should come forward and conduct an investigative study to ascertain the causes and factors, which kept Balochis out of national arena and forced them to take up arms against the federation. Balochis want to be treated on parity basis like other Pakistanis and want control over their land and resources. Balochistan has lots of resources but others are snatching these resources from Balochis, and in return from 1974 up to 2004, the PSDP fund allocation for Balochistan was only four billion rupees. He observed that "political role of military is a dilemma" for Pakistan. He demanded for a commission to investigate the military operation launched as the

pretext of Dr. Shazia's case. He mentioned that currently there is no military operation but secret services' operation going on in the province. He lamented that military operation in 2006 killed an old man (Akbar Bugti) who was never against Pakistan, and today people in Balochistan are against Pakistan as a result of this military operation.

2. Senator Taj Haider
PPP Lawmaker



There is always problem with a relationship except the one based on love and trust. The only option the PPP government had was to go for reconciliation, rather than confronting the disgruntled Baloch people. Currently the issue between the federation and the province is of distrust. Balochis were always accommodative in their conduct and approach towards the federation: the approval of 1973 Constitution and the role of Baloch Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo in making it possible is instructive fact. He underscored that the creation of law and order situation in the province and "subsequent deployment of heavy security contingents is being done out of ulterior motives and vested interests." Senator Haider highlighted: "the political realization is essential for addressing Balochistan issue." He noted that no economic package can be alternative for political blunders, and therefore the state should initiate political reconciliation process in Balochistan and all the stakeholders should be taken on board.

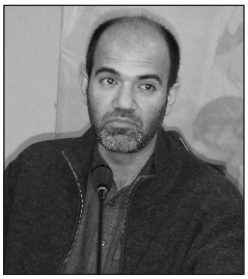
The government of Pakistan should adopt legal measures to address the fears of Baloch people, like mass migration of non-Balochis towards Balochistan. It can be achieved only during democratic set up and we all should support the continuation of democratic set up in Pakistan. There is always a transition phase between absolute dictatorship and total democracy, it can never be achieved overnight, we should make it possible. We have two options reconciliation or confrontation, political reconciliation should be preferred over politics of confrontation and today political reconciliation is leading the democracy forward and we are gaining ground. Future of Balochistan should be taken care of and we should do legislation to protect the identity and demographic structure of Balochis. With the passage of time we can make possible the implementation of AHBP and pessimism will not take us anywhere.

3. Dr. Abdul Malik Baloch
Senior Vice President National Party, Balochistan

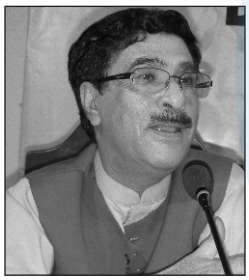
Balochis are worried about their identity, and they don't want economic packages. The state should reread history before imposing its will on Balochis: they were never part of British India. He said that we will never be a part of "Khecheri (obscure) nationalism" while we want to uphold and preserve our own ethno-national identity. He blamed the state for looting and plundering of Baloch resources, and trying to make Baloch nation like the aborigines in Australia and Red Indians in America. Former President Musharraf tried to put Gwadar under federal control, 125 property schemes were launched in 25 days in the area and the land was sold out within days. This colonial model of governance and it's not going to work in 21st century. "Balochis resisted Martial Laws and bore the brunt for not subduing before the military dictators", he narrated. Government leased out the province to Sardars and tribal chiefs and hence all the governance issues in Balochistan are the product of Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Security agencies have the aim to eliminate all the Baloch youth like Sri Lanka did against Tamils, he further noted that there exist separatists in every part of world, as the Irish and the Scottish nations under UK, but they are being dealt as per democratic rules of engagement and

that is dialogue, rather than the elimination strategy being used against the Balochis, government should initiate dialogue with nationalist forces.

4. Dr. Aasim Sajjad Akhtar
Assistant Professor, NIPS, QAU, Islamabad



The talk of economic packages does not make sense in the absence of political rights. He observed that the issue there is not developmental, it is purely political, and even the announcement of hundreds of Balochistan Rights' Packages will not make any difference on the ground in the ill-fated province, if the issues of provincial autonomy, control over resources and administrative freedom are not sorted out. Balochistan is a province where one can see how "One state institution is working with impunity in the province and it is regrettable that it is continuing even when there is democratic government in Pakistan", he lamented. Regarding the recent "Imran Khan phenomenon", he said that the new political contenders with slogans of "change" are also not going to change anything on ground. Underling the priority issues in Balochistan, he said education is major issue in the province. The role of media role is also important. Dissecting the nature of ongoing conflict in Balochistan, he said "There is going on an asymmetrical conflict in Balochistan, on the one side there is state apparatus and on the other hand there are poor and helpless Baloch nationalists." If we claim we are a modern state than we should stop behaving like a colonial entity, since there is no room for colonial minds in 21st century.



5. Mr. Anwar Sajidi
Editor-in-Chief, Daily Intekhab, Quetta

Mr. Anwar Sajidi, editor-in-chief, *Daily Intekhab*, Quetta said that the federal agencies are governing Balochistan as a sensitive security zone and there is no concept of civilian supremacy in the province. He said "the wave of discontentment among Baloch youth runs very high and from southern Quetta to Gwadar there is no one willing to fly Pakistani flag." He said unchecked influx of foreign immigrants into Balochistan is threatening the identity of Baloch people and the government should check it. And it is the Establishment that is playing out in Balochistan to alter the demographic structure of the province; there are Afghans, people from central Asia and other neighboring states being settled there.

6. Talha Masood
Organization for the Development of Youth, Quetta

Baloch youth has no prospects and Balochistan Rights' Package has failed miserably to make any difference at the grass roots level. It is the political injustice that pushes people towards the edge and then they react with their own "weapons of choice." Addressing the educational issues he said we need universities more than we need packages. There are two universities in Balochistan and people who want to go for higher education, have to travel long way to reach university. Regarding Rights' Package he said that the package is being called "Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e-Ministran (ministers)" in the province, and 5000 teachers were appointed according to AHBP, but they are not getting salary on time and there is no future for them.

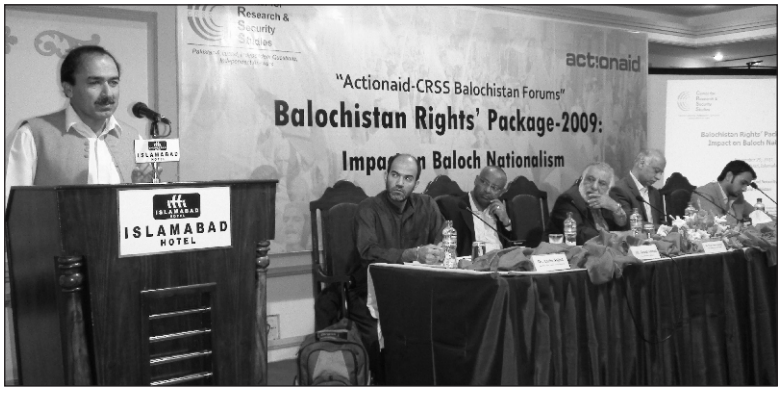
7. Mr. Sultan Ahmed
Human and Rural Development Organization (HARD) Khuzdar

The package did not touch upon the issue of cultural rights of Balochis and it shows the apathy of state towards the protection of identity on Balochis. The ratio of mismanagement is very high in the future "food basket" of Pakistan as compared to all other provinces. It is the policy failure because of which mistrust is getting widened in the general masses, who are already under the clutches of economic difficulties. Media is also responsible, as it is said that each and every single matter can be seen in papers today, except the Balochistan issue. No development can take root in any place without education, as the youth gets disengaged from their goal. They must be guided towards their well defined goals through career counseling institutions.

A government official
Under AHBP, 120 billion rupees will be transferred to the provincial government for developmental projects in next 10 to 12 years by the federal government. Out of which 10 billion in every year, two billion for next five years on provincial government discretion; one billion for IDPs of Dera Bugti, one billion for flood affectees of December 2010. Despite the transfer of these funds, there is deadlock on provincial government's side and we have no reports of the plight of these transferred funds. If we continue transfer funds and spree of killing continues then the money given becomes useless, so we should rethink about the state of affairs in the province.

Participants
Participants at the seminar were wary of the government motives behind the announcement and implementation of Balochistan Rights' Package, since the package has despondently failed to address the long held grievances of Balochis. At the same time, they were critical of the government's failure to check the ongoing "kill and dump" operation across Balochistan, where mutilated and torched bodies of missing persons are being recovered from road sides on daily basis. They underscored the need for adopting political solution to address the political issue of Baloch nationalism and the announcement of economic packages is nothing but an exercise in buying more time.

Imtiaz Gul
In his concluding remarks, executive director, CRSS, Imtiaz Gul observed that no economic package, but the people themselves can make the difference and change the situation on ground. He said that it is time for the people to stand up for their rights and take their destinies in their own hands.



Securing a Frontline State:
Alternative Views on Peace and Conflict in Pakistan

Executive Summary

Heinrich Boll Stiftung, Pakistan, and Center for Research and Security Studies, Islamabad, in media partnership with The Express Tribune, Pakistan organized a two day (8-9 December, 2011) international conference on *"Securing a Frontline State: Alternative Views on Peace and Conflict in Pakistan",* at Marriott Hotel, Islamabad.

Pakistan has become a 'frontline state' in the ongoing War on Terror both as a result of its history of collusion with the terrorist groups and its newfound role of going against these terrorists in corroboration with the international coalition. Consequently, the country has suffered tremendous losses of human lives and development opportunities, especially in the past decade.

Can a country be called secure when it is terribly hit by floods and earthquakes, can a man be called secure who does not know how to feed his family, can a woman be called secure who is afraid to leave her house or can a child be called secure whose parents cannot afford to send him to school. These questions are obviously absurd, yet they show the security as a complex phenomenon that cannot be guaranteed by weapons or soldiers alone.

The concept of strategic depth has been designed mainly from the perspective that how Pakistan's defense vis-à-vis India can be enhanced. It has origins which go back to Afghan invasion in 1980s. The use of militancy was a strategy sanctioned by US and it was also designed to gain solidarity within the Islamic world.

The national security paradigm of a country should enhance the security of the country rather than making it weaker. We need re-evaluation of the paradigm and more civilian input in it. We need to think how we can have a security paradigm to assist the drawdown of US troops in Afghanistan; we can talk about better relationship with India and to de-link ourselves with militancy.

Developmental challenges in Pakistan are diverse and chronic having short, medium and long term impact on development. The common strand among all of them is that they have their origin in the policies that Pakistan has pursued over a long period of time, or they are policy led challenges.

Demolition of homes during military operations against militants is the prime threat to individual security and have deepest impact on women and children, when the home gets targeted it is the women who bears the burnt of such attitudes.

Opening Remarks

Ms. Britta Peterson

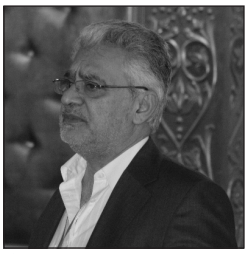
Country Director, HBS, Pakistan

A very warm welcome to this International Conference "Securing a Frontline State: Alternative views on Peace and Conflict" being jointly organized by CRSS and HBS. As it is clear from the title, we do not want to look at the security in Pakistan, only we want a broader perspective. We are getting away by media

reports on causalities, border clashes, or major incidents like the killing of Osama Bin Laden and the latest Mohmand attacks, as important they might be for the moment, and as well for the strategic developments, they are only one aspect of Pakistani security. Can a country be called secure when it is terribly hit by floods and earthquakes, can a man be called secure who does not know how to feed his family, can a woman be called secure who is afraid to leave her house or can a child be called secure whose parents cannot afford to send him to school. These questions are obviously absurd, yet they show the security as a complex phenomenon that cannot be guaranteed by weapons or soldiers alone. On the contrary the security discourse tends to monopolize public debate and thus becomes self serving at the cost of all other factors mainly human security. We therefore try to open this discourse here in this conference.

In the next two days our experts, academicians, novelists, activists, diplomats and bureaucrats from Pakistan and from the rest of the world will be looking at the various security challenges that Pakistan is facing at the moment: Ranging from climate change to water scarcity and food insecurity to the concerns of women in the armed conflicts, as well as at the Pakistan's internal conflicts in the provinces and at the Centre, the civil military relations and the jihadi discourse. On the second day we have invited the speakers from all over the world to talk about the region and to share their views on what is happening in Pakistan at the moment and how it will develop in the future. We are here to share the understanding of the road ahead in order to be able to save Pakistan, to make sure that Pakistan and its neighbouring countries are at peace with themselves and each other and its people do not live in fear.

Keynote Address
Dr. Yunas Samad
Professor, Bradford University, UK



I want to talk about chaos, national security, militancy and interpersonal violence. While talking about violence the thing that is striking, is the range and scale of violence that is being taking place in Pakistan, in the sense that how it is proliferated and how it actually changes shape from individual violence to group violence. In its descriptive sense, it gives the sense of chaos; there exists a link, structural processes link together different levels of violence. How you would define violence? Political violence normally is defined as the use of power within and outside of political processes, but we will look at its social dimensions and how the social actually links to the political. The notion of power and violence together then it gives some understanding about what may happen in the political domain.

The concept of strategic depth has been designed mainly from the perspective that how Pakistan's defense vis-à-vis India can be enhanced. It has origins which go back to Afghan invasion in 1980s. The use of militancy was a strategy sanctioned by US and it was also designed to gain solidarity within the Islamic world. National security paradigm exits in certain context, and when the context changes the paradigm has to be revisited. In post 9/11 era and with the end game in Afghanistan, the US is very concerned about that country; they do not want a vacuum there to allow Al-Qaida or any transnational group to reestablish itself. They want to stabilize the Afghan government and they would like to withdraw by 2014 and they are becoming wary of Pakistan due to its relationship with militancy and they find it to be a difficult ally. This national paradigm that we are having is driving us into a standoff with the largest super power in the world, so the security policy is putting Pakistan at loggerhead with a super power.

The other type of context is strengthening our relationship with the Islamic world. In some sense we imported Iranian-Saudi rivalry into Pakistan, partially expressed in terms of sectarian violence. Today large numbers of these Arab states consider that Pakistan is full of crazy people having links with militant elements, so Pakistani position in Islamic world is also becoming isolated. Then we have an issue with India; being a nuclear power and having this militancy issue tensions have increased between the two countries. In the aftermath of 2002 attacks on Indian Parliament the Indian Army was on standby on borders, and there was a potential danger that this conventional conflict with India can spiral into nuclear war. We should rethink this paradigm; it is leading us to a number of dead ends where we are having quiet difficult conflicts and tensions leaving us isolated. The national security paradigm of a country should enhance the security of the country rather than making it weaker. We need re-evaluation of the paradigm and more civilian input in it. We need to think how we can have a security paradigm to assist the drawdown of US troops in Afghanistan; we can talk about better relationship with India and to de-link ourselves with militancy.

Militancy has a relevance to the national security paradigm, and also causing us great internal costs. We need to locate it in the social movements; there are groups within the framework of Islamic social movements. From 1980 and onwards there has been an intense militarization of these organizations and they have become independent getting funding directly from UAE, Saudi Arabia and Arab countries. They perform NGOs' functions but they don't follow any regulation and no transparency. They are promoting intolerance and bigotry, which is linked to sectarianism. The change has come with American presence, as US presence has become magnet for radicalism and it has blurred boundaries among different extremists. As anti-Americanism has become much more significant; it increased the influence of transnational groups which have become much difficult to control. They have distrust in security forces, they have independent agenda, and they have pockets within the security apparatus, so they have become much more difficult to manage and at times they are in direct confrontation with the states. Also there is this phenomenon of infiltration as they have sympathizers within the military apparatus, as in the case of attacks on former President Parvez Musharraf and at naval base, the information was leaked from within the military.

The other issue is to deal with militancy, a number of military campaigns have been launched in Swat, Bajaur, etc. In the tribal areas, the difficulty is this that while conducting these military operations Pakistani military created collateral damage and exacerbated the situation in the conflict zones. To deal with this political issue there is a need for negotiations and reconciliation, we need to bring them back because we cannot deal with them militarily; demilitarization, demobilization and rehabilitation program is the answer. There is a need to think about regulation of Islamic group finances; we have no transparent system about this method presently and some of the money is ending up in the actions which are detrimental to state.

How does all this turn into inter personal violence? During interactions with each other, there arise some conflicts leading to violence, even parts of the state get involved in the process with the informal economy where occupiers occupy the land and build the house and apply to the state for water and electricity sanitation. Increasing inequality is a factor leading to group violence. With the introduction of militancy, drugs and weapons proliferation the potential for violence on the streets has increased. Young men now know no way except violence as a way of making living so militancy is a life strategy. It allows them to be respectful and imparts power, people like Fazlullah, and Hakimullah Mehsud are two examples. How did these humble people become suddenly powerful? These groups are literally grabbing everything what they want by the use of violence. Women and children have become commodities, they are now no other item for sale, and hence militancy has become almost a causal

factor in the increase of inter-personal violence.

Against this backdrop, there is a need to rethink about our recent security paradigm that is driving us into conflict with the only super power in the world. If US wants to withdraw from Afghanistan than it should do so in terms that are suitable and acceptable to Pakistan. When we talk about influence over Afghanistan, either through Taliban or Haqqani network, we should rephrase that into soft power. We need to get out of this militancy paradigm. There is a need to clarify to these Islamic groups that we want to de-link from this phenomenon of jihad, we need to talk about serious attempts about demilitarization, demobilization and rehabilitation. We need to talk about development in education and better governance. Human development and security are not two separate categories, there is a linkage and one feeds the other and if we do not deal with the issues that promote this kind of violence than we are not going to be able improve the internal security and security in general of this country.

Session I

1. Dr. Abid Suleri
Executive Director, SDPI, Islamabad

How various types of insecurities are further breeding insecurities? Developmental challenges in Pakistan are diverse and chronic having short, medium and long term impact on development. The common strand among all of them is that they have their origin in the policies that Pakistan has pursued over a long period of time, or they are policy led challenges. These challenges could have been avoided if right set of policies and actions in the form of people centric paradigm would have been followed. In case of Pakistan, security paradigm was adopted due to long dictatorial rules and country's peculiar geopolitical situation.

This security paradigm remains confined to achieving state security, mainly through military means, but state security cannot be achieved without achieving human security. There are four interconnected levels of security, human security, national security, regional security and global security. Successive governments in Pakistan always tried to achieve national, global and regional security, often neglecting human security. Pakistan has always tried to involve in global and regional security to ensure its national security as well as that of region and the global. Thus global and regional security seems to be of high priority for Pakistan. Human security has been ignored in Pakistan, at times to achieve the other three levels of security. Human security has been perceived as a threat to the national security. The country's success in becoming a nuclear power and having a large standing army has been achieved at the expense of human security. Country's current account expenditures can be divided into four Ds, debt payments, defense expenditures, day to day administration and development related expenditures.

Among these four, only PSDP funds seem to be flexible, hence its size is slashed due to over spending on first 3Ds. Size of PSDP has seen a continuous downward revision in 2008, 09,10 and 11. Hence, PSDP is perceived to be a lubricant for the growth of national security. When PSDP is cut it gives rise to economic and social insecurity, and the individual insecurity results in violent and destructive protests for basic facilities, suicide bombings, prostitution, child labor etc.

Socio political instability leading to violence is evident from urban violence in Karachi and ethno-

nationalist movement in Balochistan. Hence global and regional actors have started doubting the capacity to secure the nuclear assets. The state of food security in Pakistan has been aggravated in the last six years, as in 2003, 45 percent of the population was food insecure and now it is almost 50 percent, in 2003 only 54 districts were food insecure while now 80 out of 120 districts are food insecure. Most of the food insecure regions are also the conflict ridden areas. FATA has the highest number of food insecure population followed by Balochistan and then KPK. Dera Bugti has highest rate of food insecure persons that is 82.4 percent of the population. Out of Balochistan's 49 districts 26 are food insecure. Echoes of Talbanization in southern Punjab are also due to food and physical insecurity. Floods further exacerbated the situation and the areas have become vulnerable to internal and external challenges. We should reorient our state security paradigm from ensuring national, global, and regional security, to increased expenditure on human security.

2. Dr. Saba Gul Khttak

Former Member, Planning Commission of Pakistan

Frontier is those areas where there is no rule of law they are at the border of civilization where state in its pluralist concept does not exist. Today whole country has become FATA in the context of the world, as there is no rule of law, corruption and government doesn't work. So there is a need to check why rule of law is not efficient as it is in the other parts of the world. Now talking about the women, their lives are threatened inside as well as outside the house; their lives are threatened under the rubric of rivaj, customs, traditions, or conflict zones. Often women concerns are overlooked both in the context of effects of violence and their requirements for peace. In Pakistan there are a number of conflicts going on; in Karachi since 1986, in FATA since 1980's, post 9/11 jihadi phenomenon and drone attacks, in all of these conflicts houses were targeted because people are identified with reference to their homes.

Homes have played a very important role in conflicts, both in displacement as well as home identification. It is not only a place where you live, and rather it means identity and place of security to the people. Demolition of homes is the prime threat to individual security and have deepest impact on women and children, when the home gets targeted it is the women who bears the burnt of such attitudes. Another aspect for women in the line of fire is the early marriages and overnight marriages in conflicts, when men are on the run and not sure about the security of their daughters and sisters hence they go for overnight marriages to get rid of this responsibility. There are anomalies for Pakistan as well as many of the young women in FATA, were married off to some Arabs, when these men disappeared these women came to Pakistani courts asking for justice and citizenship. Economic policies introduced have eroded the economic power of the state so the state cannot be a social welfare state as envisioned by the constitution deliver. The rules of the game should be changed radically if we desire for a realistic change.

3. Mr. Shakil Ramay

Senior Research Associate, SDPI, Islamabad

Scarcity of resources in Pakistan is a major non-traditional security threat to national security. Further elements include the scarcity of opportunities, climate change and structural threats in the form of cast and class system. Talking about climate change, water is a basic element to bring about climate change, and

then comes the food, energy and the economic opportunities. Most of the coastal cities are economic hubs, at the same time these are vulnerable to cyclones and sea level rise and any climate change will badly impact these cities and your economic hub will be gone. David King, chief advisor to UK government says that climate change is even bigger threat than terrorism.

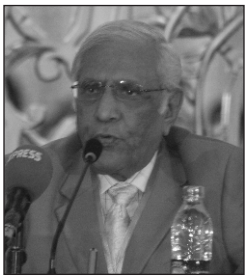
How these nontraditional security threats will become a larger threat for Pakistan in future? Water related threats contain four elements, water scarcity, floods, draughts and trans-boundary water issues. Per capita availability of water is shrinking and this is threatening as increasing water scarcity will result in conflicts. Climate change is triggering water scarcity, with increasing temperatures water related disasters like floods, droughts, sea level rise, intrusion of sea and cyclones are increasing. Climate change driven migration or displaced people is yet another drawback of climate change, as number of displaced people in 2010 was 20 million while it is 5.3 million this year. On economic front we are not able to bear the losses as estimated cost of floods was $10 billion last year and five billion US dollar this year. In Balochistan and Sindh people are already suffering from droughts, and climate change is bringing more severity to it. Regarding trans-boundary issues, we had Pak-India trans-boundary water issues since independence, but now we also have water issue with Afghanistan and with the increase in climate change effects these issues will get even more complicated.

4. Ayaz Wazir

Former Ambassador of Pakistan to Afghanistan

Security is the most important factor in the development of any nation, and without security peace, progress and prosperity cannot be achieved. Pakistan from day one faced more external threats than internal; both its eastern and western borders were problematic. However problem with Afghanistan government on western front subsided after a few years, paving a way for greater cooperation. Disturbing hostility on eastern front forced Pakistan into an Indo centric defense and foreign policy. Hence we need an autonomous Afghanistan which does not allow foreign forces to use it soil for subversive attacks against Pakistan. After 9/11, former President Musharraf decided Pakistan to become a front line state in the War on Terror without consulting parliament or the nation. Furthermore contrary to the wishes of people and at the behest of US he deployed army at the western border of Pakistan. As a result Pakistan despite rendering tremendous sacrifices, more than the combined losses of US and NATO forces in Afghanistan, dialed to address their (US and NATO) apprehensions.

Afghanistan, since its vote against Pakistan against the membership of forum in UN, has never been a cause of serious concern till very recent. Although during the cold war period Afghanistan was acknowledged as being in the Soviet sphere of influence yet it maintained its neutrality and no hostile acts were committed on our western border. This is the only strategic depth that Pakistan needs that Afghanistan never become antagonist to Pakistan in any circumstances. It (Afghanistan) should not hinder our access to energy needs via Wakhan to Central Asia. Pakistan should not foresee an Afghanistan which will be stooge to Pakistani wishes and interests; rather we should accept and treat Afghanistan as a sovereign country. We should facilitate the West in negotiation with Taliban. Live as an honorable, friendly neighbor and don't poke nose in other states' affairs.



5. Mr. Ziauddin
Chief Editor, The Express Tribune, Islamabad

There have been diagnosis and prescriptions but the ruling elite, is not ready to listen to any suggestions for improving the situation in this country. And they are solely responsible for upholding national security at the cost of human security. The military wants to rule in this country, they don't want any of their privileges touched, but as the governance is very messy so they don't want to govern, hence they give it to the civilians. So that they may have an excuse that look they can't govern so we are coming back. *In today's Pakistan, there is just one institution which needs reformation and that is the Pakistan Army.*

Session II

1. Mr. Ijaz Haider
Senior Journalist, Anchorperson, Islamabad

Civil military rift is the major security threat that Pakistan is facing, many other threats flow from this outline. Civilian supremacy and effective civilian control of the military are not same things, and effective utilization of all the elements of national power, all these three factors forms the baseline. Why should we have a civilian control over military? Because a normative belief suggest that civilian control over military is better than military's control over civilians and this has evolved through practical requirements of governance. In dialectical framework where state and society interact, there is going to be a conflict of interests. Institutions are the rules of the game in a society or more formally the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction while the organizations provide a structure to human interaction, but they consist of groups of people bound by some common purpose. If the rules of the game are not underlined, then we have an imbalance, and the organizations, as players, will have the incentive to cheat.

The one institution i.e. the military is going out of the balance and it's certain strengths makes intervention in politics easier, like it is a superior organization, coherent, it has the control of arms, emotional and symbolic status, military virtue and the motivational factors as well. The mood to intervene can be induced by sense of overwhelming power or high self esteem and the opportunity. The second generation problem is that the civilian principles don't have the capacity or don't have the will, so there lays a motivation for military to intervene in civilian affairs. Third factor can be the longer periods of war faced by the country, making the state much more dependent on military, but we see that this motivation can be contained where there are entrenched democratic rules like US and India. Modern theorists believe it is difficult to separate the military and civil spheres, civil military affairs cannot be seen at a dichotomous level anymore.

Why civilians should have the control over military? It can be defined in terms of agency theory, which states, civilian have the absolute right to be wrong because they come into existence through the first order agency, which is accorded to them by the people, under the constitution, through free and fair elections. People empower the elected leaders to make decisions on their behalf. The second order agency is accorded by the elected representatives to the specialized bureaucratic institutions, military being one of them. So the interventionist militaries are temporarily violating the second order of the

agency to be able to protect the first. The logic is that throwing out a civilian government for fixing the broken system, and military will hand over the power once the system is fixed, but this is where the devil resides, how does the generals will know that the system is fixed? So military is not the sole manifestation of national power rather it is one tool among many elements of national power.

Politics and governance are not about managerial skills, the main issue here is the issue of opportunity. Who provides the opportunity? If we look at the portfolio of defense minister in Pakistan, it is either been an additional portfolios of prime minister or it has been given to people who absolutely have no idea of the security sector. Situation in Pakistan is that, we have strong military, and a civilian government who are not doing anything to challenge the military either in a soft way or hard way. We do acknowledge that there are lots of issues faced by the civilian government like defining of national interests, ethnic issue, communal riots but one cannot take them as excuses. No analyst using the realist framework in US or India or anywhere else would be described as pro-military but in Pakistan it happens, because we have no national military strategy dominating the national security strategy and it is the biggest threat to the security of Pakistan.

2. Dr. Pervez Hoodhbhoy

Professor, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad

Why Pakistan has the fastest growing nuclear arsenal? Pakistani nuclear arsenal is growing faster than India and has probably exceeded India, and if the present rate of growth continued it will exceed Britain as well in the next five to ten years. We have two functioning reactors in Khushab, third one under construction and the fourth is having its foundation laid. These are plutonium producing reactor with no conceivable civilian use of energy. They are principally for making bombs which are smaller, more efficient and more easily deliverable by missiles. After Indo-US nuclear deal, India is capable of making many nuclear weapons per year, so Pakistan is obliged to have more nuclear weapons.

Why Pakistan needs so many nuclear weapons given its phenomenal difficulties? The country is on the verge of un-governability, marked by sectarian warfare, ethnic riots, wide spread terrorism, energy and water crisis. Do we want nuclear weapons due to the threat that there may be an attack from India? To attack Pakistan would be the last thing on India's mind, as they are busy with their economic development. Pakistan's single goal to make nuclear weapon was to counter India's nuclear weapon. In 1987 the force equalizer concept began to gain attraction. Kargill War, Jan 1999, was the first non-conventional war caused by nuclear weapons, it would not have happened, but for the fact that Pakistan had nuclear weapons.

There is paradigm shift, in a way that the military establishment thinks about itself, its role, and Pakistan's position with regard to the world. The reason does not owe to India but to the US, there is a fundamental shift in the way that how Pakistan regards US. Although the break has not come with US, yet it could be a few months from now. There is a shift towards strategic defiance, more or less on the lines being envisaged by Gen. (Retd.) Mirza Aslam Baig, where by Pakistan is going against the US on its own. US is considered a potential enemy in Pakistan, because firstly the Pakistani military is convinced that US wants to steal our nuclear weapons, secondly US want to deny our strategic depth in Afghanistan. Thirdly the military sees US as an ally of India and lastly due to religious radicalization, so people within the military see America as a potential enemy because they are considered to be the enemies of Islam. This is why Pakistan's military leaders are ramping up nuclear weapon production.

It is supposed that if you have more nuclear weapons, they are harder to snatch. Secondly since US is leaving Afghanistan, Pakistan will use Taliban as an asset. Thirdly, the more nuclear teeth you have the less US will be inclined to bite you. Another reason for having more nuclear is that they will enhance our geo-politics importance. And finally these weapons are unifiers; they have become part of our faith now. These are all the reasons that the army has for making nuclear weapons and making more of them. What have these nuclear weapons given us? Have they given us security? If nuclear weapons have given us security then why do we have a problem in Balochistan and Karachi? Nuclear weapons have been a disaster for Pakistan, they have brought us nothing. The only thing they have done is to give us a more stubborn army who is not amenable to civilian control.

3. Dr Haider Nizamani
Vancouver, Canada

Anti-nuclear voices in Pakistan are on margins and have remained primarily an intellectual debate, because we do not have a vibrant peace movement in Pakistan that Germany had during the cold war. Since 1950 intellectual activity in Pakistan took place in veritable intellectual wasteland. And the state termed them as Communists. Critical intellectualism in Pakistan comes with certain risks. Nuclear weapons in Pakistan have turned out to be effectively political weapons. Violence and military rule overlap and they strengthen each other. Pakistanis are ignorant of hazards of nuclear weapons and this is why there is low level of anti-nuclearism in Pakistan.

4. Ms. Afia Shehrbano Zia
Academician, Activist, LUMS, Lahore

Religious conservatism and jihadism are one name of two things. Jihadist politics sustains itself through religious conservatism. Jihadist movement of Al-Qaida is a byproduct of globalization and it is not a moral undercurrent rather it has political motivations. Tribal poverty is not the sole cause of militancy in tribal areas; rather affluent people are also part of it. Illiteracy and religious seminaries are also not sole sources of jihadim in Pakistan because Ayesha Jalal believes that government schooling system is also adding towards jihadism in Pakistan. Religious violence is now referred to be religious conservatism and extremism; this implies that other forms of violence are lesser concerns.

Large number analysts assume that the steep rise of religious terrorism over the past decade is the direct result of General Zia era's state sponsored Islamization, and also due to US imperialist policies. Religious conservatism may not be a threat to the state but jihad can be and then religious conservatism is too much entrenchment in our social discourse and public lives. Religious violence according to some emerging social scientists inside the country and outside is the result of US invasion and action against Islam. MMA during its term enabled Islamic jihadism and this posed a challenge for the political dimensions of jihad. Liberal desire to reorient the ideology in Pakistan for improving women empowerment and liberal values is also vague in the face of challenges, thus they also need to rephrase their ideological philosophies.

Session III

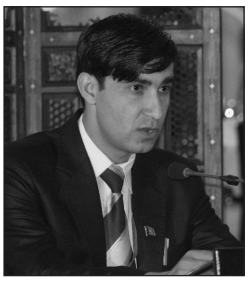
1. Mr. Irfan Ashraf
Assistant Professor, University of Peshawar, Peshawar

Whatever is happening in FATA is not happening in the whole Pakistan. Because what people are facing in FATA is not faced by the whole country. Their houses are demolished, military operations have been carried out and no mother has surety whether his son will come back or not. Whenever there was a threat from external enemy the Pashtoons got strengthened but radicalism has damaged Pashtoon society from within this time. Battle of conflicting ideologies both from Iran and Saudi Arabia divided Pashtoon tribes on sharp sectarian lines. The main problem of radicalism was planted in Pashtoon society when radical elements from other countries were enlisted to join the war against the Soviets in the name of jihad. The invincible image of these militants is just because the anti-terror efforts are sometimes compromised and poorly coordinated. War on terror could not be won by using military means only; it could be won by strengthening the tribal society which is getting weaker day by day.

2. Mr. Mukhtiar Ahmed Ali
Former Executive Director, CPDI, Islamabad

Southern Punjab is the hub of new emerging middle class, but it is under-developed as compared to other parts of Punjab. There are sectarian undercurrents in the area as well and the politics of sectarianism also played role to fuel sectarianism in the area. In Jhang, since partition, in one way or the other sectarian politics played out badly. Then there was socio-economic change happening in the area where middle class was moving to the cities and these were of Sufi Islam's follower and to counter this trend Deobandi Islam came in the way to purities the system. The urbanization phenomenon also played to out create pressure on the state structure. People moved out of the rural areas for better economic opportunities and in return conflict management system in rural areas was left to the mercy of feudal lords. Also, in rural areas, Mosque Mullah played an important to create polarization among the village class.

Session IV



1. Abdul Rahman Habibzui
Security Analyst, Kabul, Afghanistan

If Pakistan and Afghanistan leave their political, historical and geographical disputes for a period and devise their policies according to the acceptable international rules with no interference, mutual respectability and having surge in transit trade, then Pakistan and Afghanistan can create a believable atmosphere for mutual economic and trade benefits. Afghanistan knows the strategic strength of Pakistan that it can play important role in bringing peace and stability in Afghanistan. But Pakistan should know the economic and transitory values of Afghanistan that Afghanistan is the corridor between three ways. Afghanistan is a golden link between three vital economic regions of Asia, which are South Asia, Central Asia and Middle East. The three regions can have lot of trade and economic links and the only bridge connects them is Afghanistan. Members of

SAARC and Shanghai Cooperation Organization understand the importance of Afghanistan that stable Afghanistan can bring better economic benefits than an Afghanistan which is unstable and causes greater risks for stability.

Pakistan needs an access to gas and oil for its huge industrial requirements from the mines of Central Asia, and Central Asia needs manufactured goods from Pakistan and India. Also Central Asia hopes to increase its export of their fresh underground mines to South Asian countries. Thus Pakistan and Afghanistan should leave all their political issues, in just to think of economic promotion especially transit and trade like APTA (Asia Pacific Trade Agreement). The APTA agreement has its own defects, like not allowing India to exports commodities through Wagah border from Pakistan to Afghanistan. But unfortunately the mentioned unjustified agreement has not been implemented by Pakistan yet. Pakistan and Afghanistan has long term historical, lingual and religious relations. Both Pakistan and Afghanistan were bothers and had no intricate problems. Since the last three decades two generations of Afghanistan acknowledged Pakistan's aid to Afghanistan during Soviet invasion, support to mujahideen and especially giving shelter to the Afghan refugees.

But the third generation in Afghanistan doesn't owe this and they think Pakistan is exporting terrorism and bigotry to Afghanistan. They feel that Pakistan is dispatching terrorists to Afghanistan. They also think that sanctuaries of militants, who are fighting in Afghanistan, are located in Pakistan. There is pessimism among the youngsters and a theory says that new styles of pessimism will generate a new form of conflicts. Also we know that both Pakistan and Afghanistan are the victims of terrorism. We are going through a period of modernization. European model is inspiring model for some regions but those regions also had greater cultural, civilization and political hurdles before unification. Nonetheless they have started their endeavor for the regional unity in the realm of economic and politics. Afghanistan is an important region for the unification of the three regions mentioned above. In general the international community has changed their policy towards the region and did not like those strategies which were implemented in the period of Cold War. International community has more interest and goals in the region besides fighting against terrorism. We will be fighting and other states will seek their benefits in the region. Thus Pakistan and Afghanistan should not give an opportunity to these states which will get advantage from the problems between the two countries.

Those states which have influence in Afghanistan and creating clouts through creating extremist movements, questionable foundation for the involvement of these groups in the fundamentalism, terrorism and narcotic trafficking. What we lack to endorse is the unity against these issues by endeavoring policy and mechanism against these conspiracies. Afghanistan is a principal victim geographically; it could be able to tackle these issues provided that the neighbors and important countries stop their competition between them. Leave aside double political game in policies and interests. Through Afghanistan's active diplomacy we can convince that international community working for the stability of Afghanistan which will be in benefit of the neighbors. Afghanistan in line with international community should state its national interest. International community should not rate Afghanistan's national interest and Afghanistan can give assurance if the neighbor stops interfering, it will not be used against the interests of the neighbors. The international community can help by the construction of roads, infrastructure and effectively revive the transit routes connecting the region so that neighbors can be encouraged to have economic trade. The international community can work to create balance and symmetry in force configuration in the region through strengthening Afghanistan. But Afghanistan needs a better security force after giving the assurance that the neighbors cannot carry out their subversive activities with impunity. The only way of peaceful relation with Afghanistan is through a popular Afghan government.

2. I.A. Rehman
Human Rights Activist, HRCP, Pakistan

Few preliminary observations, the inhuman and material cost of Pak-India hostility is insignificant as compared to human cost; this hostility has human suffering on vast scale. Then the human cost and hostility are inter-dependent, they fuel each other, hostility increases, and human cost also increases. Moreover, hostility dates back even before their birth; we are the victim of history, which preceded these two countries to emerge as independent states. As a result of the division of India took place, commenced great sufferings for the people. The partition rights, the transfer of population, the cost of migration that was imposed on both side of Pakistan and India. The cost imposed on both countries was so enormous that the wound has not healed up even today. The migration continued from India till 1957 to 1970s, even today minorities from Sindh and Balochistan migrating India and thus the animosity keeps simmering. So the hostility between the two states tended to keep the bitterness of memories over century alive. The major consequence of Pakistan India's hostility is the hardships faced by non-Muslims in Pakistan and by Muslims in India. We do not treat non-Muslims in Pakistan as Pakistanis but agents of India. In India also for a long time Muslims were treated as the surrogates of Pakistan, the situation has changed to some extent but not entirely. The cost of being Muslims is paid by those who are poor, and backward.

The logical consequence is the derogation of rights, the rights of non-Muslims were usurped in Pakistan, and the rights of Muslims affected in India, directly by the hostility between India and Pakistan. Thus the cost paid for this hostility is colossal for the two countries. It is not only the people of India and Pakistan suffered but Pakistan and India has kept South Asia a hostage of their bitterness and hostility due to their confrontation. Whenever, we go out to Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal, they always blame India and Pakistan for having retarded the progress of the South Asia as distinct and regional entity, for beneficial relationship in this region. According to Gen. (Retd.) Mehmood Durani (former National Security Advisor), "Pak-India's hostility has affected the interests of the rest of the world also which is demonstrated in the region." They have direct conflicts in 1948, 1965, 1971, 1999, they cost loss of lives of the combatants but it also influenced the thinking of the people on both sides.

The people of Kashmir divided between the two countries are living the life of insecurity. It was the direct result of Pak-India's hostility that Pakistan has rendered itself as a Cold War champion, jumped into all kinds of defence agreements for which we are paying the price even today. It is also the direct consequence of the bad relations between the two countries that Pakistan instead of becoming welfare state has been defined as national security state. Due to this confrontation, both countries have been entered into arms race, first in conventional weapons and then for horrible nuclear weapons. The people of India may not have paying much price but the people of Pakistan are still paying for these nuclear weapons. And now the whole world is worried for Pakistan that these weapons might not fall into the hands of militants. The results of Pak India hostility is felt in many ways, trade has also suffered between the two countries. The Pak-India's hostility has now become the part of their national ideology. Our culture has also suffered, our musician artists from this part and India, so all these should be counted in human sufferings. We are also paying the cost in the form of our attitude towards Afghanistan; we are competing in Afghanistan instead of being cooperative.

South Asia left behind, with one fifth of the world population; it is not playing its due role in the world of nations. We have the resources, as we had been the vanguard of the anti-colonial movement in the

world; we gained independence much earlier than the African countries. We are spending much of our resources on military. This has to be undone. If Indians think that they need Americans more than Pakistan, it is an evaluation for the time being. Pakistan can live without good relations with United States but it cannot live without having good relations with India and other neighboring countries. We have to choose between the two paths: first is to settle all the disputes and then have good relations, the other is path is our disputes would be solved, if we could have good relations. The sooner we will be turning from first to the second one, will be better. On the other hand we can keep counting the loss of the people on both sides.

3. Dr. Smruti S. Pattanaik
Political Analyst, New Delhi, India

Pakistan and India share history of mistrust and misperception. It is since 65 years but the mistrust still persists that makes peace in South Asia an illusion. Despite having shared history and culture both countries failed to develop a modicum of trust between the two. Already the partition narratives have affected the discourse of the two states which is not allowing them to move towards peace. The two countries have not emphasized that the borders splitting the two states would be complicated for migration. The rigid visa system is not allowing the state policies to be constructive. There is a strong perception that the establishment of Pakistan does not want good relations with India. There are many things that make the cooperation between the two very important in this arena of globalization. In the past most of the time, if there is any terrorist attack, they were pointing figures towards each other. The public opinions have been developed against each other that will hamper both from developing peace constituencies. After the terrorist attack of Mumbai, Pakistan didn't take the action as it should has to take. Pakistan's willingness to cooperate in the case of Mumbai attack would be helpful in the development of confidence building. Trade relations between the two countries are very important according to the report of MFN statement that came last month. There is a conflicting report from Pakistan's army that they are against the MFN statement. There should be consensus between the political parties of India and Pakistan. We take the opinion of most of the political parties regarding the decision about Pakistan.

The visa restrictions should be removed because the contact between the two is very important in the confidence building milieu. Pakistan and India can cooperate in the case of Afghanistan; Pakistan has concerns regarding India's presence in Afghanistan. It is connected to the regional peace. If there are concerns of both countries then they should channel it through diplomacy, such concerns can be addressed through dialogue. If Pakistan realizes that India has legitimate interest in Afghanistan and in this context Pakistan can build a confidence, the India-Pakistan confidence will be exchanged to the western border not only to the eastern border. There is lot of discussion that radicalization in Pakistan is soaring. There is need to protect a liberal space in Pakistan for continuing peace process between the two countries. There is the need of dialogue between the scholars and the students from both countries, a kind of stakeholders in this issue between India and Pakistan. The politicization of this issue through street politics is actually obstructing them from having dialogue. Insight in public opinion is not providing space for meaningful negotiation on the issues. To build peace constituencies, there should be contacts between the two countries, so that we can actually facilitate good relations with each other.

4. Mr. Mehmet OZKAN
Political Analyst, Istanbul, Turkey

Turkish foreign policy is going under transformation since 2003. There are three trends in Turkey's foreign policy towards Asia. Turkey should have to put systematic relations through some sort of institutional realignment which will foster relations in the region. Normalization of the relations between China and India is problematic to some extent. And to have deep cooperation among the countries which includes Japan, Turkey, Pakistan and Afghanistan?

Basically Turkey's concern is to assume to solve the problem and contributing in this process but in very modest way, not very expressive. As many people say that Turkey is in advantageous position apparently Turkey has no local proxy, being not involved in politics. The bilateral relation between Turkey and Afghanistan is to help ISAF militarily, investment, helping with Turkey's official aid, and helping through the involvement of civil society as Turkey has 1000 military men with ISAF ,not involved in the counter-terrorism but only works for the security and training of the police forces in Afghanistan. Also Turkey is involved in the construction; it has 200 projects in Afghanistan. The civil society of Turkey is hugely involved in Pakistan and Afghanistan in helping to rebuild the societies.

Turkey has good relations with Pakistan but Turkey wants to turn them into constructive relations. With regard to Turkey there is tri-lateral process going on with Pakistan and Afghanistan since 2007. Last year during Istanbul moot it was decided between the three countries to have cooperation in education, banking and other areas, and in organizing joint military exercises. There was a question, was that trilateral meeting successful, not concrete results, but the social dynamics, education, economy will make a break through. Political process is a part of it but the process of social dynamic will be helpful. Turkey wants to go beyond the security centric approach; because it is occupying the situation too much and we are not going out of the box. Turkey has inclusive approach towards all the sectors of the societies. Solutions should come from within the regions through cooperation. If we see the history of Turkey, it has always involved through low politics. Turkey and Germany will not be in Afghanistan beyond 2014. Turkey in not involved through arms, it is involved softly, indirectly and this is the Turkey's Islamic politics. This process will have indirect influence for this part. But there are three discourses want to mention, moderate Islam, Muslim democracy and Islamic democracy.

Session V

1. Jeffrey Laurenti
Senior Fellow, The Century Foundation, Washington, USA

There are few countries in the contemporary world where US war is more unpopular than Pakistan. Almost 73 percent people in Pakistan are anti-American, while this hatred relationship runs even deeper in USA where according to recent surveys 81 percent people are anti-Pakistan. According to a poll by *The Economist* only two percent of the American favour Pakistan. Coming to the most tumultuous issue between the two countries that is Afghanistan, here Pakistan should be mindful of the fact that medieval fundamentalist regime (Taliban government) in Kabul will not unlock economic and social potential of that state. For almost two decades Islamist generals in Pakistan supported radicals in Afghanistan and envisaged to unleash jihad in extra regional. This very legacy continues to

haunt Pakistan even today, where America is on one side and hardliner killers (Pakistani Taliban) on the other side. Although it is not an easy job for any government to deal with but Pakistan will have to make hard choices since the time is running out.

Pakistan and USA has many conflicting issues and the most thumping one is of drone strikes in Pakistan's tribal regions. It is the CIA which is handling and carrying out drone attacks, and interestingly US Secretary of State can have say in selecting the targets but it is the CIA chief who is responsible for making final decision. And it shows the role of Pentagon and US intelligence in conducting the war against terrorism. The mistrust between two states have reached to such a point today that it is the State Department who wanted to go hand in hand with Pakistan, while Pentagon and US intelligence community are vary of fragility of relationship with Pakistan. US military establishment believes that the gains in ongoing war against terror are short lived and it is primarily due to the double dealing of Pakistan secret agency (ISI).

The recent attack on Salala Check Post in Mohmand Agency and subsequent decision by Pakistani government to shut down NATO supply route is taking heavy toll on ISAF forces in Afghanistan. Although the US has diversified routes but it still heavily depends on Pakistan for feeding its troops in Afghanistan. Such steps will not surely help any country's cause and will impair fight against terrorism. Moreover, Pakistan is getting global recognition as a playground of militants and extremists, and it is up to Pakistan to decide about its fate and future. Pakistan can have good relations with Beijing, but the latter cannot be alternative to Washington for Pakistan. Pakistan and USA still needs each other and yes Pakistanis are right in venting their anger over US for pushing it hard in War on Terror, but there is need for pragmatic self-assessment on the part of both allied states to come out of this bad patch.

2. Dr. Mariam Abou Zahab
Security Analyst, Paris, France

Pakistani security establishment has always maintained obscure nexus with sectarian groups as an asset to be used against other states. I am visiting Pakistan since 1973 and lots have changed but unfortunately I should confess that the change is not for better rather it is for worse. Banning of sectarian groups in the past have changed nothing on ground because no one cared about their structures and they are intact even today and playing havoc in Pakistani society. When it comes to prosecution of sectarian terrorists, unfortunately they are left open due to the lack of evidence. Also, it is an interesting fact that there are nexus between sectarian terrorists and international jihadis and all this happened in Afghanistan during Taliban regime.

Today sectarian terrorists are more diverse and they have scattered training facilities. Given the history of sectarian terrorism in Pakistan, I would like to underline that sectarian terrorists are more dangerous than contemporary Pakistani Taliban fighting in tribal areas. It is because sectarian terrorists were trained by intelligence agencies on military training lines. Presence of sectarian groups in tribal areas is a lifeline for TTP since they provided it base for operations, manpower and resources. TTP and Al-Qaeda want a weak state and then prey upon it to make it collapse and they use sectarian rift to achieve their ends and they did this in Iraq but they cannot repeat this in Pakistan despite the fact of their best efforts for years. Sectarian violence in Pakistan has the potential to destabilize the entire region one day.

3. Dr. Ishtiaq Ahmad
Professor, Oxford University, UK

Pak-UK relationship is historical in nature and faces some inescapable realities. Due to the Britain's position in the world Pakistan deems its relations with the former very crucial. British foreign policy towards Pakistan is primarily shaped by the strong presence of British troops in Afghanistan and thumping presence of Pakistani origin people in UK. Pakistanis exhibit strong presence in UK politics, business and other spheres of public life and political circles. A recent debate on Kashmir issue in UK Parliament is an example of strong presence of Pakistanis in the country and its politics.

Also, British authorities are fearful of terrorists originating from Pakistan and regard them as the major security threat to its national security. But at the same UK counter-terrorism policies vis-à-vis Pakistan are not as harsh as of US, because UK thinks that close cooperation between two states based on mutual respect is beneficial for both of them. In future any political reconciliation in Afghanistan can bring both UK and Pakistan closer because they share same objectives.

4. Dr. Thomas K. Gugler
Research Fellow, Vienna University, Austria

Lashkar-i-Taiba (LeT) is the ticking time bomb of South Asia due to its relations with Al-Qaida, its outreach, resources and global networks. In the past decade, Pakistani ISI supported and enacted the organization for jihad in Kashmir but now it has become global in scope and conduct, and we have seen its vigor in the form of Mumbai attacks in November 2008. LeT chief, Hafiz Saeed is preaching jihad every now and then and his son is also following the suit. LeT fits into Pakistani military's strategy towards India, as it is playing the role a ferocious tool for launching proxy wars. Also, we have seen the utilization of LeT in Kunhr and Nooristan provinces of Afghanistan in recent months, where it is involved in fierce fighting against coalition troops. LeT championed the deadly phenomena of suicide bombing in South Asia and carried out for the first time in Indian part of the Kashmir back in early 1990s.

Resolution

We, the participants of the conference, noted that

a) the ongoing conflicts in large parts of the country such as FATA and Balochistan and other parts of the country pose a serious threat to Pakistan as a whole. The underlying factors which have led to the current religious militancy remain largely unaddressed;
b) the prevalent crisis of human security is the direct outcome of the over emphasis on conventional notions of security, an over-centralized state structures where the balance of civil-military relations is still heavily tilted in favour of the armed forces. The predominance of the Pakistani military in foreign and security policy has proven highly problematic and entailed extremely debilitating consequences;
c) the failure to address pressing human security issues (education, health, food, shelter, unemployment) has exacerbated the security situation in the conventional sense. The inability and incompetence of a mighty bureaucracy is also a major factor in poor governance and lack of development;
d) the current security discourse in Pakistan is marked by an adversarial relationship with India, an

increasingly difficult partnership with the US and an ambivalent policy on Afghanistan;

e) a nuclear South Asia remains a grave global concern because a nuclear confrontation between India and Pakistan could potentially wipe out large parts of both countries and make them uninhabitable for human beings. The presence of nuclear weapons therefore demands that both countries stop the nuclear arms race and work out Confidence Building Measures which would exclude the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons in case of any conflict;

f) as a result of the global climate change, deforestation and other human interventions, large parts of the country have become prone to natural disasters as witnessed during the massive floods of 2010 and 2011. Many parts of the country are already food insecure and water-deficient. Pakistan is among those countries which will be most affected by these long-term changes. Women at large continue to be among the worst affected by conflict and disaster, and remain the most vulnerable segment of the society;

g) inadequate education opportunities, coupled with tiered education system in the country continues not only to be a source of poverty and low-productivity. The energy crisis in Pakistan has become a huge burden for the vast majority of Pakistanis and heavily taxing the local economy.

We, the participants of the conference, therefore, agree that

I. Pakistan's multiple socio-economic and security crises – factors that fuel uncertainty and instability as well as undermine economic progress – demand a comprehensive analysis of security environment. The international community needs to analyze and understand Pakistan's security environment more broadly than traditional civil-military relations and needs further to look at internal reasons of the crisis;

ii. while external factors do impact the internal security situation, the primary onus lies on Pakistan's ruling elite – both military and civilian – to address fundamentals of good governance, accountability and transparency;

iii. unless security and well-being of over 180 million Pakistanis are placed at the centre of policy planning, the state of Pakistan will continue reeling under political and economic crisis;

iv. the international community must also pay a dispassionate attention to the context of Pakistan's current crisis that has evolved over three decades and is the direct consequence of the US-led western Jihad, facilitated by Pakistan's military ruler General Ziaul Haq, against the former Soviet Union;

v. the sovereignty of Pakistan as well as that of its neighbouring states need to be respected by all nations. Regional, multi-lateral security mechanisms need to be developed in order to improve cooperation in counter-terrorism, narcotics, and neutralise all those non-state actors that try to use the territory of a particular country to plan and execute terrorist activities against another country;

vi. conclusive legal action needs to be taken against all armed and unarmed groups who are the source of this radicalization and responsible for preaching hatred and intolerance. Likewise they also undermine the authority of the state and thus are a direct threat to democracy in Pakistan;

vii. radicalisation of thought cannot be corrected through constitutional means alone. Urgent constitutional and administrative corrective measures are therefore required to control the radicalisation of thought. Formal registration of all types of education and compliance with consensus curricula must be made compulsory;

viii. Pakistan must seek solutions to a galloping population already burdened with an enormous youth bulge;

ix. Pakistan must reform and mainstream standardized school syllabus to eliminate contents that give birth to, and promote a jihadi obscurantist mindset, hate speech, and intolerance;

x. Pakistan must work for grassroots political-social-economic empowerment, devolution in its true sense to improve service delivery, reduce poverty and address unemployment, disguised

unemployment that also sits at the heart of underdevelopment;

xi. Pakistan must urgently prioritize education and invest more and more resources in primary education. In order to diffuse and neutralize these threats, it is necessary to address the root-causes of these threats and address people's grievances;

xii. a new legitimacy based on principles of inclusion and dynamic federalism i.e. representation through elections to the national and provincial parliaments, transparency, human rights as enshrined in the constitution should be built in order to constitutionally integrate the FATA into the mainstream;

xiii. since climate change knows no borders, cooperation with neighbouring countries in order to find solutions to this common challenge is necessary;

xiv. women issues must become part of the mainstream discourse as an essential element of policy planning to ensure equal political rights and their participation in national development. The perspective of women (gender mainstreaming) must become an essential part of all policy-planning;

xv. Democratic consolidation requires an urgent realignment of civil-military relationship and a more comprehensive security strategy to ensure civilian supremacy and effective crisis management;

xvi. since the state of Pakistan manifestly lacks the capacity and resources required to carry out the tasks expected from it, there is an urgent need to develop mutually complimentary initiatives by the state and civil society organizations;

xvii. while welcoming Pakistan's decision to accord the Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status to India, the participants urge the government of Pakistan to open and facilitate all trade passing through Pakistan. Free trade can serve as a catalyst for economic progress and peace in the region.

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